A History of the Scottish People

Lachlan
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JAMES IV. IN HIS LABORATORY

MAKING RESEARCHES IN ALCHEMY. (circa A.D. 1507.)

Vol. ii. p. 18.

JAMES IV. AS AN ALCHEMIST IN HIS LABORATORY.

In the reign of James IV. there was great scarcity of gold in Scotland, owing to the new coinage, and the king, whose intellect was singularly inquisitive, was persuaded that the soil of his native country would be found to contain veins of gold and silver. He opened, therefore, the mines of Crawford Moor, in which gold was actually found; and although the discovery scarcely repaid the expense of search, it furnished him with employment. For the king had acquired such a passion for alchemy that he had his laboratory and furnace set up at Stirling, where he toiled day and night in search of the *grand magisterium.* In his experiments James spared no trouble, and in the entries of his treasurer are found payments made for costly chemicals from abroad.

A HISTORY

OF THE

SCOTTISH PEOPLE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,

EDITOR OF "THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND;" ETC.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA (1887), AND AN

INTRODUCTION

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS IN THE PERIOD PRECEDING THE INVASION OF THE ROMANS.

BY

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DIVISIONAL-VOLUME III.

FROM DEATH OF JAMES V., 1542, TILL DEATH OF REGENT MORAY, 1570.

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A HISTORY

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PERIOD VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES IV. TO THE DEATH OF JAMES V. (A.D. 1488 TO A.D. 1542)—*Continued.*

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF RELIGION (1488-1542).

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THE executions of Crawar and Resby, so far from extinguishing, had only kindled the spirit of religious inquiry. The Culdeeism of the land, instead of expiring, had apparently been renewed and strengthened by the accession of English Lollardism, and the successors of Saint Columba had found efficient assistants in the disciples of Wyckliff. Amidst the incessant conflicts of England and Scotland a peaceful undercurrent of history had been going on, by which these countries were reciprocating their improvements; and not the least of these was in favour of the English Lollardism, which had sought a place of shelter in Scotland, and had there taken root unpersecuted and unnoticed. Here and there little communities might be found, such as that of the "Lollards of Kyle," who had emerged from a midnight darkness of error into a twilight of religious truth; to whom the kindling of a martyr's pile was but a signal to awake, and who discovered, by the light in which the sufferers were consumed, the purity of the cause for which they suffered, and the injustice of their persecutors.

Such, as in other countries, was the silent unnoticed commencement of the era of the Reformation in Scotland; and there, as in other countries, it behoved to be purified by trial and suffering, and consolidated by the blood of martyrdom. But on this point there is a difference in the history of Scotland from that of every other reformed country. While every other nation can exult in its "cloud of witnesses" who perished in hundreds or in thousands for pro-

testing against the errors of Popery, those of Scotland are comprised in a very few instances. While the martyrs, also, were but a handful, the period of persecution was but a brief one, and the bloody proceedings very easily suppressed. A glance, however, at the previous history of the country will account for this peculiarity, and show that such a remarkable exemption was owing neither to the timidity of the professors nor the forbearance of their persecutors. It is rather to be found in the geographical situation of the country, and the national character and institutions of its people. In consequence of their remoteness from Rome the Scottish clergy had cultivated a spirit of independence that paid little homage to papal bulls and decretals; and thus when their hour of trial came, and their flocks had rebelled against them, they had little sympathy to expect from the Roman conclave or aid from those states that were ready to start at the signal of a papal crusade. And even when they turned from such foreign assistance to those internal resources which their church had provided, and invoked the secular arm for the suppression of heresy, the Scottish priesthood found that the change was not greatly for the better. From the limited powers of the Scottish sovereigns, the close feudal tie between the chiefs and their vassals, the contentions of the nobles with each other, and their mutual jealousy of the power of the priesthood, the clergy were aware that all hope of enforcing the awards of their tribunals, whether from royalty or the aristocracy, must generally be useless, and in most cases would be met with defiance and resistance. In reverting, therefore, to the political events and troubled reigns of James II. and James III. we can easily detect the causes of this unwonted forbearance on the part of the Romish priesthood. These sovereigns had something else than heresy to suppress, while the nobles were little disposed to surrender their vassals to be burned at the stake. It was owing to such causes rather than any lack of offenders that the fires of persecution were in the first instance extinguished as soon as they were lighted; that they slumbered during the whole of that period, and were not rekindled until the energetic reigns of James IV. and James V.; and that even when rekindled, their continuation was so brief and their victims so few.

The first movement during this period for the extirpation of heresy was made in 1494. On this occasion thirty persons belonging to the district of Kyle in Ayrshire were cited before James IV. and his council by Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow. The number, the rank of the accused, several of them being barons, and four of them ladies of good family, show not only the persecuting spirit of the prelate, but the prevalence of the doctrines, when a single district could furnish so many professors. The errors which were laid to their charge were comprised in thirty-four articles; and in looking at them we find that they were rather protests against the abuses of Popery than positive declarations of those sacred doctrines which Popery had obscured—showing that the light they had attained was as yet little more than the first dawn of the Reformation. Such as it was, however, these "Lollards of Kyle" were the veritable precursors of Luther and his contemporaries. They abjured the pope as Antichrist. They denied the real presence in the elements of the mass. They rejected praying to the Virgin and the saints, and the doctrines of purgatory, clerical celibacy, indulgences, relic-worship, and clerical absolution. It happened, unfortunately for the archbishop, that the young king was not only disinclined to persecute, but that several of the arraigned were personally known to him and regarded by him with esteem. Their trial, instead of exhibiting the usual gravity of an inquest where life was at stake and mercy so seldom shown, was chiefly characterized by jokes and drollery. In derision the archbishop said to Adam Reid of Barskimming, one of the accused, "Reid, believe you that God is in heaven?" Reid, who was a rhymer, replied in the same vein, "Not as I do the sacraments seven." "Lo," cried the prelate, offended at this retort, "he denies that God is in heaven!" The king was surprised at this charge, and hastily exclaimed, "Adam Reid, what say ye?" to which the man of rhyme replied, "Please your grace to hear the end betwixt the churl and me." Then turning to the bishop he thus addressed him in sober prose: "I neither think nor believe in your fashion that God is in heaven; but I am most assured that he is not only in heaven, but also on earth. But you and your faction declare by your works, that either you think there is no God at all, or else that he is so shut up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon earth; for if you firmly believed that God was in heaven you would not make yourself checkmate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to his apostles, which was to preach his evangel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day." Then addressing himself to the king, Reid added, "Now, sir, judge whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven." James, desirous of ending a discussion in which the accusers had the worst, said, "Will you burn your bill?" and the wag falling back upon his rhymes, replied, "Sir, the

bishop if you will." With these and other such scoffing answers, suited to the rude wit of the times, the bishop and his party were abashed, the court moved to laughter, and the Lollards of Kyle dismissed unpunished.[1]

This was the beginning and the end of religious persecution during the reign of James IV. Baffled in this one attempt Archbishop Blackadder appears to have given the early Protestants of the west of Scotland no further trouble; and in 1508 he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but died on the way before he had reached the holy city. He was succeeded in the see of Glasgow by James Beaton; but this prelate, until he finally became archbishop of St. Andrews, was more intent in advancing his own interests by engrossing the most profitable appointments both in church and state than opposing the progress of the Reformation and persecuting its adherents. The fatal effects of the battle of Flodden and the distracted state of the kingdom during the minority of James V. still more effectually tended to confirm this immunity, and thus even national calamities not only ensured the safety, but promoted the growth of that which was to constitute the real national strength and prosperity. While the Protestantism of the west was thus sheltered from the storm, and silently maturing into full vigour, the metropolitan see of St. Andrews was successively occupied by primates under whose administration the Reformation had neither opposition nor check. Schevez was succeeded as archbishop by James Stuart, brother of James IV., who after a brief tenure of office, died at St. Andrews in 1503. His successor was Alexander Stuart, natural son of the same king, appointed to the archbishopric in his minority, and who perished still young with his father at Flodden before he had time to exercise his episcopal office. Even his untimely death, however, was a favourable event for the progress of the Reformation, to which his learning and amiable character might have proved more serious obstacles than violence and persecution. The death of this young Marcellus of the Romish church in Scotland was succeeded by that disgraceful brawl for the archiepiscopal throne between Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, and John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, which has been described in the civil department of our history. After a controversy between the competitors which was waged not with arguments but artillery, and finally composed by bribery and iniquitous intrigues, Forman was successful, while his disappointed rivals were appeased by pensions and preferments which were bestowed upon them and their friends chiefly at the expense of the church.[2]

It was during the troubled minority of James V. that the political power and influence of the churchmen had attained their greatest height; but this was only the prelude to the downfall of a usurpation that could be tolerated no longer. Not contented with the enormous revenues which they derived from the church, the principal offices of the state were in their possession. Thus James Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, was Lord High Treasurer of the kingdom, an office which had been previously held by Cuthbert Baillie, commendator of Glenluce. Gavin Dunbar, at first Archdeacon of St. Andrews, then Bishop of Aberdeen, and finally Archbishop of Glasgow, whom Knox briefly characterizes as "a glorious (that is vain-glorious) fool," was preceptor of the young king and Lord Register of Scotland; and James Beaton, who was promoted from the archbishopric of Glasgow to that of St. Andrews, besides being papal legate was also Lord-chancellor of Scotland, to which office he was appointed soon after the death of James IV. His contentions with the Douglases, his flight from place to place, and the shifts and disguises to which he was driven are matters connected with the civil history of the kingdom. The downfall of the Douglases restored him to place and power, but not to his former forbearance and equanimity, and with his restoration he became a persecutor, although the moral tenor of his life was such that even his best friends could scarcely attribute the change to religious zeal. But he saw that from the growth of the principles of religious reformation the church itself was menaced with overthrow, and he knew that with the church he must stand or fall.

The first victim who was marked for the sacrifice was Patrick Hamilton, and by this selection the archbishop announced to the reformers how little they were to calculate upon his previous forbearance or remissness. Patrick Hamilton, who is generally but erroneously considered the protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation, although not in holy orders, was titular Abbot of Ferne, a mode of providing for the scions of noble families which had already become common in Scotland. Having in early youth embraced the doctrines of the Reformation so far as they were yet known in his native country, he repaired to Germany, at that time

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, i. pp. 7–12.

[2] Knox; Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland* (Spott. Soc. Publications), i. pp. 119–123.

the fountain-head of religious instruction, and there matured his knowledge so effectually under the teaching of Luther, Melancthon, and Francis Lambert that he was the first of the students who advanced theses or propositions against the Romish errors for public disputation at the college of Marburg, where Lambert was professor. In these propositions, which were afterwards published under the title of *Patrick's Places*, Hamilton showed himself to be far in advance of his countrymen not only in his detection of the corruptions of Popery but his appreciation of the positive doctrines of Christianity. Impatient to impart the light he had received to his own benighted country, he returned to Scotland and commenced the duties of a reformer with zeal and courage, notwithstanding the hazard to which such an office exposed him. It was not long until Beaton heard of his proceedings and resolved to bring them to a violent close. The iniquitous manner in which Hamilton was entrapped, his unjust trial, and barbarous execution have been detailed in another part of our history. The articles of belief which were charged against him in his indictment are sixteen in number; but, as these were recorded by his judges, they appear to have been mixed with such exaggeration and error as might serve to justify his condemnation. By those persons, however, who were personally intimate with him and best acquainted with his opinions the following are stated as the actual doctrines for which he was put to death:—

1. Man has no free-will.
2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
3. A man as long as he lives is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian who believes not that he is in grace.
5. A good man does good works; good works do not make a good man.
6. An evil man brings forth evil works; evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.
7. Faith, hope, and charity are so linked together that one of them cannot be without another in one man in this life.

The execution of one of such noble lineage and amiable character as Patrick Hamilton, for no offence except that of holding certain opinions which the clergy had condemned, was certain to excite not only astonishment but curiosity. All were eager to know what those opinions might be which were visited with such tremendous penalties; and as there were pupils of the deceased both able and willing to gratify this desire, the priests themselves, had they proclaimed them by sound of trumpet to the four winds of heaven, could not have divulged them so effectually as they did by Hamilton's martyrdom. Confirmed by such a death, the opinions for which he suffered were received not only as new but veritable doctrines; and the charm of novelty combined with the authority of truth widened the inquiry and deepened the conviction. Nor was this spirit confined to the laity and the unlearned. In the universities these new propositions were daringly propounded and freely discussed, and among the clergy themselves a spirit of investigation had commenced of which the coming generation was to reap the fruits. Thus it was from the church itself and the national seats of learning that the religious revolution derived its chief support, and the greater part of the early reformers of Scotland either belonged to the priesthood or had been in training for the office. In this manner the death of Hamilton effected that great purpose to which his life had been devoted, and which a whole lifetime of action might have failed to accomplish. Just as apt as bitter, therefore, was the jest which John Lyndsay addressed to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with whom he was familiar: "My lord, if you will burn the heretics let them be burned in cellars under ground, for the smoke of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."[1]

Of those men who either directly or partially favoured the doctrines of the Reformation at the chief seats of learning John Mair, better known by his latinized name of Major, held a conspicuous place. He was at first principal regent in the University of Glasgow, where among his pupils was John Knox, and afterwards provost of St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews. He was a voluminous and for the day a learned and able writer; but while the logical subtleties in which his life was spent enabled him to detect the absurdities of Popery, they were insufficient to lead him into the fulness of Christian truth. He thus occupied that middle ground between the two creeds which fitted him for loosening the dependence of his pupils upon the old system and preparing them for becoming converts to the new. A similar place was held in the abbey of St. Andrews by John Wynrame, the sub-prior, who, without venturing to express his convictions in favour of many of the doctrines of the Reformation unsettled the faith of the novices under his charge by his indifference to the time-hallowed superstitions of the decaying church. But the principal instructor of those who were afterwards to be distinguished among

[1] Knox; Spottiswood.

the national reformers was Gavin Logie, principal of the college of St. Leonards. His teaching was of a more decided character than that of the other two and better fitted to produce conviction; while his converts were so numerous that when a man began to show more than ordinary concern about religion a saying was used about him which at last became proverbial, "He has drunk of St. Leonard's well."

The effect of this reaction upon the clergy was such that even the friars themselves began to preach against the pride and idleness of the prelates, the corruptions of the ecclesiastical body in general, and the necessity of a reformation of the church; and when they had aroused the general attention upon the subject the people, who eagerly listened, were convinced of the necessity of a change and prepared for a higher kind of instruction. It needed but this to rouse the priesthood from their repose and convince them not only of the necessity of stricter lives but of a stricter persecution; and, indignant at this opposition from the members of their own community, they resolved to answer them with the arguments of fire and faggot. The sign of heresy it was now easy for them to detect, for it chiefly displayed itself in attacks upon the vices of the clergy. So strict, also, was this inquest that even a heretical dream was enough to subject the dreamer to trial and punishment. An instance of this was given in the case of one Richard Carmichael, a singer in the royal chapel of Stirling, who happened in his sleep to say, "The devil take away the priests, for they are a greedy pack!" For words so unconsciously uttered he was accused of heresy by the dean of the chapel, and only escaped the fire by recanting his imputed errors.

But while the offence of straying from the established church even in a fit of somnambulism was visited thus strictly, a closer watch was kept upon the clerical brotherhood who walked with their eyes open and were guilty of similar aberrations. The most eminent offender in this way was Alexander Seton, a Black Friar. He was of a good family, being brother of the laird of Tough, and was confessor of the young king, James V. Not long after the death of Hamilton he preached during a whole Lent in St. Andrews, but in a different style from the ordinary spiritual teachers, confining himself in the doctrines he adduced exclusively to the authority of Scripture. The gospel, he told his auditors, had not been truly taught for many years, and its purity had been obscured by the traditions of men. He announced to them that Christ was the end and perfection of the law; that there was no sin where God's law was not violated; that remission of sins proceeds from unfeigned repentance and faith in God the Father, merciful in Christ his Son; and that it lies not in man's power to make satisfaction for his sins—all the while making no mention of purgatory, clerical absolution, pilgrimages, prayers to saints, and the like. Thus he continued until Lent was ended, and it was only when he had gone to Dundee that a preacher was appointed to refute his doctrines. On learning this Seton immediately returned to St. Andrews, caused the church bell to be rung, and in a sermon announced his opinions to the audience with greater boldness and distinctness than ever. He also declared that in Scotland there were no true bishops, if bishops were to be recognized by such qualities as Saint Paul required in them; and that a bishop ought to be a preacher, otherwise he was but a dumb dog who fed not the flock but his own belly. For these declarations he was brought before the primate. "My lord," said Seton, "the reporters of these things are manifest liars." Rejoiced at this denial the archbishop exclaimed, "Your answer pleases me well: I never could think of you that you would be such a fool as to affirm such things. Where are the knaves that brought me this tale?" The witnesses on being brought forward renewed their accusations. "My lord," said the accused, "you may hear and consider what ears these asses have who cannot discern between Paul, Isaiah, Zachariah, Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seton. In very deed, my lord, I said that Paul said, 'It behoved a bishop to be a teacher;' Isaiah, that 'They that feed not the flock are dumb dogs;' Zachariah, that 'They are idle pastors.' I of my own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before had pronounced; at whom, my lord, if you be not offended, you cannot justly be offended at me."

The archbishop was stung with this sharp unexpected reply, and would have committed the speaker to the flames; but he feared his wit, learning, and boldness, and his popularity as a preacher. It was necessary, however, in some way to silence such a dangerous antagonist, and the charge of heresy was brought against him to the king. James, whose profligate career had commenced at an early period, and who had often smarted under the rebukes of his faithful confessor, was easily persuaded: he expressed his conviction that Seton already gave tokens of his conversion to the new doctrines, and his resolution that these, under the counsel of the bishops, he would punish and suppress. On learning his danger Friar Seton fled to England; but when he had gone no further than Berwick he wrote to his royal pupil, warning him of the

ambition of the prelates, and the consequences that would result from their predominance. It was a remarkable epistle; and had the warning been rightly used it might have saved the unfortunate king from a disastrous reign and inglorious downfall. Seton then proceeded to his own justification. He had only fled, he declared, because the bishops and churchmen had more authority in the realm than the sovereign himself, a superiority expressly condemned by the word of God, and that they would give no one whom they were pleased to brand as a heretic, time, place, or audience for his defence. Had these been but allowed him he would not have fled; and if a fair trial would be given him he would even yet return and submit himself to the ordeal. Let but his grace himself be present as judge, and let any bishop or abbot, friar or secular be opposed to him, with the law of God for the rule of trial, "and if my part be found wrong," he adds, "I refuse no punishment worthy of my fault. But if I convict them by the law of God, and they have nothing to lay to my charge but the law of man, and their own inventions to uphold their own glory, and prideful life, and daily scourging of your poor subjects, I refer me to your grace as judge, whether he has the victory who holds himself to the law of God which cannot fail nor be false—or they, who hold themselves to the law of man, which is right often plainly contrary, and therefore of necessity false and full of leasings." He then announced his intention to remain at Berwick until he should receive the royal answer whether he might return under a safe-conduct and have an open field for his trial and defence. Again returning to the arrogance of the prelates in usurping the authority of the civil ruler to the exclusion of the natural guardians of the throne and dispensers of justice to the people, Seton concluded his letter with the following impressive admonition: "Where they desire your grace to put out your temporal lords and lieges because they despise their vicious life, what else do they intend but only your death and destruction, as you may easily perceive, although they colour their false intent and mind with the pursuit of heresy? For when your barons are put down, what are you but a King of the Bean,[1] and then of necessity must be guided by them? And there, no doubt, where a blind man is guide, there must be a fall in the mire. Therefore, let your grace take boldness and authority which you have of God, and suffer not their cruel persecution to proceed without audience given to him who is accused, and just place of defence; and then, no doubt, you shall have your subjects' hearts, and all that they can or may do in time of need, tranquillity, justice, and policy in your realm, and finally the kingdom of heaven."[2]

This letter was written in vain, and the effect of the king's disregard we know: he had chosen the prelates for his counsellors and supporters in preference to the nobility, but only to be undone by the choice. After lingering in Berwick until the hope of an answer was extinct, Alexander Seton repaired to England, where he became a preacher of the doctrines of the Reformation and chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. But by this change of country he found in Henry VIII. a more despotic ruler than James V., and in Bishop Bonner a more merciless persecutor than Beaton, and in 1541 he was compelled to make a public recantation at St. Paul's Cross and carry his faggot to the stake.[3] A similar strictness on the part of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and his coadjutors compelled the flight of the best and most learned among the Scottish clergy. The chief of these were Alexander Aless, or according to his latinized name, Alesius, John Fife, and Alexander Macdowal or Macalpine, better known as Doctor Maccabeus. They fled to Germany, and the welcome with which they were received by Luther and the chiefs of the Reformation, and the important offices to which they were appointed, evinced not only their high worth and talents, but how much their native country had lost by their expatriation. Their intellectual superiority alone was a crime in the eyes of their illiterate persecutors, who wished to confirm their own power by the restoration of the age of darkness, and who strove to extinguish every ray of light that tended to frustrate their purpose. Of this jealousy and the iniquitous means it adopted a proof was soon afforded in the martyrdom of Henry Forrest.

This person, a young man born in Linlithgow, and who had lately taken orders as a Benedictine friar, began to be suspected of heresy, merely because he was charged with having said that Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his *Places* were true. Another proof of his guilt in the eyes of his judges was, that he had in his possession a copy of the English translation of the New Testament. Upon these grounds he was apprehended by the Archbishop of St. Andrews and thrown into prison. As sufficient evidence had not been obtained for his conviction, Friar Walter Laing was employed to shrive the prisoner, in the hope that his opinions would be revealed during the course of confession. The character of the friar, who was

[1] A holiday king chosen on Twelfth-night whose reign lasted only during the Epiphany.

[2] Knox; Spottiswood. [3] Spottiswood, i. p. 129.

confessor of the king, and the inviolability of a sacrament so binding upon the consciences of the Romanist clergy, secured the confidence of the unsuspecting Forrest, who expressed his belief that Hamilton was a good man and no heretic, and that the articles for which he suffered were veritable doctrine. Having effected his purpose the treacherous friar reported these acknowledgments to the archbishop; and on the strength of them Forrest underwent a regular trial before a clerical council, was proclaimed as confirmed a heretic as Hamilton himself, and sentenced to the same punishment. When he was led out to execution he exclaimed, "Fie on falsehood! fie on false friars, revealers of confession! after this day let no man ever trust any false friars, the contemners of God's word and deceivers of men!" When they proceeded to degrade him from the clerical office by stripping him of its insignia previous to execution he cried, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!" He was then burnt at the North Church Style of the abbey of St. Andrews, this conspicuous place being chosen that the people of the county of Angus might see the flames, and be warned by his punishment.[1]

After the martyrdom of Henry Forrest a pause occurred in the progress of persecution; but the interval was a brief one, as in 1534 the task was renewed and with redoubled vigour. Of the accused some fled to England or to foreign countries, while others publicly recanted and burned their bills. Among these was Sir James Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, and brother of Patrick the martyr, and Catherine his sister. As the king, notwithstanding his relationship to the accused, was unable or unwilling to thwart the priesthood, he privately advised Sir James not to surrender for trial; on which the sheriff privately fled, and for non-appearance was condemned as a heretic, and punished with the confiscation of his estates and property. As for the lady she confronted the tribunal, which was in the palace of Holyrood, the king himself presiding clothed in red, the colour of the judge when a capital offence was on trial. She was charged with heresy, because she believed that her own works could not save her, and to this she pleaded guilty; but when Mr. John Spence, the crown lawyer, advocated the contrary doctrines of the church, and dragged her into a long controversy upon the subject, she suddenly broke away from his logic with a burst of feminine impatience: "Work here, work there," she cried, "what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of works can save me but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." The king, who turned aside and laughed at her reply, prevailed upon her to recant, and she was set free. Another female of the town of Leith was arraigned upon an equally suspicious symptom of Protestantism. Being desired while in the pains of childbirth to pray, "Our lady, help me," she would only say, "Christ, help me, Christ, help me, in whose help I trust!" For this she was accused of heresy, and only escaped the stake by recantation.[2]

But the principal victims of these clerical assizes of 1534 were David Straiton and Norman Gourlay. Straiton, a gentleman of the house of Lauriston, was so illiterate that he could not read, and his first hostility to Popery originated in his hatred of the pride and avarice of the priests; but in consequence of associating with Erskine of Dun he soon acquired not only a better knowledge of the unsoundness of Popery but clear perceptions of the doctrines of the reformers. Even thus far he might have remained unmolested but for his opposition to the exorbitant claims of the priesthood, who had tithed not only the produce of the land but of the sea also. The Bishop of Moray had exacted of him every tenth fish which his servants caught; but Straiton caused them to throw it back into the sea, declaring, "If the priests want their tithe of the fish let them get it from the place where the others were taken." For this contumacy he was excommunicated, but because he still refused to submit he was now tried as a heretic. The offence of Norman Gourlay was his denial of purgatory, and his declaration that the pope was not a bishop but the Antichrist, and that he had no jurisdiction in Scotland. For these offences the two gentlemen were condemned to the stake, and when Straiton appealed from this sentence to the authority of the king, Hay, Bishop of Ross, proudly told them, although James himself was present, that the king had no grace for those whom the spiritual judges had condemned. They were executed at Greenside, a conspicuous place between Edinburgh and Leith, that the people on the opposite coast of Fife, the county to which they belonged, might see the fires that consumed them and regard them as beacon-lights of warning.[3]

After these executions an interval of forbearance followed that lasted five years. It was not, however, because the clergy were less powerful or more unwilling to persecute; and the safety of their adversaries during this period may be

[1] Calderwood, i.; Spottiswood, i. p. 129.

[2] Cald.; Spott.

[3] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, i. pp. 58, 59.

attributed to the troubled state of the country, the occupation of the priesthood in political and secular affairs, and the growing hostility of the nobles to the king, who had set up the ecclesiastical authority as a counterpoise to their own. James Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had also grown old and frail, and could no longer exert his energies for the suppression of a cause which was daily growing into more formidable dimensions. But his nephew, David, his assistant, and successor in the primacy, and known in Scottish history as Cardinal Beaton, now stepped forward to prosecute the enterprise, with higher political advantages and greatly superior talents. In 1539, the year of his appointment to the archbishopric, John Keillor, a Black Friar, Dean Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar, John Beveridge, a Black Friar, Sir Duncan Simpson, a regular priest, and Robert Forrester, a gentleman of Stirling, were summoned before a spiritual court held by the cardinal, Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Dunblane. The charge against them was that they were heresiarchs and teachers of heresy; but their special and chief offence was, having assisted at the marriage of a priest, the vicar of Tullibody, and having eaten flesh at his bridal which was held on one of the days of Lent. They were all condemned to die, and were executed upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh on the 28th of February. In teaching what was condemned as heresy Friar Keillor had used a mode of religious instruction that was common during the middle ages to every country in Europe, and of which the reformers both in England and Scotland readily availed themselves. He had devised a dramatic exhibition of Christ's last sufferings, which was presented before the king at Stirling upon a Good Friday; and in this play "all things were so lively expressed that the very simple people understood and confessed, that as the priests and obstinate Pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilate to condemn him, so did the bishops and men called religious blind the people and persuade princes and judges to persecute such as profess Jesus Christ's blessed evangel."[1]

Among these victims whose names have been mentioned, the case of Dean Thomas Forrest deserves particular notice as an interesting history of the training of an early reformer in Scotland, as well as an amiable picture of primitive clerical life. He was of a respectable family of Fifeshire, and his father had been master of the king's stables in the reign of James IV. Having acquired the rudiments of learning in his native country he finished his education at Cologne; and on returning to Scotland still a very zealous papist he became a canon regular of the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. His conversion to the doctrines of the Reformation arose from an unexpected incident. A quarrel having occurred in the monastery upon the kind and amount of daily maintenance to which the brethren were entitled—a not unfrequent subject of controversy between monks and their conventual superiors—the canons of Inch-Colm demanded a sight of the book of their foundation to verify their claims. Their demand was at first complied with; but when it was found that this concession had no effect in stilling the mutiny the book was taken from them by the abbot, who gave them a volume of St. Augustine's works in its stead. "Oh, happy and blessed was that book!" Forrest was afterwards wont to exclaim; for it was by studying it that his eyes were opened to the errors of Popery and enlightened in the knowledge of divine truth. Impatient to impart his happiness to others he communicated his discoveries freely to the brotherhood, and converted several of the young monks, although of the seniors he was obliged to say, "The old bottles would not receive the new wine." He was appointed vicar of Dollar, and there his studies, his simple mode of life, and pastoral labours realized such a fair ideal of the good clergyman as Chaucer or Herbert would have loved to delineate. He usually rose at six in the morning and studied till twelve; and after dinner he resumed his duties till the hour of supper. As his library must have been a scanty one he was indefatigable in the study of the Scriptures in the Vulgate, and especially the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, which he recognized as the best confirmation of the doctrines he held; and so careful was he in this department of his studies, that he usually committed to memory three chapters of the Bible every day, which he repeated to his servant at night, giving him the book to correct him if he went wrong; and at the close of his rehearsal he was wont to raise his hands to heaven and thank God that he had not been idle that day.

While such was his private life the public ministrations of Dean Forrest were in character with this preparation. He was careful to teach his people the ten commandments and the true source of man's salvation; and when the pardoners came to his church, offering remissions for money, he boldly warned his flock against this monstrous traffic which formed such a profitable trade of the priesthood. "Parishioners," he would say, "I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you: there is no pardon for our sins that can come to us from the pope or any other, but only by the blood of

[1] Knox, i. p. 62.

Christ." He penned a short catechism containing a summary of Christian doctrine, which he taught to the young of his parish; and when any ignorant adult visited him he propounded its questions to be answered by some child—an indirect and inoffensive mode of teaching, by which many in that district were brought to the knowledge of religious truth, and not a few persuaded to adopt them. The same earnest, simple, unostentatious character distinguished his round of clerical visitations; and when he went to the houses of the poor it was with his gown-sleeve laden with bread and cheese, which he imparted to them, along with silver from his purse, while he was trying to feed their souls with the bread of life. In the pulpit, also, instead of confining himself to the usual clerical routine, which the laziest could easily undergo, and the most ignorant perform, he preached every Sunday, while the subject of his sermon was usually taken from the portion of Scripture for the day appointed in the service-book of the church. A life so pure and holy, and duties so disinterestedly and devotedly discharged, were enough to mark him out for martyrdom among a brotherhood who felt themselves rebuked by his example, and of this he was forewarned by the Abbot of Inch-Colm, who thus advised him, "Will you say as they say, and keep your mind to yourself and save yourself." To this sordid admonition the answer of Forrest was characteristic: "I thank your lordship; you are a friend to my body, but not to my soul. Before I deny a word which I have spoken you shall see this body of mine blow away first with the wind in ashes."

The anticipated danger was soon more distinctly indicated. Forrest's practice of preaching every Sunday was odious to the Black and Gray Friars, who were now the only preachers of the period, and they accused him to his diocesan, the Bishop of Dunkeld, as a heretic and one who showed the mysteries of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue to make the clergy hated of the people. The easy, indolent, good-natured prelate, who seemed to have no taste for such investigations, and who bore some favour for the accused, resolved to try the effect of expostulation, and for this purpose he summoned the vicar to his presence. "My joy, dean Thomas," he thus began the conference, "I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself." Forrest expressed his gratitude and the bishop thus continued: "My joy, dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday, and that you take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen. And therefore, my joy, dean Thomas, I would that you took your cow and uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good Epistle or any good Gospel that sets forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that and let the rest alone." "My lord," replied the vicar, "I think none of my parishioners will complain that I do not take the cow nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing they have, and I will give and communicate with them anything that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well and there is no discord among us. And whereas your lordship says it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like." "Nay, nay, dean Thomas," cried the alarmed bishop, "let that alone, for we are not ordained to preach." Forrest then continued, "Where your lordship bids me preach when I find any good Epistle or good Gospel—truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them I could never find any evil Epistle or evil Gospel. But if your lordship will show me the good Epistle and the good Gospel, and the evil Epistle and the evil Gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil." The bishop, thus driven beyond his depth, exclaimed with some heat, "I thank God that I never knew what the Old Testament and the New Testament were: I will know nothing but my breviary and mass-book." This strange confession which got abroad became a by-word among the people, who were wont to say to a person of more than usual ignorance, "You are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither the Old Law nor the New." Glad, no doubt, to escape the task of monitor, the prelate abruptly closed the interview with, "Go your way and dismiss all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions you will repent it when you may not mend it." "I trust," replied the vicar, "that my cause is just in the sight of God, and therefore I care little what may follow;" and with this declaration he departed.

He was not, however, thus easily to be freed from inquisition; his perseverance in the path of duty continued unabated, and repeatedly afterwards he was summoned not only before the Bishop of Dunkeld but James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, a still sharper and more merciless inquisitor. His answers, however, were always so effectual that he was dismissed unpunished, until the cardinal had succeeded to his uncle's power and resumed the

work of persecution with more merciless energy than his predecessors. The trial of Forrest before the prelates and churchmen in Edinburgh, after an imprisonment of several weeks, gives a strange picture of the monstrous ignorance of the clergy combined with their cruelty and intolerance. Mr. John Lawder, the accuser, thus produced his charge: "False heretic! thou says it is not leisome to kirkmen to take their teinds, and offerings, and corpse-presents, though we have been in the use of them constituted by the kirk and king, and also our holy father the pope has confirmed the same." "Brother, I said not so," replied the dean; "but I said it was not leisome to kirkmen to spend the patrimony of the kirk as they do, as on whores, riotous feasting, and on fair women, and at playing at cards and at dice, and neither the kirk well maintained nor the people instructed in God's word, neither the sacraments duly ministered to them, as Christ commanded." "Dost thou dare to deny," asked the accuser, "that which is openly known in the country, that thou gave again to thy parishioners the cow and the uppermost cloathes, saying thou hadst no right to them?" "I gave them again to them that had more need of them than I," replied the dean. Lawder, quitting this dangerous ground, proceeded to offences more specific and within the range of punishment. "Thou false heretic! thou taught all thy parishioners to say the Pater Noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, which is contrary to all enactments, that they should know what we say." "Brother," said Forrest, "my people are so rude and ignorant that they understand no Latin, so that my conscience moved me to pity their ignorance, which provoked me to teach them the words of their salvation in English—that is, the Ten Commandments, which are the law of God, whereby they might observe the same. I taught them the Belief, whereby they might know their faith in God and Jesus Christ his Son, and his death and resurrection for them. Moreover, I taught them the Lord's own Prayer in the mother-tongue, to the effect that they should know to whom they should pray, and in whose name they should pray, and what they should ask and desire in prayer, which I believe to be the pattern of all prayer." "Why did you that?" asked Lawder—"by our acts and the ordinances of our holy father the pope?" Forrest replied, "I follow the acts of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the apostle Paul, who saith in his doctrine to the Corinthians that he had rather speak five words to the understanding and edifying of his people than ten thousand in a strange tongue which they understand not." "Where find you that?" cried the accuser. "In my book here in my sleeve," said the dean.

This was enough for the accuser; the crowning proof of his charge was in the court—nay, it was within his reach. He sprang upon the culprit, plucked the Bible from its hiding-place, and held it aloft that all might see it. "Behold, sirs," he cried triumphantly, "he has the book of heresy in his sleeve that makes all the din and plea in our kirk!" "God forgive you, brother," said Dean Forrest; "you could say better if you pleased than to call the book of the evangel of Jesus Christ the book of heresy! I assure you, dear brother, that there is nothing in this book but the life, latter will, and testament of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four Evangelists for our wholesome instruction and comfort." This was nothing to Lawder the accuser. "Knowest thou not, heretic," he sharply demanded, "that it is contrary to our acts and express commands to have a New Testament or Bible in English, which is enough to burn thee for?" There was no need of further trial: the culprit himself had not only carried into their presence the unmistakable symbol of his guilt, but had quoted from it, justified it, and gloried in the offence; and he was sentenced to be burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh along with the other offenders.

When Forrest was brought to the place of execution a certain friar named Arbuckle was in attendance to convert the condemned at their last moments. "Say after me, 'I believe in God,'" said the friar to Forrest. "I believe in God," repeated the latter. "And in our Lady," added the friar. "I believe as our Lady believes," said Forrest. The friar persisted, but was gently answered with, "Cease, tempt me not; I know what I should say as well as you, thanks be to God." Forrest then turned to the people and said, "I never administered the sacraments without saying, 'As the bread entereth into your mouth so shall Christ dwell by lively faith in your hearts.'" Here a jackman rudely stopped him with the cry, "Away, away! we will have no preaching here!" Another, plucking out the Bible which Forrest carried in his bosom and holding it up to the people, exclaimed, "Heresy, heresy!" at which they vociferated, "Burn him, burn him!" Finding that all attempts to address the people would be defeated, the martyr first in Latin and then in English cried with a loud voice, "God be merciful to me a sinner! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" after which he recited the 51st Psalm in Latin. With the amiable simplicity of his character and unconquerable zeal there was blended a keen perception of the ludicrous,

and a demure mode of playing with it which may be said to constitute the chief wit of his countrymen, and which is often exhibited with startling effect in those moments of difficulty and danger when such displays are least expected. Something of this may be detected in his interview with the bishop, and now its last flash was to mingle with the fires of his pile. When he saw the first of his companions strangled and then burned at the stake he said of him, "Yea, he was a wily fellow; he knew there were many hungry folks coming after him, and he went before to cause the supper to be made ready." Thus cheerfully and even jestingly this Scottish Latimer entered the dreadful gate of martyrdom and passed away to the inheritance of the just.[1]

This example of severity in the suppression of heresy exhibited by Cardinal Beaton was not lost upon the prelates; they saw that their superior was terribly in earnest, and that they must follow his steps or underlie his displeasure. In the diocese of Glasgow two offenders against the church were apprehended. These were Jerome Russell, a Gray Friar described by Knox as "a young man of meek nature, quick spirit, and good letters;" and Thomas Kennedy, a youth of the immature age of eighteen years, but even already distinguished by his talent for Scottish poetry. As Gavin Dunbar, the archbishop, was thought somewhat lukewarm in the prosecution of heretics, the cardinal, to quicken his languid zeal, had sent to his assistance three special agents of his own, men whom Knox not unjustly calls "sergeants of Satan," and who were distinguished in the subsequent condemnation of Wishart and Walter Mill. The charges against Russell and Kennedy on their trial were so capital that Kennedy after some discussion was dismayed and about to recant. But his terror was only for a moment: the martyr spirit returned upon him with such a flood of joy that his feelings could only be expressed in devotional thanksgiving and triumph. "O eternal God!" he exclaimed upon his knees, "how wonderful is that love and mercy which thou bearest unto mankind, and to me, the most miserable wretch and caitiff above all others! For even now, when I would have denied thee and thy Son, and so have cast myself into everlasting condemnation, thou by thy own hand hast plucked me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed." Then turning to the judges he said, "Now I defy death; do what you please; I praise my God I am ready." When they railed at Russell the latter meekly replied, "This is your hour and power of darkness; now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused and more wrongfully condemned; but the day shall come when our innocence shall appear and ye shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go forward and fulfil the measure of your iniquity." The archbishop relented and would have spared the accused, but Beaton's assessors were indignant at the proposal. "What will you do, my lord?" they cried; "will you condemn all that the cardinal, the bishops, and we have done? If thus you do, you show yourself an enemy to the church and us, and be assured we shall so repute you." The facile Dunbar yielded to their threats, and the pair were condemned and sentenced to die. When they were led to execution Russell encouraged and comforted his young fellow-sufferer with these words: "Brother, fear not; more mighty is He that is in us than he that is in the world. The pain which we shall suffer is short and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end; therefore let us strive to enter in by the same strait way whereby our Master and Saviour hath entered in before us." Kennedy responded in a similar spirit, and they went to death like conquerors and in triumph.[2]

Soon after the appointment of Cardinal Beaton to the archbishopric of St. Andrews he resolved not only to gratify his vanity but to signalize his zeal for the church, and this he did in the style of a sovereign pontiff. He summoned a great assembly to meet at St. Andrews in May, 1540, composed of the highest both in church and state, and he entered his metropolitan city accompanied with a gorgeous train, in which were the Earls of Arran, Huntly, and Montrose, the Earl Marischal, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Brechin, and Dunblane, and a throng of lords, barons, abbots, priors, deans, and doctors of divinity—a representative meeting of the rank, power, wealth, and learning of the kingdom. This august concourse was assembled in the cathedral church of St. Andrews; and in a chair or throne higher than the rest, on account of rank as cardinal, sat David Beaton. He there harangued his audience on the purpose for which he had convoked them; and after expatiating on the dangers of the church from the increasing boldness of heretics, who vented their opinions freely even in the royal court, where they found too

[1] Calderwood; Knox; Pitscottie, p. 353; Fox's *Martyrology*, p. 1154, fol. Lond. 1596, *et seq.*; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, i. pp. 212–215.

[2] Knox, i. pp. 63–66.

much countenance, he specified the principal offender, who was now to abide his trial. This was Sir John Borthwick, more usually known by the title of Captain Borthwick, one of the sons of William Lord Borthwick who fell in the battle of Flodden, who had been an officer in the French king's guards and was now a favourite servant of James V.[1] The opinions which he was charged with maintaining show how greatly the reverence for the Romish Church had abated, and how much the reforming spirit had increased in little more than twelve years, reckoning from the death of Patrick Hamilton. The opinions which Borthwick was now accused of holding were comprised under the following heads:—

1. The pope has no greater authority in the church than any other bishop.

2. Indulgences and pardons granted by the pope are of no effect, but tend only to deceive the people.

3. It is lawful for bishops and priests to marry.

4. All the heresies commonly called the heresies of England, or at least the greater part of them, are good, conformable to the law of God, and to be observed by all faithful Christians.

5. That the Scottish nation and clergy were blind and did not possess the true faith.

6. That the clergy ought to have no temporal possessions, nor jurisdiction or authority in temporalities even over their own subjects, but that all these things ought to be taken from them as was done in England.

7. That the king ought to appropriate to himself the rents and possessions of the church.

8. That the Church of Scotland ought to be brought to the same state and condition as that of England.

9. That the decrees and canons of the church are of no force or effect, as they are contrary to the law of God.

10. That the orders of monks and friars ought to be abolished as had been done in England.

11. That the pope was a Simoniac, for that he sold spiritual things.

12. That he (Borthwick) had in his possession, and also communicated to others, heretical books, and such as were prohibited by law; as the New Testament in English, the writings of Melancthon, Erasmus, Œcolampadius, &c.

13. That he refused to acknowledge the Roman see, or be subject to its authority.

For all these opinions and many others which Sir John had "spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught," he was denounced both as a heretic and heresiarch, while his recommendation of the example of Henry VIII. to his own sovereign evidently constituted his chief offence. It was from this example, so alluring to the poverty of the Scottish king, that the chief danger arose, and which the cardinal and his brethren were so anxious to counteract. Accordingly, had Borthwick been present, neither his rank nor the royal patronage would have saved him from the stake. But aware of this he had absconded, and all that could be done was to pronounce sentence upon him as if he had been convicted. Accordingly all his property was confiscated, and all persons were interdicted from receiving, sheltering, or supporting him on pain of forfeiture and excommunication. Should he be apprehended he was to suffer the punishment of death, and in the meantime he was to be burnt in effigy. This sentence was pronounced on the 28th of May, and on the same day the latter part of it was carried into execution by committing a picture of him to the flames. In the meantime Sir John fled to England, and there published an answer to the sentence, in which he explained and justified his opinions. His reputation and talents were recognized by Henry VIII. in employing him as his envoy to negotiate an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany in defence of their common faith; and in 1561, when the Reformation was established in Scotland, his sentence was reversed, in consequence of which he returned home, and died some years afterwards at a good old age in St. Andrews.[2]

Thus far the experiment of religious persecution had been tried, and as usual had only proved a failure: the opinions thus rudely assailed were only strengthened by the storm, while each case of martyrdom had only stimulated inquiry, and widened the range of conviction. Every active and aspiring mind, every bold and generous heart, had an appeal addressed to it from dying but triumphant voices, and the persecutors were astonished to find that every attempt of extirpation only produced a more abundant harvest. It seemed, indeed, as if the ashes of every pile rose up into living antagonists to make the task of destruction more laborious and hopeless. Nor was this new movement confined, as at the outset, to men of humble rank and little political influence. At the close of the present period a stir was commencing among the higher orders, from which a similar increase might be apprehended. Of these converts of rank the chief were the Earl of Glencairn, his son, Lord Kilmaurs, the Earl of Errol, Lord Ruthven, Lord Henry Stuart, the husband of Margaret, the

[1] Spottiswood, i. p. 138.

[2] Spottiswood, i. 138, 139; Calderwood, i.

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widow of James IV., while a still greater number, though not yet converts, were regarding the coming reformation with approbation and sympathy. But having adopted their course the king and Beaton, instead of being warned and deterred by these symptoms, only persisted in the attempt of destruction, until the ruin had recoiled upon their own heads. The desperate device of establishing an inquisition, with the infamous Sir James Hamilton for its director, and the final resolution to cut off all the nobles and gentry who favoured the Reformation and enrich the crown with their confiscated property, were not only too late to be practicable, but too dangerous to be tried, and their effect was to accelerate the coming of that religious revolution which gentler measures might have delayed if not defeated. Not only the king but the Popery of Scotland received their death-blow in the rout of Solway.

In perusing the history of James V. we are compelled at every step to regret that a sovereign so frank, chivalrous, and talented, and so sincere in his desire for the welfare of his people, should have devoted himself to a cause not only so worthless in itself, but so incapable of renovation—and we think how differently it might have fared with him, had he placed himself at the head of that new religious movement which a few years were sufficient to mature and establish. But, in justice to his memory, the peculiarities of his position must be taken into account. His royal authority was of very limited extent compared with that of the King of England, while the principles of the Reformation had not made the same progress in his dominions as in those of his more fortunate uncle. Externally the national church was as strong and flourishing as ever, while the commencement of the Reformation seemed but an insignificant revolt that might be suppressed without difficulty or danger. No ordinary political sagacity could have foreseen that in so short a time the hierarchy would be superseded, and their gorgeous edifices laid low by the sermons of a few monks and the prelections of a handful of schoolmen. Smarting during his minority under the arrogance of the nobles, whom he resolved from that moment to suppress, James, when he ascended the throne, found the chief offices of the state in the hands of churchmen; and he recognized in their wealth, influence, political experience, and compact union among themselves, the power with which he might best confront the nobility and reduce them to order and obedience. And little could he be afterwards expected to follow the example of the King of England, when Henry dictated the lesson with the authority of a master and threatened him with chastisement as the consequence of non-compliance. His choice was therefore apparently a wise one when he adopted the prelates for his counsellors, and stood forth as the champion of the church against all who assailed it. The effect of his choice has been recorded in the history of his reign and death. It was not through kingly authority that the Reformation of Scotland was to be established, and it was not on the favour of kings that it was afterwards to place its dependence.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF SOCIETY (1488–1542).

Natural advantages of Scotland contrasted with its poverty—Causes of the slowness of improvement—Agriculture of the country—Its impediments—Major's account of the agricultural classes—Clerical imposts on the agriculturists—Caupes and extorted benevolences of the landlords—Commerce—Promise of its advance under James IV.—His enactments in favour of commerce—Scottish fisheries—Attempts to promote them—Commerce of the country under James V.—National coinage of the period—Gold mines of Crawford Moor—Their failure—The boroughs—Laws in favour of the boroughs—State of the crafts—Poverty and pride of the boroughs—Visit of Queen Margaret to Aberdeen—Her splendid and costly reception—The city of Edinburgh—Privileges conferred on it—Its growth—Its condition in the sixteenth century—Description of the city by Dunbar and Lyndsay—The trades of Edinburgh—Its civic feuds—Sanitary regulations of the period—Administration of law in Scotland—Justice-ayres—Interruptions to the course of justice—Establishment of new courts of law—Delays in civil litigation—Forms at the opening of justice-ayres—Offences tried at them—Execution of justice on the Borders—Border wardens and lieutenants—Their compacts with the Border chiefs for the maintenance of order—Difficulties in administering justice on the Borders—Responsibility of landlords and chiefs for their dependants—Capital punishments—Trial by combat—Feuds and feud-fights—Their sanguinary and violent character—The Highlands—Condition and habits of the Highlanders—Accounts of them by Major and Elder—Entrance of the Gypsies into Scotland—Interposition of James IV. in their behalf—Progress of military arts—Obstacles that retarded them—Their transition state—Parliamentary enactments for military musters and the weapons and armour of the several classes—Abortive attempts to improve the archery of Scotland—Firearms of the period—Different kinds of artillery—Parliamentary enactments to promote skill in the use of firearms—Rash device proposed for fortifying the Scottish Borders—Chivalrous sports—Encouragement given to them by James IV.—Combat between a Dutch and Scottish knight—Gradual decline of chivalrous exercises—Ridiculous joust of Watson and Barbour—Public pageants—Mystery plays—Moralities—First Scottish morality play—Acting of Lyndsay's *Three Estates*—Poverty and rudeness of the dramatic exhibitions—Sports of the church festivals—King of the Bean—Abbot of Unreason—Robin Hood—Morris-dancing—Costume of the morris-dancers—Active sports—Horse-racing—Hurley-hacket—Bickering the castle—In-door sports—Masking, mumming, and dancing—Chess and tennis—Cards and dice—Fools or zanies—Dwarfs, &c.—Dress and costume of the period—Attire and ornaments of the king and nobles—New courtiers of the period—Predominant extravagance in dress—Female attire and ornaments—Extravagance of long skirts in the dresses of the ladies—Female dress among the commons—Houses and home life—The palace of Holyrood—Its furniture and banqueting—Rude manners of the high in rank—Domestic occupations of the ladies—Their houses and furniture—Houses and accommodations of the commons—Their meats and drinks—General rudeness of conversation—Prevalence of the practice of swearing—Enactment to suppress it—Profligacy of the period—Causes of its prevalence—The fine arts—Early church music of Scotland—Abundance of instrumental music and musicians—Uncertainty of inquiries into early Scottish music—State of music during the present period—Painting—Learning of Scotland at this period—The universities—Establishment of the King's College at Aberdeen—Learned men—Hector Boece—John Bellenden—John Major—Alexander Aless—Florence Wilson—George Buchanan—Symptoms in the learning of the period of a coming reformation in the church—Poets—Number of the Scottish poets at this time as compared with those of England—Their powerful influence on the Reformation—Blind Harry the Minstrel—William Dunbar—His poems and character of his poetry—Gavin Douglas—His poems and translation of Virgil—Robert Henryson—His fables and pastoral—Sir David Lyndsay—His early history—His attacks on the vices of the clergy—His adherence to the Reformation—His poems and their character.

In his poem of *The Dream* Sir David Lyndsay, after he has made the universal tour and arrived in Scotland, asks, Why is this country so poor? With its seas so abundant in fish, the pasturages of its mountains, its valleys so fitted for fruitful harvests, its rich, pleasant, and life-teeming rivers, its fair lakes, its hunting-grounds so adapted for hawking and the chase, its forests full of roes, deer, and hinds, its mines of the precious metals, and above all, its brave, hardy, ingenious, industrious people—how is it that such a land is still so unproductive, and its population so destitute? His conductor, Dame Remembrance, answers the question. She assures him that the fault lies neither in the soil nor the inhabitants, but the want of justice, peace, and good government. A good government cannot have place where justice does not punish offenders, and justice cannot predominate where peace does not abide. Both question and answer were a natural comment upon the past and present internal history of Scotland. The best of its kings had failed in being its reformers because their power was not equal to their purpose; and the laws were of little avail as long as parties existed who were too powerful for their coercions. The decrees of the parliaments, acting upon the natural advantages of the country

and the aptitudes of its people, would by this time have made Scotland rich and prosperous, had it not been that those whose temporary advantage was opposed to such a change were powerful enough to bid defiance to the laws, or silence them amidst the din and confusion of internal warfare.

These preliminary remarks will suffice to account for the brief space that must still be allotted to the history of Scottish agriculture. No advance appears as yet to have been made in it either in extent or productiveness; and for this the general state of the kingdom and the tenure by which the farms were held, will sufficiently account. When the lords and barons were not employed in a profitable war with England, by which they could maintain their feudal style of living and numerous retainers, their only resource was to fall back upon their agricultural tenantry, whom they assessed without mercy or moderation. The farms also, instead of being held for a length of time, were for the most part leased only from year to year; and even the annual renewal of the lease was accompanied with a heavy renewal fine under the name of *grassum*, which was exacted from the impoverished occupant. In consequence of these and other oppressive imposts the unfortunate farmer, let him be as industrious as he might, had neither interest to improve his land nor capital for attempting it, while at other times his duties of feudal service left him little leisure either for the study or the practice of agriculture. It may easily be supposed, also, that when his chief consequence was derived from his military character he was more frequently in the saddle than at the plough, and that his hand took more readily to the sword than the spade. A belligerent peasantry can scarcely be industrious; and when they find that they can reap where they have not sowed, they will prefer the fruits of a foray to the patient cultivation of their fields.

A short but clear account of the agricultural classes of this period is given in John Major's *History of Britain*. He tells us that the houses of the farmers were small and mean, in consequence of the short leases, which were generally annual, or at most for four or five years, according to the pleasure of the landlord. Though stone, therefore, was abundant, the tenants had no inducement to build for themselves good commodious houses, plant trees and hedges, and enrich the soil with manures. This, he reasonably adds, was a loss to the kingdom at large, as by granting permanent leases the land would produce twice or thrice as much as it did, and the landlords be enriched with larger rents, while the rural districts would be ornamented with good handsome farmhouses, and the homicides occasioned by ejectments be avoided.[1] By this last allusion, which he makes as to a circumstance well known and understood, we find that the barbarous practice of former periods was still continued, and that he who took a farm over the head of a former tenant might have to forfeit life itself in addition to the usual *grassum*. He afterwards states that the farmers, instead of cultivating the ground, left the work to be done by their hinds, preferred to ride in the train of their landlord and fight in his quarrels whether right or wrong. The whole account shows that the agriculturists as yet were in a state little better than that of absolute *villeinage*. This yoke would have been intolerable, but for the strong feudal feeling of the tenants for their landlords, and the unsettled military spirit produced by it, under which they looked down upon manufactures with contempt and upon the inhabitants of cities as spiritless and effeminate.[2]

But it was not merely by the oppressive exactions of their landlords that the farmers were impoverished and their industry paralyzed. Even worse than these were the imposts of the clergy, from which no hut or hovel, however mean, could escape. To one of these clerical exactions called the corpse-present we have had occasion to advert in a former chapter. When a peasant died the coverlet of his bed, or his best article of clothing, and a cow were claimed by the priest of the parish, and this not on the authority of law, for which there was none in the canons, but from mere consuetude. In the *Three Estates* of Sir David Lyndsay, under one of his characters whom he calls Pauper, we have a sketch of these inflictions. This peasant had a comfortable home, and also three cows and a horse; and with these he was able to support his aged parents who were past work, and also his own wife and children. But with the death of his helpless parents his impoverishment commenced. As soon as the old father died the landlord carried off the horse, as his *heregild* or fine which he was wont to levy on the death of a tenant, and after him came the vicar, who took possession of the best cow. The mother died, and the second cow, as the due of the vicar, went after the first. In consequence of these bereavements Pauper's wife died broken-hearted, and the third cow was seized by the vicar, who also carried off the poor woman's gown, which was of raploch gray. Being thus stripped of everything the poor man was unable to pay the regular tithes of the church,

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[1] *Historia Majoris Britanniæ*, &c., per Joannem Majorem, lib. i. cap. vi.

[2] Ibid. lib. i. c. viii.

and for this crime he was excommunicated and driven with his children to beg upon the highway.

From the repeated enactments of the legislature we can learn the other grievances to which the cultivators of the soil were exposed. One of these was the exaction of *caupes*, which was extensively practised, especially in Galloway and the district of Carrick. These caupes were pretended rights of the heads of noble families, by which, as the descendants of the owners of the soil, they extorted horses and cattle from the peasantry at pleasure; and as such claims had no foundation in right they were only the more undefined and unlimited, and the more rigorously enforced. Against these arrogant extortions parliament was compelled to interpose, and by two statutes passed in 1488 and 1489 the claim was abrogated and the practice denounced.[1] But while these impositions were practised by the gentry a still higher flight was sometimes made by the more powerful of the nobility, who in travelling, or even for mere caprice, would quarter themselves upon the monasteries and religious establishments without leave asked or obtained. They probably thought that what their ancestors had given away they were free to resume, and that they had a good right to hospitality in those fair buildings which their fathers had founded and endowed. We find an instance of a visitation of the kind in 1524. On this occasion the Earls of Lennox and Angus dismayed the Abbot of Paisley with the intimation that they meant to keep their Christmas at his monastery with two hundred in their company, and use everything there according to their liberty and pleasure.[2] While monasteries were thus invaded, and their well-filled larders emptied, the cottage of the husbandman in its lowly degree was subject to similar invasions. This was from men whom the statute called "masterful beggars," men of able body, whose chief badge of office was a club or heavy staff shod with iron, who travelled often in company, and could compel the charity and hospitality that might have reasonably been denied them. Besides the enactments for the protection of agriculture from such noble and ignoble caterpillars, we find others of a more general character to the same effect. Lands which fell into ward were not to be injured, and the tenants, labourers, and other inhabitants were not liable to be removed till the expiration of the yearly lease at the ensuing Whitsunday. Instruments of agriculture were not to be distrained during the season of tillage. The practice of forestalling grain was prohibited under the penalty of forfeiting the whole stock; and the sale of grain was permitted on all the days of the week as well as the usual market-day. In 1522 it was enacted that the heirs of those tenants who fell in battle should be entitled to enter the farms of their fathers without the payment of *grassum*, and should only be liable for the rent and discharge of the usual duties and services. Such were some of the principal acts of parliament in favour of the agricultural classes; and where the landlord's interests coincided with them, or when he was not strong enough to resist them, we may suppose that their authority was recognized.

The reign of James IV. promised the commencement of a new and prosperous era to the commerce of the kingdom. Hitherto, as we have seen, its progress had been slow, chiefly owing to the poverty of native produce and want of manufactures, while constant wars and the exclusive ascendency of the upper classes were unfavourable to the industrial spirit and inventive genius of the people. But the wonderful naval superiority obtained by Wood and the Bartons that made the Scottish flag respected in every sea, and the genius of the young king which was devoted to navigation and ship-building, seemed the earnest of a new life in every department of naval adventure. Even the rich prizes captured from the Portuguese were enough to stimulate the national enterprise, animated as it was by poverty and inferior to no country in hardihood and daring. Why should not Scotland be as successful as Portugal, and James IV. be the rival of the illustrious Prince Henry? But Scottish ships were not to double the Cape of Good Hope any more than those of England were to discover the New World of America. To both kingdoms these chances lay equally open, as it seemed, during the present period; and happily, perhaps, for both, they passed away into other hands. Without resources to follow up her naval superiority, that advantage was lost to Scotland as soon as it had been won, and the fleet which she was not rich enough to maintain was allowed to rot in the French harbours.

In the first parliament held by James IV. in 1488 we perceive a provident care, according to the knowledge of the times, in behalf of the interests of commerce; and for this purpose it was enacted that all trading ships should only arrive at the free boroughs of Dumbarton, Ayr, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Renfrew, and in these ports conduct their traffic. It was further decreed that the foreign ships arriving there should purchase no fish except such as were

[1] *Acts of the Scottish Parliaments*, ii. pp. 214–222.

[2] Letter of Dr. Magnus to Cardinal Wolsey from Edinburgh, 22d December, 1524.

salted and barrelled, nor buy any other merchandise except at free boroughs, where they were to pay their duties and customs and take their cockets. They were especially forbidden to carry on any merchandise at the island of Lewis or any part of the mainland except those boroughs.[1] In this restriction we perceive an attempt to prevent all contraband trade on the western coast, where so many facilities would have been found to elude the duties and carry on a trade of smuggling. The same session was distinguished for an unwise attempt to bring bullion into the country in preference to those substantial commodities of which gold and silver are but the representatives. For this purpose it was decreed that merchants exporting Scottish commodities for sale shall "for the good of the realm" import in return for each serplaith of wool, each last of salmon, or each four hundred[2] of cloth, four ounces of burnt [fine] silver. For each last of hides he was to import six ounces, and for each last of herrings two ounces of silver. In this last obligation we perceive that the herring-fishery of Scotland was beginning to be recognized as a subject of some importance.

As the Scottish merchandise, poor and limited though it still was, had some temptations for fraudulent practices, foreign traders who arrived in the country and took up their residence at Leith and other ports often attempted to ship their goods without payment of the regular dues. It was therefore enacted in 1493 that such persons on their arrival should take up their lodging at the principal inn of the port, that they should enter no goods on board but such as had passed the custom-house and clerks of the cocket, and that their landlords should be answerable for whatever might be shipped contrary to this regulation.[3]

The Netherlands being still the chief market of Scottish commerce, the attention of the legislature was directed to the interests of our numerous traders resident in that quarter. This was especially demanded in consequence of the trouble and expense to which they were exposed in referring the settlement of all their pleas to the tribunal of the mother country and awaiting its arbitration. To remedy this inconvenience a conservator was appointed for these foreign ports by an act of parliament passed in 1503. His duties were to protect the Scottish mercantile interests in the Netherlands and decide the controversies that might arise among the merchants of his own country, and for this purpose he was to hold his court with six or at least four assessors. That he might be responsible for his decisions and the exercise of his authority it was further decreed, that either personally or by attorney, he should annually give an account of his administration to the authorities at home.[4]

At the commencement of this period the Scottish fisheries appear to have been regarded as an important source of national profit, so that not only James IV. and the principal nobles encouraged them but had their own fishing vessels and partook of the benefits of the traffic. It was a successful result of these provident enactments which the parliaments had repeatedly made for the encouragement and protection of these fisheries, the building of vessels adapted to the trade, and the necessary regulations respecting fish-curing and barrelling. This was especially perceptible in an act of 1498, passed by the Lords of Articles, in the preamble of which they advert to "the great innumerable riches that is tint [lost] through fault of ships and busses," from their being ill managed and unfit for such service. It was then decreed that proper vessels should be constructed for the trade in all the boroughs and towns of the realm; that they should be at least of twenty tons burden; that they should be well manned and furnished with nets and all other apparatus necessary for fishing; and that all these ships and busses should be ready to set off to sea by the next Fastern's-even. But this, though stringent and specific, was not all. The magistrates were authorized to compel "all stark and idle men within their bounds" to man these vessels on being offered the regular wages; and should they on the first instance refuse they were to be banished from the borough, and on their second refusal to be banished from the shire also.[5] But this department, from which such a harvest of national prosperity was to be reaped, was soon thrown into abeyance: the Scottish naval superiority being lost, the Dutch extended their fisheries to our coasts and retained possession until they were dislodged at a late period, and after a hard and hostile struggle. This abandonment of our ocean wealth is often regretfully mentioned among the deplorations of succeeding Scottish writers, who saw the evil but were unable to suggest a remedy.

The reign of James V. exhibits little of commercial interest, being chiefly occupied in that department with the re-enactment of old statutes, some of which were indicative of the im-

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 209.
[2] It is uncertain whether goods or prices are meant here.
[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 234.
[4] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 252.
[5] Ibid. p. 235.

perfect navigation, and others characterized by the narrow spirit of a rude and early age. Among these was an old law of James II., renewed in 1535, that no ship should be freighted to set sail between St. Simon's and St. Jude's Day and Candlemas, and that no ship should be freighted to Flanders more than twice a year.[1] The first part of this regulation was a humane interposition in behalf of our mariners at those seasons when the weather of the Scottish coasts is especially stormy and dangerous; but the love of gain overcame the fear of risk, and there were traffickers who would brave both the storms and the prohibition, as we learn from the following angry verses of Lyndsay when he speaks of merchants who,

> "Quhen God has send them abundance,
> Ar nocht content with sufficiance;
> But sailis into the stormy blastis
> In winter, to get greater castis
> In mony terribill great torment,
> Against the acts of parliament."[2]

It was a false humanity, as this battling with the storms was a necessity for the improvement of navigation and the extension of commerce. Under such a cautious spirit America would have remained undiscovered to the present day.

As the commerce was still so limited a brief notice of the national coinage may suffice. In the parliament of 1488 held on the accession of James IV. a new coinage was decreed, of which the principal piece of money was a gold coin to be equal in size, weight, and fineness to a French crown, having the royal arms on one side, with the imprint above them of "Jacobus Quartus, Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum," and on the other an impress of the young king seated on a chair wearing a long robe, and the motto, "Salvum fac Populum tuum Domine," and this piece to be of the value of fourteen shillings. Another coin was a silver penny which was to be equal in material to an English groat, ten of them to weigh an ounce and a half, and each to be of the value of fourteenpence. Half-groats of half the weight were to be struck of the value of sevenpence.[3] By the same act the obligation of the merchant to bring bullion into the kingdom in proportion to the goods he exported was repeated. In the reign of James V. the coinage of the kingdom was so greatly improved in appearance as to be equal to the best in Europe. A variety was also introduced into it, for while there was only one gold coin during the previous reign three were now struck and sent into circulation. During the minority of James V. the national coinage was so frequently vitiated that its value fluctuated; and while the Earl of Angus usurped the direction of affairs we learn from Pitscottie that a large groat was in circulation, commonly called the Douglas Groat, which passed for eighteenpence Scotch or fourpence-halfpenny English.

When the same error had prevailed in the richest kingdoms it was not wonderful that in so poor a country as Scotland the mere symbol should be mistaken for the substance it represented, and from this delusion arose the repeated enactments of the period for bringing in the precious metals from abroad and preventing their departure. But not content with these edicts, James IV., whose intellect was singularly active and inquisitive, was easily persuaded that the soil of Scotland, so barren in other respects, was rich in veins of gold and silver. This prepossession was flattered by his foreign physician, Damian, who inspired the king with such a passion for alchemy that he had his laboratory and furnace at Stirling, where he toiled like a blacksmith in search of the grand magisterium. Of this circumstance frequent notices occur in the list of royal household expenses. He also opened the mines of Crawford Moor, in which gold was actually found; and although the discovery scarcely repaid the expense of search, it was enough for the excitement of hope and the continuation of the enterprise. In the meantime Damian did not go unrewarded, for although actually an empyric and reputed a wizard, he was appointed Abbot of Tongland in Galloway. That the poor man, like other empirics of his day, had duped himself as well as others, was evident from the fact of his attempting to play the dangerous part of Dædalus and undertaking to fly to France on wings of his own construction. The result of his soaring ambition, which was an inglorious tumble and a broken limb on the first wafture of his pinions, has been mentioned in another part of our history. He did not, however, fall out of the royal favour, for the king still retained him as his instructor in the art of multiplying gold. Nor was James IV. singular among the kings and great ones of the day in this delusion, as we find that his very prudent father-in-law, Henry VII., was, in at least one instance, duped into a similar attempt. In his joint experiments with Damian James appears to have spared no cost, and in the entries of his treasurer, besides gratuities to the abbot, some costly chemicals from abroad are mentioned among his disbursements for the discovery of the *quinta essentia*. Not only gold coins also were required by the abbot for his cupola, but

[1] *Acts of Scot. Par.* ii. pp. 348, 349.
[2] Sir D. Lyndsay's *Three Estates*.
[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 213.

on one occasion we find a suspicious item of a puncheon of wine sent in the same direction. Although James V. does not appear to have been an alchemist like his father, he continued the working of the mines in Crawford Moor, in which three hundred workmen, chiefly Dutchmen and foreigners, were employed; and besides specimens of the ores which were sent as presents to foreign countries he had twelve ounces of Crawford Moor gold wrought into his crown. It is well known, however, that the attempt was ultimately a costly failure, and that the chief profit derived from it was the assurance, for the benefit of posterity, that the best wealth of Scotland was not to be found in its veins of gold and silver.

Although the impediments upon the progress of trade were still so numerous and oppressive the boroughs were gradually growing in importance, while the statutes enacted for the regulation of their affairs gave evidence that this growth was rightly appreciated. In a parliament held in 1491 it was decreed that the common property of all the boroughs within the realm should be spent for their common good, the revenues of each being expended for its own advantage; that its property in fishings, farms, mills, and other possessions should not be leased for a term of more than three years, and that if any had been otherwise let the contract should be no longer binding.[1] It was also enacted at the same session that no public meetings should be held in boroughs except by the order of the chief magistrate; that no man dwelling within a borough should be bound by man-rent to follow any one in war except the king, the royal lieutenant, or lord of the borough; and that in the prosecution of lawsuits none should be allowed to seek the aid of the powerful gentry to landward for the purpose of overawing justice or obtaining a favourable verdict.[2] As it was found that the deacons of certain crafts were wont to exact a tax or price from workmen of their own profession for the liberty of selling their wares at the Monday market, it was enacted in 1493, that the impost should cease, and also, that masons and carpenters should not charge for such holidays more than for any other day.[3] Even already the crafts had been binding themselves into separate self-regulated governments, while their deacons had been growing into an oligarchy that was dangerous to the common welfare. The other statutes of this period respecting the regulation of the boroughs we shall not particularly specify. From these we learn that their magistrates were to be chosen annually; that these magistrates had authority to regulate the charges of workmen and the prices of the markets; and that their chief trouble consisted in keeping down the extortionate prices of the craftsmen, in which they were too often unsuccessful. These unwarrantable practices were so common and so grievous that they had become fair game for the satirist, and accordingly, in the *Three Estates*, Lyndsay introduces in one sweeping condemnation the weavers, clothiers, millers, butchers, tailors, brewers, barbers, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and goldsmiths as guilty of this crying iniquity. Notwithstanding the attempts of the legislature also to emancipate the boroughs from the control of the chief nobleman or landed gentleman in their neighbourhood, this feudal and aristocratical predominance, in consequence of the slow progress of commerce, and the disesteem in which the mercantile classes were held, continued over the close of this period, and became a powerful weapon in the hands of the lords of the congregation, when Popery was to be overthrown, and the Reformation established in spite of court and priesthood.

The other particulars which we can learn of the boroughs are few and unimportant. By a decree of 1504 none were to be appointed to the magistracy of the borough towns except resident merchants; and no persons were permitted to trade or sell wine, wax, silk, spices, stuffs, or staple goods except free men of the boroughs. It was also ordained in 1504 that no markets or fairs should be held on saints' days, nor in any case in churches or churchyards. From one of the military statutes we learn that Scottish merchants in contrast to those of England and the Continent were still so very poor, that those among them who had £100 were reckoned wealthy. In consequence of this poverty the representatives of boroughs, far from seeking the honour of a seat in parliament, grudged the cost and trouble of attendance, and thought that they should be paid for it. To this thrifty repugnance a sly allusion is made in the play of the *Three Estates*.

But whatever might be the poverty of the boroughs it seldom failed to be accompanied with the usual pride, and the manner in which this was displayed upon great occasions was sufficiently ludicrous. This was the case with Aberdeen, next to Edinburgh the most important city in Scotland, when Queen Margaret purposed to visit it in royal state in the year 1511. As soon as her intention was announced the magistrates bestirred themselves to make their city worthy of her arrival and their own dignity, and the public bellman was sent to warn the citizens on the removal of those nuisances that

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 227.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 234.

kept possession of the public streets. Among these were the dunghills upon the Foregate, and before the gates and the doors of their houses, and the owners were to "devoid, redd, and clenge the same" under penalty of forty shillings. All the swine-sties were also to be removed from the High Street, and their inmates to be kept in durance until the visit was over under a penalty of eight shillings, and having the swine escheated. Other decrees for cleansing and adorning the town and preparing for the important advent were also proclaimed, by the expense of which the city funds were impoverished for some time afterwards; but upon this the town-council did not stickle, as they were resolved to receive her majesty "as honourably as any burgh in Scotland, except Edinburgh allenarly."[1] And, certes, they kept their word, as Dunbar, who was an eye-witness, has testified in a poem worthy of the occasion. The queen was met a short distance from the town by the burghers in their bravest array. Four lusty young gallants dressed in velvet gowns, advanced with a "pall" of crimson velvet under which the queen took her seat, and on this movable throne was carried to the city amidst salvoes of artillery. When she reached the gate she was welcomed by another fair procession in caps of gold and silk; and the streets through which she passed were hung with tapestry, and enlivened with goodly pageants devised in the spirit of the times. There was the salutation of the Virgin, accompanied with the "sounds of minstrels blowing to the sky." Next was presented a pageant of the wise men of the East doing homage to the infant Saviour. Then succeeded the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise "with the sword of violence;" and finally an august figure of the heroic Bruce, riding on horseback, with a crown royal on his head. After these popular displays was a procession of twenty-four young maidens of marvellous beauty, all clothed in green, their hair at full length streaming like threads of gold, and with white hats bravely embroidered, playing on timbrels and singing right sweetly; and at the cross the fountains ran abundantly with wine. Then came the public gift, which was worthy of the town and its large-hearted citizens:—

> "Ane riche present they did till hir propyne,
> Ane costlie coup, that large thing wold contene,
> Coverit, and full of cunyeitt gold rycht fyne:—
> Be blythe and blissful, Burgh of Aberdeen!"

The golden contents of the cup were a present of two hundred pounds of the current coin of the realm. After this grandeur had passed away, and when Aberdeen sat down to count the cost, she doubtless was "blythe and blissful" at such an expenditure by which the proud capital itself had been fairly equalled.

Passing with these notices the boroughs of Scotland and the towns that represented them, we may pause for a moment at Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom. This we may the more especially do, as the city had now acquired, although somewhat of the latest, the chief characteristics of a metropolis and capital. In consequence of its loyal services James III. had committed its local jurisdiction into the hands of its own magistrates, with the power of life and death within its own bounds. He bestowed upon the craftsmen their famous banner called the Blue Blanket, the heraldic bearings of which were embroidered by the hands of his queen, Margaret of Denmark. He also conferred upon the city a right to all the customs of the haven and harbour of Leith, with the proprietorship of the neighbouring coast, and all the roads belonging to it. In addition to these advantages it became in the subsequent reign a permanent royal residence. Hitherto the kings of Scotland had resided at the Abbey of Holyrood as the guests of the abbot; but James IV. built the palace close to the abbey, of which palace the only portion now existing is the vaulted gateway to the abbey court, the south wall, and a few fragments that can only now be detected by the eye of the antiquary. But however stately the walls may have been they were still surmounted by tokens of the national poverty and rudeness, if we may believe the testimony of Dunbar, who calls the building "a kirk scantily covered with heather." A thatched palace was not calculated to impress foreigners with the idea of the regal grandeur of a Scottish royal residence. James V., although he resided there only occasionally, added to it the north-west towers.

As a place of strength Edinburgh had not been capable of offering much resistance, if we except its castle, which had more than once held out after the city was in possession of the enemy. The national confidence in ramparts of stout hearts and brave men instead of stone and mortar seems to have predominated in respect to Edinburgh until 1450, when, immediately after the battle of Sark, the city was inclosed within fortified walls. These stretched along the south declivity of the ridge on which the older parts of the town are built, crossed the West Bow, at that time the principal entrance to Edinburgh, and terminated at the east end of the North Loch. Although the city, thus cooped within its defences, continued to increase, it was upward,

[1] Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 63.

not laterally; and story continued to be piled upon story as the people grew and multiplied, until at last inordinately high houses, each crowded with numerous families, became the civic characteristics. This boundary, however, was extended by the erection of a second wall immediately after the battle of Flodden; and at the same time, for the purposes of internal peace and security, twenty-four men were appointed for the standing watch of Edinburgh. This was the origin of the town-guard, afterwards enlarged by the regent Moray, and which only died out in the beginning of the present century.

While Edinburgh was thus rising, not in extent but height, a circumstance occurred that was scarcely conducive to the improvement of its architecture. On the 6th of October, 1508, James IV. empowered the magistrates to let in feu-farm their common lands called the Borough Muir, and the swamp called the Common Mire. In consequence of this grant the ground was cleared; but so numerous were the large trees felled for the purpose, that the magistrates were at a loss to find purchasers for the timber. To promote its sale it was enacted by the town-council that whoever purchased such a quantity of the wood as might front his dwelling anew, should be allowed to extend it seven feet into the street. This mode of enlarging their dwellings was found so cheap and tempting, that in a short time the principal streets were wonderfully narrowed, the house-walls of solid stone were masked with a casement of timber, and wooden galleries arose in such close approximation that at last the inhabitants on the opposite sides of a street might almost shake hands from their respective windows. "The High Street," says Maitland, "was reduced fourteen feet in its breadth; and the buildings which before had stonern fronts were now converted into wood, and the burgh into a wooden city."

A closer inspection of Edinburgh at this period would have been difficult for those of the present day, but for a few allusions in the poems of Dunbar, and especially in that addressed to "The merchants of Edinburgh;" and, although severe and satirical, his remarks were as appeals to well-known facts and complaints of abuses that needed reformation. No one, he declared, could enter one of the principal gates of the city without being well nigh overpowered with the stench of haddocks and skates, the clamours of disputation, and the screaming of scolding women. The outer stairs of the houses projected into the streets like those of no other country, darkening the apartments within. At the High Cross, the grand centre of the capital, where gold and silk should have been the chief articles of mercantile display, nothing was sold but curds and milk, while at the neighbouring Tron the chief vendibles were cockles, welks, tripe, and puddings. Amidst all this din the city music was so little encouraged that no song was heard from the minstrels except two, the one entitled "Now the day dawis," and the other, "Into June." To how late a period this musical monotony was continued, ears that are still living can bear witness. The best of the streets were occupied by tailors, shoemakers, and men of low crafts, while the merchants were driven to the Stinking Style—a passage, the chief quality of which may be guessed from its name, that led through the Luckenbooths to St. Giles's Church. Here and around the buttresses of the church the booths and krames were clustered so thick and close, that in the expressive words of the poet the merchants were "hampered in a honey-comb." As for the principal streets, besides their ordinary frequenters they swarmed with beggars, who annoyed honest people with their importunity and dolorous appeals, so that it was difficult to make way through the crooked, the blind, and the lame who blocked up the public thoroughfares. While such were the necessary abuses of one of the poorest and dirtiest capitals of Europe during the fifteenth century, it must be remembered that there still existed in it an amount of substantial worth which gave promise of a better day. Accordingly Sir David Lyndsay, as truthful and bitter a satirist as Dunbar, gives the following honourable testimony of the city in his *Complaint of the Papingo*, written in 1530:—

> "Adieu Edinburgh, thou high triumphant town,
> Within whose bounds right blytheful have I been,
> Of true merchandise, the root of this regioun,
> Most ready to receive Court, King, and Queen.
> Thy policy and justice may be seen:—
> Were devotion, wisdom, and honesty,
> And credence tint, they might be found in thee."

Among the trades practised at this time in Edinburgh Dunbar throws together in his rhymes coiners (or workmen of the mint), carvers, carpenters, ship-builders, masons, shipwrights, glaziers, goldsmiths, lapidaries, printers, painters, and pottingars. These were the occupations most necessary for a capital with a port in its neighbourhood. Feeling their own consequence some of these crafts in 1508 petitioned the common council to have six or eight of their members admitted into it; but this application was refused by the council, with the answer that they would make no innovation in the government of the town without the consent of parliament.

The duties of an Edinburgh town-council had become almost as onerous as in the present day, while they also demanded greater activity and

courage. In the event of war they had to order the trades to be mustered under the Blue Blanket with their proper arms and equipments, and with the convener of the city at their head; and should invaders approach the city the provost was to gird on his harness in its defence and march out against them at the head of the civic militia. In the event also of a riot in the street, which was generally both sudden and deadly, the provost behoved to sally to the spot attended by his four halberdiers who were allowed him for a guard, but who could avail him little amidst a tempest of Jedwood staves and whingers. But the council also had its own feuds to gratify and maintain, and this they did in a fashion that announced the barbarism of the times. As their chief dislike was the town of Leith, they ordained that no merchant of Edinburgh should take into partnership in his business an inhabitant of Leith under penalty of a fine of forty shillings and the loss of his freedom as a burgess for one year; that none of the city revenues of Edinburgh should be leased to a Leith man; and that none should take him as a partner in that occupation, or even as a servant, under the penalties above mentioned. As dearths also were frequent, so that the prices of provisions would suddenly rise to twice or thrice their former amount, the council in regulating the market might calculate on anything but gratitude both from the buyer and seller.

But it was in its sanitary regulations that the civic governors must have found their chief perplexity. In such a town as Edinburgh disease and pestilence seem to have found their favourite home, while the proper way of ejecting them was least understood. Nevertheless they were obliged to legislate, and their laws on the subject were generally inhumane as well as useless. A disease, the scourge of sexual licentiousness, had established itself in our island against the attacks of which Scottish morality had provided no safeguard, and for which medical science could discover no remedy. In this dilemma the provost and magistrates, under the direction of the privy-council, proclaimed that all persons infected with the grandgore (such was the name given to the malady) should march down to the sands of Leith, where boats should be in readiness to waft them to Inchkeith, there to remain in quarantine until they should be cured; and that all who refused to pass to the Inch should be branded on the cheek with a hot iron, "that they may be kennit in tyme to cum." The idea was general that the disease was infectious as well as contagious, and one of the capital charges against Cardinal Wolsey not long after was that while suffering under it his breath had come in contact with Henry VIII. A terrible visit of pestilence occurred in 1513 and 1514, and the first remedy adopted by the town-council was to order all shops to be shut for fifteen days and neither doors nor windows to be opened during that time—as if they wished to harbour the plague rather than to expel it. The evil of course increased, upon which the wiser expedient was adopted of forbidding all vagrants from walking the streets at night without a light, so that they might not carry the infection about with them in the dark. But the people still died in multitudes and the malady extended itself to the suburbs, upon which the magistrates ordered that the houses and barns on the Borough Muir where the patients had been sheltered should first be unroofed and afterwards demolished by their proprietors. From these notices of unsuccessful struggles against evils that were little understood it is gratifying to mark the energy and promptitude of those magistrates in difficulties where their way was clear and open. When the tidings reached them of the calamity of Flodden, by which the nation was prostrated with a single blow and when the victorious enemy seemed already at their gates, the moment of calamity was also their signal for action; and such was the heroism and wisdom of their arrangements that not only the capital was freed from danger but the nation recovered from despair. In the contemplation of such proceedings their legislative blunders may well be forgotten.

The administration of justice over Scotland was still characterized by much of its pristine rudeness as well as retarded by new difficulties and impediments. Much, therefore, of the history of this period consists of the proceedings of the justice ayres, which were sometimes conducted by the king in person, especially when the district was unsettled and the offenders numerous and powerful. The circuits of James IV., as has been already noticed, were sometimes accompanied with such a military force that they resembled the invasion of a conqueror into a rebellious province rather than the entrance of the sovereign into a part of his own dominions; while the daring, prompt justiciary adventures of his son were more like the exploits of a disguised eastern caliph or a knight of romance than the visits of the chief magistrate of the realm coming to expound and illustrate the chapters of the statute-book. His eccentric career, however, regulated in most cases by impartial justice, was so suited to the times and so effectual that it was said of him that he made the rush-bush keep the cow—the

great object of the ambition of his ancestor, James I. But besides the high legal functionaries, with the sovereign at their head, the resident county sheriffs, whose office was hereditary, were armed with an extent of power suited to their difficult position, for they not only executed *res judicatas* like the sheriffs of England, but judged in civil and criminal cases. But besides this the pardon of crimes was not exclusively confined to the crown, but was also exercised by the nobles in their own hereditary jurisdictions. Nor were these despotic checks upon the lawlessness of society reckoned more than sufficient. Sometimes a court, after being duly constituted, was violently assailed and the doors broken open by an armed crowd.[1] While a whole court could be thus invaded and defied the poor messengers-at-arms who served its citations were not likely to be received with gentleness. A curious instance illustrative of this occurs among the trials of the year 1531, when a messenger was sent to the priory of Pittenweem with an injunction from the lords of council to the brotherhood to desist from cutting down the corn of a certain field the right of which was under litigation. They ordered him to begone, otherwise "his feet should be worth twenty-four pair of hands!" He returned again and a third time, but with no better result. Tired of these delays he collected a posse of some forty or fifty men and women and commenced the cutting of the corn, when out sallied the prior and monks with three hundred armed men, amidst the ringing of the chief bell of their convent as a tocsin and the discharge of artillery from their walls; and after a vain attempt to make the assailants listen to reason the messenger was obliged to draw off his forces, while a discharge of cannon was sent after them on their retreat by way of clerical benediction.[2]

To expedite the course of justice it was found necessary to supersede the ancient Court of Session, which of late appears to have fallen into abeyance. Accordingly, in 1504 it was replaced by the Court of Daily Session, and the cause and nature of its appointment may be thus briefly stated from the enactment: "Because there has been great confusion of summonses at every session, so that leisure or opportunity would not serve to terminate them at one sitting in the year, and the poor thus wanted justice; therefore a daily council is appointed to sit continually at Edinburgh at the royal residence or where the king shall chuse, to decide all civil causes and have the same power as the lords of session." This daily course of justice was a great improvement upon the old court, that consisted of committees of parliament the sittings of which could be only incidental. The new Court of Daily Session continued until 1532, when it was in turn superseded by the College of Justice established by James V. composed of fourteen persons, half of them being of the spiritual and half of the temporal estate. These judges were to be sworn "to minister justice equally to all persons in such causes as should happen to come before them, with such other rules and statutes as shall please the king to make and give them for ordering of the same;" and that "their processes, sentences, and decrees should have the same strength, force, and effect as the decrees of the lords of session had in all time bypast."[3]

But however these courts might alter their name and form, and however strictly they might be sworn to a right administration of justice, the proverbial delays and uncertainties of law seem to have been as keenly felt in the sixteenth as in the nineteenth century; and men who had angry blood in their veins and wore sharp swords at their sides would have preferred those quick decisive modes of arbitration by which their fathers had been wont to settle every legal difficulty. These tormenting delays of a law-court, which have formed a favourite theme of satirists in all ages, did not escape the observant eye of Sir David Lyndsay; and it was with a mischievous twinkle that it must have watched the progress of a litigant whose mare had been borrowed and drowned by his neighbour in a quarry-hole, and who was now at plea for reparation of the loss. The complaint which he puts into the poor man's mouth shows that in vagueness and procrastination at least the forms of law had reached their highest refinement:—

"They gave me first ane thing they call *citendum;*
Within aucht days I gat bot *libellendum;*
Within ane moneth I gat *ad opponendum;*
In half ane yeir I gat *inter loquendum,*
And syne, I gat, how call ye it?—*ad replicandum,*
Bot, I could never ane word yit understand him;
And then, they gart me cast out mony plackis,
And gart me pay for four-and-twentie actis:
Bot, or they came half-gate to *concludendum,*
The feind ane plack was left for to defend him.
Thus, they postponit me twa yeir, with their traine,
Syne, *hodie ad octo,* bad me cum again:
And then thir rukis, they rowpit wonder fast,
For sentence silver they cryit at the last;
Of *pronunciandum* they made me wonder fain—
Bot I gat never my gude gray mear againe."[4]

Of the forms observed in the justice ayres or

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland,* i. p. 136.
[2] Ibid. i. p. 156.
[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,* ii. pp. 335, 336.
[4] Lyndsay's *Three Estates.*

circuits, whether held by the king in person or his deputy, and the preparations made at their arrival for the orderly discharge of justice, we can form a distinct idea from a proclamation made at the holding of one of these courts at Jedburgh in 1510—a proclamation which probably was the usual form at the opening of all the justice ayres throughout the kingdom. It was commanded that no person coming to the court or passing from it should be molested whether for old feud or new. No persons except the servants of the royal household or belonging to the crown officers were to wear any weapons at their belts except their knives, on penalty of being apprehended and having their weapons forfeited. No certificates of old remissions were to be received as valid unless they had been warranted first by the Signet, then by the Privy Seal, and finally by the Great Seal. Those who were sureties for persons within the sheriffdom accused of homicide were to produce the offenders for whom they were sureties before the court, under forfeiture of the sum for which they had pledged themselves. During the holding of the ayre no victuals were to be sold at a higher price than had been charged in the town eight days before the court was opened, and those who trespassed in this respect were to forfeit the stock; and victuals were to be sold at the market only for ready money. Finally, no lodgings or stables were to be let or taken at a greater price than had been charged at other previous justice ayres, while all contracts or promises that had already been made in the contrary were annulled as illegal. In this way the avenues of justice were cleared, the approach to the tribunal facilitated, and the expense of residence lightened, so that the non-appearance either of accuser or accused, of plaintiff or defendant, might be deprived of all excuse.

The offences into which inquiry was to be made comprised the usual crimes, both of civilized and rude society, and may, therefore, be passed over without mention. But there were also offences characteristic of the period that demand a particular notice. Among these were cozeners and night-walkers, men who invaded their neighbour's property, not by manhood and force as in old times, but by craft and cunning, and whose very appearance was a token that the reign of violent reaving was about to pass away. In contrast to these, *sorners* were also to be inquired after—the sturdy beggars who entered the houses of the poor and made good their quarters until the larder was exhausted. A new crime having entered Scotland only of late years was the subject of justiciary attention, and one of the court dittays was directed to the apprehension of sorcerers and witches. Another ominous subject of inquiry was, "If any persons bring home poison and how they use it." Even already the crime of Italy was supposed to have stolen into cold and barren Scotland. A strict inquest was made after poaching in all its forms; deer-stalking in noblemen's parks without permission, stealing hawks and hounds, plundering dove-cots and rabbit-warrens, killing hares in the time of snow, catching salmon in prohibited seasons, and destroying their young fry in mill-dams. Among the subjects of inquiry for the regulation of markets, there occurs a curious notice respecting the cordwainers, by which they were enjoined to sell men's soled shoes for twelve pence a pair, and a pair of double-soled shoes for eighteen pence, a pair of slippers for two shillings, a pair of boots for six shillings, and women's and children's shoes for eight pence the pair.

As justice was so difficult to execute in the Borders, the offices of warden and lieutenant in these wild quarters required a strong military escort, and sometimes a whole army, for their effectual execution. In this case the nobleman who accepted the commission was obliged to form an alliance with the principal Border chiefs, and obtain their promise to co-operate with him in the suppression of crimes and disorders. A paction of this kind in 1524 will serve as a specimen of these alliances between the Border warden or lieutenant and their powerful subsidiaries. The Earl of Angus having received his commission of warden and lieutenant of the Borders, took oath before the lords of the Court of Session that he would truly and leally execute his office for the suppression of "theft, reif, slaughter, and all other inconveniences committed upon our sovereign lord's true lieges." This being done, the great chiefs of the Borders, Andrew Ker of Cessford, Walter Scott of Buccleugh, Andrew Ker of Fernihirst, and others of scarcely inferior mark swore that by themselves, their families, their kindred and followers, and all whom they could raise and stir up, they would "ride, gang, and serve" the earl in his office for the execution of justice and establishment of the royal authority. By a second agreement these chiefs and others connected with them engaged to dismiss the men of Eskdale, Liddisdale, and Ewesdale, with their wives and children, from the bounds of Teviotdale and Ettrick Forest where they have been harboured, and keep them out of it in all time coming. Having thus cleared their territories of those who did not belong to their clans, they next pledged themselves to deliver up all trespassers belonging to their own sept who should

violate the law to the justice of the lieutenant. Then came another noble party headed by Lord Hume, who by their own free will bound themselves to aid the Earl of Angus as warden and lieutenant of the east and middle marches, in suppressing crimes, pursuing offenders, and bringing them to justice, while they pledged themselves, on pain of forfeiture of life, lands, and goods, to apprehend and give up all of their own family, following, or clan who should be guilty of the prohibited offences.[1] With such troops of swearers, such binding obligations, such minute specifications of offenders, all and each of whom were to be pursued, apprehended, and delivered, it seemed impossible that even a blood-sucking gnat or marauding mouse could have found shelter or contrived to escape over the whole extent of the Border. But most of these chiefs were themselves Border-robbers and plunderers, and their oaths were but the cry of "Stop thief!" which the offenders are the loudest to raise when the chase raised against them is at the hottest. A few brief years showed the worth of such solemn promises. Adam Scott of Tushilaw, commonly called the King of Thieves, whose name was among those voluntary subscribers, and Cockburn of Henderland were in 1529 beheaded at Edinburgh, as the "chief leaders of the limmers and broken men of the Borders." At the same time the Earl of Bothwell who favoured them was imprisoned and afterwards banished. During that year also the Lords Maxwell and Hume, with the lairds of Buccleugh, Fernihirst, Polmont, Johnston, and Mark Ker—most of them pledged to aid the lieutenant, but whose bond of service had expired — were sent to prison as chiefs of the broken men, and as parties who had connived at their villainies or refused to check them.[2] These examples were soon after followed by the terrible justice-hunt of James V. to the Border, and the prompt execution of John Armstrong and his company.

In the prosecution of justice over a country so unsettled in its population, and affording so many opportunities of concealment, the law was obliged to avail itself of the feudal tie that existed between the head of a family and its members, and the chief himself as their overlord. He could command their obedience and military services; but in return he was obliged to afford them protection, and be responsible for their orderly behaviour. When a vassal, therefore, was summoned for an offence, his lord or baron was required to give pledges for his appearance, and be responsible for the fine of his trespass. But the men of broken clans, with whom the Border abounded, had no such responsible heads, and therefore the law was obliged to treat them in a more summary and despotic fashion. Jedburgh was the principal town of assize, and Jedburgh justice became a proverbial expression. Sometimes, however, mercy could interpose even in behalf of such obnoxious Jedburgh offenders, as was shown in an instance given by James IV. Having hanged several men of broken clans at a justice ayre held at that town, the other chief disturbers of the district appeared before him as suppliants in their shirts, with halters round their necks, and holding their naked swords by the points in their hands, by which piteous spectacle he was moved to forgive them.

In the infliction of capital punishments, that of death was usually by hanging or beheading, and in rare cases of peculiarly atrocious homicide the right hand of the murderer was sometimes previously struck off. From the national trials we also learn that female culprits sentenced to death were usually drowned; this perhaps being reckoned a more humane as well as decorous mode of execution than hanging. For very heinous crimes, however, such as poisoning and witchcraft, they were occasionally burned at the stake, and those of rank were sometimes beheaded by the maiden when that instrument came into use in Scotland. In looking at the criminal trials of the period we find cases where the crime of homicide was punished with a considerate mixture of justice and clemency. In 1493, a boy only eight years of age having confessed that he had murdered a young companion, was sentenced to be flogged in the parish church of Legerwood until blood was drawn from him, as he was declared too young to suffer the usual punishment of death for such a crime. Another boy who had been an accomplice in a cruel act of mutilation in 1532, was transported for seven years to the schools in foreign parts, under the care of his maternal uncle, and not to be questioned for the deed till his return and fifteen days after.

Independently of those peaceful modes of trial when plaintiff and defendant confined themselves to words, and submitted to the award of the judge, the trial by combat was still employed especially in cases of treason, and where there was no witness but the accuser. An instance of this kind occurred in 1537, arising, probably, from the case of Lady Glammis; and the whole affair is described in the following satirical manner by the elegant and fastidious Drummond of Hawthornden: "Drumlanrig and Hempsfield, ancient barons, having challenged others [each other], had leave to try the verity by combat;

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, i. 127–129.
[2] Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*, i. pp. 260, 261.

the lists were signed by the king, who was a spectator and umpire of their valour, at the court of the palace of Holyrood House. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like ancient paladines, and after many interchanged blows to the disadvantage of their casques, corslets, and vantbraces, when the one was become breathless, by the weight of his arms and thunder of his blows, and the other (who was short sighted) had broken his ponderous sword, the king, by heralds, caused separate them, with disadvantage to neither of these companions; and the verity which was found was, that they dared both fight in close arms."[1]

But neither the assize of law nor trial by regular combat was enough for the fierce spirit of the people and their impatience of delay; and the capital awards of tribunals, prompt and numerous though they were, had as yet no effect in stanching the feuds which were prevalent over the whole country, or mitigating the havoc and cruelty with which they were accompanied. These events also possessed such importance that they often constitute an essential portion of the history of the period. Of the political fury that inspired them we have an instance in the fight called Cleanse-the-Causeway in the streets of Edinburgh, while the savage hatred with which they were accompanied appears with horrible distinctness in the slaughter of Sieur de la Bastie. In descending to the minor feuds which history does not notice, we shall select a few as illustrative of the spirit of the times. The Murrays having defied the Drummonds, and attempted in a forcible manner to draw teinds upon the lands of the latter in the parish of Monivaird, the Master of Drummond assembled the armed vassals of his father, Lord Drummond, and marched forward to prevent them. On the way he was accidentally joined by Campbell, the captain of Dunstaffnage, who had come down from Argyleshire with a troop of followers to revenge the death of his father-in-law, Drummond of Menie, whom the Murrays had lately slain. As the purposes of the two chiefs was the same they joined their forces; and the Murrays finding them too strong retired to the kirk, whither they were followed by their antagonists. The Master of Drummond being satisfied with his easy victory would have drawn off his followers, but their blood was not to be so easily cooled, and a shot from the building having killed a Dunstaffnage man the Highlanders were so enraged that they set the kirk, which was roofed with heather, on fire. Sixscore Drummonds with their wives and children were within, and all were burned to death or killed in attempting to escape except one man. For this horrible outrage the Master of Drummond was apprehended and sent prisoner to Stirling, to underlie his trial; and although he pleaded that he had no hand in the burning of the church, yet because he was head of the party, *and no great favourite at court*, he was condemned and executed in 1511.[2]

Of city fights on political or local considerations Edinburgh could not be said to enjoy a solitary pre-eminence; in every town there were the same feelings at work, the same wrongs to redress, and the same mode of righting them. We shall, however, content ourselves in the present instance with the feuds of Aberdeen. Instigated by one who had formerly been a provost of the city, and had his own resentments to gratify, three powerful lairds, Seton of Meldrum, Leslie of Balquhain, and Leslie of Wardhouse, in 1525, made a midnight attack upon the good town of Bon Accord at the head of fourscore spearmen. The citizens flew to arms and succeeded in repelling their assailants, but not till eighty of the townsfolk were killed or wounded. This attack, and the destruction it occasioned, converted the town for a time into a camp in the midst of enemies; and to guard against all such surprises in future, the vennels, back dykes, and waste places—all that could give entrance or shelter to an enemy—were ordered to be built up, a night watch of sixteen persons was appointed for the town, while sentinels posted by day upon the steeples were to ring the alarm-bell as soon as they saw horsemen approaching the city. These precautions restored comparative quietness for three years, although during the interval there was a private feudal interlude in which Seton of Meldrum, one of the three assailants above mentioned, was slain in the provost's house by the Master of Forbes. A public quarrel again broke out in 1530. The city had been wont to present annually a tun of wine to Lord Forbes in consideration of protecting the fishings in the Dee and Don during the close season; but finding that the kinsmen of this nobleman were themselves the principal destroyers of the fish at this season, a resolution was passed in the town-council that the tribute should be withheld. Indignant at this affront, Forbes of Pitsligo, Forbes of Brux, another Forbes called "Evil Willie," and many others of Christian and unchristian names attacked the town on the 30th of July, being Sunday. The citizens, however,

[1] Drummond's *History of Scotland*. Lond. 1681, p. 137.

[2] Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, p. 551, eds. 1764; Pitscottie, Dalyell's ed. i. p. 249.

who had been aware of their purpose, encountered them, and after several wounds and deaths on both sides, drove the assailants into Grey Friars Place, where they besieged them for twenty-four hours, and at last allowed them to depart after depriving them of their horses.[1]

We have adverted to the lawless condition of the Scottish borders, and the difficulties they occasioned even to the ablest sovereigns, whose stern justiciary visits were only of temporary effect. But there was another class in Scotland to the full as formidable as the Border reivers, while they were less accessible to law and coercion; these were the Highlanders, who regarded themselves as the original possessors of the country, who hated the Lowlanders as aliens and usurpers whom it was both lawful and honourable to molest and plunder, and who even when conciliated were doubtful allies at the best, and merely while it was their interest to be at one with the common weal. The condition of these mountaineers is briefly described by Major, with whose account we shall for the present content ourselves. He tells us that they were more pugnacious and prompt for battle than the Lowlanders. In those districts where they possessed property in sheep and horses, they were orderly and obedient to law; but in the poorer districts they lived by plunder, spending the rest of their time in idleness, and having so many feuds with each other that they were more frequently at war than peace among themselves. In their costume, he adds, that from mid-leg to the foot they wore no breeches; that they had a cloak for an outer garment, and under it a shirt stained or dyed with saffron. Their weapons were a bow and arrows, a very broad-bladed sword, a small halbert, and a large dagger edged only on one side, but very sharp, which they always wore under their girdle. In battle they wore a hauberk of iron rings, while the common people fought in jackets of quilted linen waxed or pitched, and covered with deer's skin. Their musical instrument was the harp, which was strung not with catgut but with wire.[2]

To this scanty account we may add that of John Elder, a renegade Scot and native of Caithness, who, in a letter to Henry VIII. written in 1542, subscribes himself a Redshank, and advises the union of the two kingdoms even though it should be effected by the conquest of Scotland. The following is his graphic sketch of the Highlanders of the sixteenth century:—"Moreover, wherefore they call us in Scotland Redshanks, and in your grace's dominion of England, Rough-footed Scots, please it your majesty to understand, that we of all people can tolerate, suffer, and away best with cold, for both summer and winter (except when the frost is most vehement), going always bare-legged and bare-footed; our delight and pleasure is not only in hunting of red-deer, wolves, foxes, and graies[3] whereof we abound, and have great plenty, but also in running, leaping, swimming, shooting, and throwing of darts: therefore, insomuch as we use and delight so to go always, the tender delicate gentlemen of Scotland call us Redshanks. And again in winter, when the frost is most vehement (as I have said), which we cannot suffer bare-footed, so well as snow, which can never hurt us when it comes to our girdles, we go a hunting, and after that we have slain red-deer we flay off the skin by and by, and setting of our bare foot on the inside thereof, for need of cunning shoemakers, by your grace's pardon, we play the souters; compassing and measuring so much thereof as shall reach up to our ancles, pricking the upper part thereof also with holes, that the water may repass when it enters, and stretched up with a strong thong of the same meeting above our said ancles; so, and please your noble grace, we make our shoes. Therefore, we using such manner of shoes, the rough hairy side outwards, in your grace's dominion of England we be called Rough-footed Scots. . . . And although a great sort of us Redshanks go after this manner in our own country yet, nevertheless, and please your grace, when we come to the court (the king's grace our great master being alive) waiting on our lords and masters, who, also, for velvets and silks be right well-arrayed, we have as good garments as some of our fellows which give attendance in the court every day."[4]

As if the lawlessness and predatory habits of Highlanders and Borderers, not to speak of coupe-exacters, sturdy beggars, and mendicants of every class, had not been a sufficient infliction upon the poverty of Scotland, a new class entered during this period whose coming was regarded with astonishment, and whose abiding, when they were better known, was opposed with all the pains and penalties of legislation. From their unknown recesses in Hindoostan, and after centuries of unrecorded migration, a dusky oriental people who neither ploughed nor sowed, but lived on the lands of their successive sojourns, had descended at last into Europe about the beginning of the fifteenth century; and scattering themselves in small bands over different kingdoms, where they became known under the several names of Zingaros, Bohemians, and Gypsies, had perplexed every people with

[1] Extracts from *The Records of Aberdeen*, A.D. 1565–1635; Edin. 1834, p. 17. [2] Major, Hist. lib. i. cap. 8.

[3] Badgers. [4] Bannatyne Misc. vol. i. pp. 13, 14.

their strange aspect, language, and customs, as well as provoked them by their predatory habits which at last armed every country against them. In the course of their wanderings a band of these people had arrived in Scotland under the command of their leader, who called himself Anthony Gawin, and with the love of high titles common to their captains dubbed himself Earl or Count of Little Egypt. They appear also to have professed, as they had craftily done in other countries, that they were foreign religious pilgrims on their way from the Holy Land. James IV. received them with humanity, and in applying on their behalf to the King of Denmark he treated Anthony Gawin as a veritable potentate; stated that the people had lately arrived in Scotland, which they had done by the command of the pope; that they had conducted themselves properly during their stay; and as they were now desirous to take Denmark on their return home he requested a safe-conduct and bountiful treatment for Gawin and his people from the Danish king—adding that these Egyptian pilgrims must be well known to his majesty, because Egypt was much nigher to Denmark than to Scotland![1] But it appears that after all they had no immediate purpose of resuming their journey, and accordingly they settled in their new country, where they at first recommended themselves to the king and court by their strange dances, music, and other gypsy accomplishments, but soon showed themselves as arrant and dexterous thieves, although not so sanguinary, as either the Highlanders or the Borderers.

While military science had been improving in other countries with the general progress of civilization, little or no advance in this department had been made in Scotland. The people had still no enemies but their old ones, English, and were content with the old modes of repelling them; and it was not till the succeeding period, when they had the trained veterans of France to encounter, that they learned that something more was necessary for defence or conquest than mere courage, strength, and hardihood. While the old practices of warfare were cherished the old restrictions upon its improvement were also still in force. Both noble and serf were jealous of anything in the form of a standing army, and would place no reliance in the courage of hired soldiers who fought for their pay, and had neither homes nor families to defend. A Scottish army, therefore, was still an array of citizens and servants who had practised only an occasional drill, who carried their own provisions to the field, and who served only for thirty days, after which they returned to their homes let the state or the necessities of the campaign be what they might. In this manner at least two-thirds of the army which James IV. mustered upon the Borough Muir had melted away before the disastrous fight of Flodden. The king also could not make peace or war without the consent of the Three Estates; and hence the difficulties of James V., when he attempted to conduct a war against England with the concurrence of none of the authorities except the clergy, and the ignominious form in which his wishes were frustrated by the mutiny and flight of Solway.

As the defence of the country thus depended upon its feudal militia while the necessary training was regarded as tiresome, the enactments compelling the muster of *weapon-shaws* in every district had still to be repeated and enforced with the usual penalties. They were to be held four times a year, and the arms and weapons with which the several ranks were to appear at the muster were most distinctly stated. Of these we have a specimen in an enactment of 1491. Each gentleman who had a rental from land was to repair to the weapon-shaws armed with basnet, sellat, or white hat, a gorget or pison, entire armour for the legs, and a sword, spear, and dagger. Gentlemen having less extent of land or no land were to be armed at the discretion of the sheriffs and bailies according to their rank and means, while all yeomen between the years of sixteen and sixty were to appear with bows and sheaves of arrows, or a good axe instead of a bow, and a sword, buckler, knife, and spear. While these were the appointments of the country gentry and yeomanry, the burgesses according to their degree were to be equipped in white armour, brigantines, or jacks, with splents and gloves of plate, and well horsed according to their means, which was to be determined by the judges on the field. To promote the practice of archery, also, the old laws against popular sports were repeated, among which golf and football were particularly specified.[2] In a parliament of 1540 a still more distinct specification is given of the defensive armour with which every one was to be provided for actual service; and the reader may gain some idea of the equipment set down as compulsory from the summary already given on page 594 of the previous volume. As it was found that in a campaign great damage was done to the cornfields and meadows, as well as confusion occasioned in battle by men on horseback, it was at the same time decreed that none should have horses with them except for the carriages; that all horses brought to the muster should be sent home again, not by a serviceable

[1] Pinkerton, appendix ii. p. 444.

[2] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 226.

man but a boy, on pain of death; and that no exception to this rule should be made except in favour of earls, lords, barons, great landed gentlemen, and such as the king and his lieutenants should allow to pass on horseback with the army.[1]

Among these regulations for weapon-shaws the often-repeated attempt to make the long or hand-bow an important arm in Scottish warfare cannot fail to be noticed. It was a hopeless attempt to engraft patience upon Scottish impetuosity, and therefore, in every instance failed: how it might have succeeded had the yeomanry of the north been as bountifully cared for as those of the south may remain an open question, as the experiment was never attempted. At all events it was now of little importance to erect new archery butts and prohibit in their favour the spontaneous amusements of the peasantry, as a still deadlier weapon than the bow, and one requiring less study, was about to become the universal weapon of Europe. James V., himself a skilful archer as well as gunner and hagbuteer, seems to have been aware of the necessity of retaining the old weapons, while the new were in course of adoption, until the transition state in which he found the science of warfare was concluded; and an incident mentioned by Pitscottie shows that he attempted to make his subjects good archers by liberal encouragement, as well as by strict parliamentary enactments. When Lord William Howard, the English ambassador, arrived in Scotland with a train of threescore able athletes their dexterity was put to the proof in games of shooting, leaping, running, wrestling, and throwing the stone. At length a challenge of archery was proposed by Margaret, the queen-mother, in hope that the English who were her countrymen would win, and she staked an hundred crowns and a tun of wine upon the issue. Six Scots were pitted against six English archers, and strangely enough the former were the conquerors.

Although this was a splendid exception in favour of Scottish archery it stands alone, and England could well afford such a triumph. In the poem of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, written probably during this period, a very different description is given of the national progress in this department; and if James V. was the author it shows how he could console himself for the deficiencies of his subjects in handling the long bow by laughing at the awkwardness of their attempts. As soon as the riot at the wedding commences, and weapons are in requisition, one man desperately bends his bow, intending to send a broad arrow through his adversary's jaws; but the blundering shaft flies wider of the mark than we care to specify. Another gallant toxophilite makes a similar attempt, but with such a furious pull at the string that the bow-stave breaks into shivers—a fortunate hap, it is sarcastically added, as his skill in archery would otherwise have proved fatal to many. A third discharges his arrow; but, instead of hitting its victim, it flies aloft over the cowhouse; and on a cry being raised that it has killed a priest at a good mile beyond a neighbouring morass, the archer flings away his artillery and betakes himself to his heels. A fourth shot follows; but although it hits its man it is so feeble that it cannot pierce the doublet of leather which he happens to wear.

As the use of firearms had now become so important in warfare, a notice of these, more or less, occurs in all the battles of the period. There was still, however, a mixture of the old with the new weapons; the cannon did duty side by side with the mangonel, and the shot of the hagbut went off in its errand in company with the gray-goose shaft and cross-bow bolt. James IV., among his chemical researches, turned his attention to the manufacture and improvement of gunpowder, while the foundry which he established for the manufacture of cannon under the direction of Robert Borthwick, his master of artillery, was notable for the size, beauty, and excellence of the ordnance it produced, among which the chief were the famous pieces called "The Seven Sisters," having stamped upon them the following rude Latin rhyme:—

"Machina sum Scoto Borthwic fabricata Roberto."

The balls, however, which the cannon shot were still of stone, while the powder was coarse in grain and of no great strength. It was with artillery, however, rather than hand-guns that the Scottish armies of the period were provided, the latter consisting of only a few culverins and hagbuts. It was at sea also rather than on shore that the Scottish cannon made itself felt, and for this the superior talents of Wood and the Bartons will sufficiently account. At the commencement of this period Sir Andrew Wood's ship, the *Yellow Carvel*, gallantly enters into battle with artillery in her sides, two-handed swords in her fore-rooms, cross-bows on her deck, and lime-pots and fire-balls on her tops, and thus accoutred bears down all opposition. But it is in the description of the ship called the *Great Saint Michael* that we have a fuller account of the ordnance used in naval warfare. Thus, besides cannon of huge calibre and weight, she carried smaller pieces of various rates under such strange names as battery-

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. pp. 362, 363.

falcons, quarter-falcons, slings, pestilent serpents, double dogs, with hagbuts and culverins, while to manage this heavy array of cannon alone, the ship was provided with 120 artillerymen.[1] Other strange names occur of cannon used both in the land and sea service, of the form and calibre of which, however, no distinct account can be given.

It seems to have been as necessary at this period to insist on the practice of gunnery as it had formerly been with that of archery; and for this the dangerous nature of gunpowder, and the accidents arising from the use of fire-arms will fully account, as in many cases the quaint complaint of an old English writer must have been verified, that a soldier "while he emptieth his musket is suddenly emptied of his life." But the necessity was urgent, and an act of parliament in 1535, which was afterwards repeated in 1540, makes provisions to meet it already quoted in the preceding volume (p. 594).

Before leaving this part of our subject another particular is worthy of notice. As the chief danger threatened from the side of England, it was necessary that the Border should abound in strong defences; and a statute was devised at the parliament of 1535, but was proposed only to be abandoned. It was that every man dwelling inland and also upon the Border who had a hundred pounds of land of new extent, should build a sufficient barmekin upon his lands of stone and lime, the building to be of sixty feet square, with walls an ell in thickness and six ells in height, for the reset and defence of himself and his tenants and their goods in troublous times; and that the landlord, if he saw fit, might have a tower attached to it for his own accommodation. All landed men of smaller rent were also to be required to build peels and great strengths for the same purpose. In this way the whole Scottish frontiers would have been guarded by a barrier through which an English inroad could not easily penetrate. But second thoughts may have showed that these strongholds would be more dangerous to the country they were meant to protect than to the enemies whom they kept out, and that a Johnny Armstrong or Scott of Tushilaw thus ensconced might defy the authorities of Scotland, as well as an English cannonade. It would not do, and therefore in the margin of the statute the ominous word *deleatur* is written, while at the end of it the pains and penalties of non-compliance are left unmentioned. The whole affair conjures up to our minds the state of England in the earlier part of the twelfth century under the reign of Stephen, when there were twelve hundred strong castles in the country, and as many lawless tyrants to oppress it.[2]

While the introduction of gunpowder was gradually changing the whole science of war by the introduction of new forces and agencies, the sports and exercises of the old chivalric warfare were also passing away. It was felt too laborious to wear in play the cumbrous armour that would soon be useless for earnest service, or acquire dexterity in the use of weapons which were about to be thrown aside. But the splendid soul-stirring allurements of the tournament, and the excitements of an imitative knight-errantry were not to be so easily foregone; the very feeling that their end was at hand made their votaries only the more eager to enjoy them while they lasted, and to aggrandize them with a double pomp and importance. Such was the close of the history of European chivalry during the sixteenth century, and under such sovereigns as Henry VIII., Francis I., and the two Jameses of Scotland. Such was especially the case with James IV., whose spirit of lavish magnificence was accompanied with a passionate attachment to those warlike pageants that recalled the ages of romance and those martial exercises in which he excelled, and whose life, marriage, and death were more like an episode in the Mort d'Arthur than a grave chapter of European history. In the quaint language of Pitscottie, which accords so well with the subject, "he loved nothing so well as able men and good horse, and used great justing." The old historian proceeds to inform us that several times he made proclamation throughout Scotland to his earls, lords, and barons, inviting them to come to Edinburgh, and there exercise themselves, each man according to his own fashion and at his favourite weapon; some to tilt with the spear, some to fight with the battle-axe and in harness, some to encounter with two-handed swords, some to shoot with the cross-bow, hand-bow, and culverin, while the prize of the victor was a richly ornamented weapon of the same kind as that in which he had excelled. Nor were these invitations confined to Scotland alone. The fame of his jousts and tourneys went over Europe, "which caused many errant knights come out of strange countries to Scotland to seek jousting; because they heard of the noble fame and knightly games of the prince of Scotland and of his lords and barons and gentlemen; many strangers came, but few were refused, but they were foughten with, and warred in singular battle with the Scottish men."[3] How nobly

[1] Pitscottie, pp. 107, 108, ed. 1728.

[2] *Acts of the Scottish Parliaments*, ii. pp. 345, 346 and 371, 372.

[3] Pitscottie, p. 130.

and yet how sadly these sons of Scottish chivalry vindicated their knightly pretensions at Flodden, when they fought and died around their king!

The locality of these warlike trials was near the royal stables and immediately below the castle wall; and upon this level ground, bounded by rock and battlement, the tents were pitched, the crowds of spectators assembled, the judges seated, and the space for the career marked out and inclosed. We can easily imagine how, at a time when leisure was too abundant and the subjects of general excitement so few, Edinburgh must have poured out its population to witness the encounter; with what critical eyes every movement of the fight must have been scanned, and with what enthusiasm each man would adopt the cause of the one or the other combatant. Among these meetings of courtesy and friendly interchange of blows and wounds, we have one specimen by which the whole are brought vividly before us. It was the encounter under the castle rock between Sir Patrick Hamilton and Sir John Cockbewis or Clokehewis, a knight of Holland, who in his rambles in quest of adventures, had come hither to make trial of Scottish bravery and skill. On the part of the latter there were dexterity, experience, and the confidence of long success, while the youthful Scot had strength, activity, and ardent courage, but was as yet new to such encounters. Thus the competitors were such as the writers of romance delight to bring together for the purpose of aggrandizing the youthful hero of their tale, and Pitscottie's account of their combat carries us back to the days of Froissart and the last gleam of their departing sunshine: "When the Dutchman and he [Hamilton] were assembled together both on great horse within the lists under the castle wall of Edinburgh after the sound of the trumpet they rushed rudely together, and broke their spears on ilk side on other, and afterward got new spears, and rancountered freshly again: but Sir Patrick's horse entered with him, and would noways encounter his marrow, that it was force to the said Sir Patrick Hamilton to fight on foot and give this Dutchman battle; and, therefore, when he was lighted, cried for a two-handed sword, and bade the Dutchman light from his horse and end out the matter, saying to him, 'A horse is but a weak warrant when men have most ado.' Then, when both the knights were lighted on foot, they joined apertly together with awful countenances, and every one stroke maliciously at other, and fought long together with uncertain victory; till at the last Sir Patrick Hamilton rushed manfully upon the Dutchman and strake him [down] upon his knees. In the meantime the Dutchman being at the earth, the king cast his hat out over the castle wall and caused the judges and men-at-arms to rid and sunder them; and the heralds and trumpets blew, and cried the victory was Sir Patrick Hamilton's."

These tilts and combats which were so dear to James IV. were also continued by his gallant successor, but with less frequency and abated splendour, this decay being occasioned not only by the scantiness of the royal revenues, but the death-blow which the old Scottish chivalry had sustained at Flodden. There the flowers of the forest had been truly "wede away," and the new generation that had sprung up grew under an altered atmosphere. The solemn realities of life both in religion and politics which were now dawning upon Scotland were incompatible with these formalities, and society, already beginning to assume the gravity of manhood, could look back upon them with a smile of pity or derision. This feeling was keenly experienced and boldly expressed by Sir David Lyndsay in his poem called the *Justing betwixt Watson and Barbour.* In this amusing satire the heroes are two servants of the royal household and possessors of an art whose business is to cure wounds rather than inflict them, both of them being practitioners of medicine. They enter the lists against each other, mounted on clumsy hobbling chargers, upon which they sit "like two cadgers on their creels," and are so eager to close, that they forget to lay their spears in the rests. Watson's lance got entangled among his horse's feet, but Barbour could not avail himself of the lucky opportunity, as he had couched his weapon at the moon; and being thus unable to exchange hard blows they continue the combat with oaths and scolding. The whole description is conceived in the spirit of Cervantes, and reminds us of the attack of Don Quixote upon the windmills or the flock of sheep.

Equally splendid but of a more peaceful character were the pageants by which important national events were signalized. A visit of the sovereign to one of his cities, a royal marriage, a coronation, a proclamation of peace, were usually accompanied by some magnificent display, in which the talent, the taste, and the wealth of the community at large were displayed with their fullest distinctness. The fountains ran with wine, the windows were hung with tapestry or whatever showy drapery each house could furnish, every official was dressed in his robes of office, and even the mob endeavoured to distinguish themselves as much by the gayness of their attire as the loudness of their shouting. But the chief parts of these public pageants were the scaffoldings set up in the principal streets in the form of temples, castles,

gateways, and the allegorical personifications or plays which were there represented with all the resources of costume and music, prose and poetry. The further details of these, however, as they form part of the national history, and are described among the public events of each period, may be dismissed from the present chapter. But while the dramatic element formed so large and important a part of these displays, we look in vain for something like a regular theatre. In the absence, however, of any distinct notice upon the subject, we may safely imagine that the plays called mysteries had been exhibited in Scotland, as in every other country in Europe, and that by these the people had been chiefly instructed in religion during the general abandonment of preaching. The first notice which we have of these in Scotland was the play of the *Halie Blude*, which was represented at Aberdeen in 1440; and from the nature of the notice we are justified in concluding that such plays had been newly introduced, or were confined to that particular locality. The principal authors and managers of these dramatic representations were the clergy, who no doubt found this mode of teaching more pleasant to themselves and more acceptable to the people than the laborious ministrations of the pulpit. But in this way they had unconsciously prepared a weapon for their own destruction. Finding the people so apt to be thus instructed, the earliest reformers composed and exhibited mysteries by which the vices of the clergy and the grossness of the prevalent superstitions were exposed, and the first principles of true religion inculcated in their simplest and most attractive forms. It was thus, as we have already seen, that Friar Keillor had a play of this kind acted on Good Friday before James V. himself at Stirling. The clergy only felt their error by its recoil upon themselves and when it was too late to arrest it.

Of a less bizarre and allegorical character, and more nearly approaching the regular drama, were the morality plays, which soon superseded the mystery, and had for their object the illustration of moral conduct as applied to the business of everyday life. For this purpose they consisted of a regular plot, while real persons were mixed with the allegorical, and they were represented, not by chance performers dressed up for the occasion, but by actors who trained themselves to the work as a separate profession. Of these actors an English company came to Scotland in the train of Margaret and performed a morality before James IV. on the occasion of his marriage.[1] But the first Scottish composition of this kind was Sir David Lyndsay's play of the *Three Estates*, which was first acted in 1535 at Cupar, afterwards in 1539–40 at Linlithgow on Epiphany by command of the king, and a third time in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh before the queen, Mary of Guise, and a great portion of the nobility. The performance in these cases was in the open air and upon the green sward; the properties we may suppose, like those of the drama in England, were of the simplest description; while the audience must have depended more upon the transactions of the story and the new startling home-truths it conveyed than upon stage decorations and costume. Although thus naked of ornament, also, it occupied nine hours in representation—a fact that speaks as much for the patience of our ancestors as for the novelty of the entertainment. Luckily the play was divided into two acts or portions, thus leaving a short interval for the audience to rest or refresh themselves. We suspect, however, that even with such a relief, and with all the gorgeous accessories of the stage to boot, no modern audience would receive with patience an apology like that presented in the prologue to the *Three Estates:*

> "I beseik yow famous auditoris,
> Convenit in this congregatioun,
> To be patient the space of *certane houris*,
> Till ye have hard our *short* narratioun."

It must be remembered, however, that this "short narration" of only nine hours' length contained a sermon, a parliamentary debate, a literary discussion, a historical lecture, and a system of domestic ethics all in one, and that those who listened were never likely to hear it again or have a similar demand upon their attention and forbearance. The abuses, also, which this singular comedy denounced required a plainness of language which cannot now be quoted, accompanied with correspondent stage directions the bare idea of which would overwhelm the boldest of modern playgoers, and it speaks strangely for the unsophisticated rudeness of the times, that what the poet wrote and represented a queen and her high-born ladies could hear and witness without shrinking. Except in the instance of the *Three Estates* we know nothing more of the Scottish drama during the present period.

The absence of the regular drama, however, could easily be endured by those who had a kind of old-established plays of their own in which every one could be an actor or partaker.

[1] Under this head it may be stated that several liberal disbursements to the actors by James IV. occur in his treasurer's accounts. One of these entries is, "To the players of Lithgow that played to the king, £5." Another is, "To Patrick Johnson and his fellows that played a play to the king in Linlithgow, £3, 12*s*."

One of these was the election of a King of the Bean, who was chosen on Epiphany or Twelfth Night. The election took place at the cutting-up of the festival cake; he in whose portion the bean was found was king of the occasion; and during the time his subjects were obliged to obey his humorous behests or pay a forfeit in the case of rebellion. It appears also that the Queen of the Bean was occasionally appointed to aid and enforce the rule of her royal partner. Another august personage, not regal but sacerdotal, was the Abbot of Unreason, who was appointed upon certain religious festivals, and whose office consisted in caricaturing the church dignitary whom he represented and mimicking the most important parts of the church service. Strange to say, this caricature of sacred things was common to most countries of Europe, where, under various names and forms, such as the Boy-bishop, the Festival of the Ass, the Lord of Misrule, it had prelates and priests for its encouragers and supporters. This abuse of the dark ages, however, like the mystery and morality plays, was destined at last to turn upon the churchmen themselves when the hour of their ascendency was beginning to expire. Of the Scottish type of this general profanation the picture is familiar to the admirers of Scott, who have witnessed a veritable Abbot of Unreason in his tale of *The Abbot*. At the midsummer festival held on St. John's Day people disguised themselves and went about in companies, either to play little dramatic interludes or to execute frolics and practical jokes; and this practice of the merry-makers, who at this period were called Guisards, is still continued among the young people of Scotland, especially in the rural districts at the season of Christmas. Similar to this practice of Guisarding, if not identical with it, were the mummings which were practised both by the nobles and peasantry. Another choice play of the period was Robin Hood. At what time the pageant of this redoubted personage had entered into Scotland is uncertain; but it had become as great a favourite there as even in England itself, and the license it encouraged was such that the reformed church was obliged to oppose it, while its suppression was almost as difficult as that of the mass itself.

Not the least of these gay popular exhibitions was morris-dancing, of which frequent notices occur in the records of this period. The style of this dancing is supposed to have derived its name from its eastern or Moorish origin, while its attractions were equally acknowledged by high and low. This is not to be wondered at when we take into account its leaping frolicsome character, the rich and comic dress in which it was performed, and the gay peal of little bells that were set in motion at every step. Among other peculiarities the morris-dancer's hose were generally one-half black and the other white. The following description of the full equipment of one of these dancers preserved by the Glovers' Incorporation of Perth shows that morris-dancing was no mere vulgar amusement or easy accomplishment:—"This curious vestment is made of fawn-coloured silk in the form of a tunic, with trappings of green and red satin. There accompany it two hundred and fifty-two small circular bells, formed into twenty-one sets of twelve bells each, upon pieces of leather made to fasten to various parts of the body. What is most remarkable about these bells is the perfect intonation of each set, and the regular musical *intervals* between the tone of each. The twelve bells in each piece of leather are of various sizes, yet all combining to form one perfect intonation in concord with the leading note in the set. These concords are maintained not only in each set but also in the intervals between the various pieces. The performer could thus produce, if not a *tune*, at least a pleasing and musical chime according as he regulated with skill the movements of his body. This is sufficient evidence that the morris-dance was not quite so absurd and unmeaning as might at first be supposed, but that a tasteful performer could give pleasure by it to the skilful as well as amusement to the vulgar."[1] Fasten's-even (or Shrove Tuesday) seems to have been the chief season for performances of this nature, and the band of dancers was sometimes accompanied by a Moorish or black drummer. These were the street plays which during the festivals enlivened our Scottish towns and places of public resort, and were welcomed by people of every class and rank. Besides these gratuitous exhibitions each city seems to have had its band of salaried musicians, who headed every public procession as well as entertained the townspeople with their regular afternoon performances. Each season of merry-making, however frequent, seems to have had its proper lord of the ascendant, its correspondent pageant, and its apt, willing troop of performers, while the people thronged after them, and the nobles rewarded them with largesses after they had performed their gambols before each lordly mansion and the windows that were crowded with its inmates. Even royalty itself was a delighted spectator of these revels, and the gifts of James IV. and James V. to Abbots of Unreason, Robin Hoods, Guisards, and morris-dancers form

[1] Sir W. Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*, appendix, note S.

no inconsiderable items in their treasurers' accounts.

In coming to the active and outdoor sports and games of the period we find that hunting and hawking still retained their pre-eminence. An amusement apparently of recent introduction into Scotland was that of horse-racing. It seems to have owed its chief patronage to James IV., who, among his other attempts to promote the welfare of the country, endeavoured to improve the breed of horses, for which purpose he spared no cost in introducing the best breeds from foreign countries; and in his treasurer's accounts we find an entry of twenty-eight shillings which he had lost to Dandy Doule "at horse-running." It thus appears that the pleasure of such exciting competitions was enhanced by the practice of betting. Horse-racing appears to have lost nothing of its attractions during the reign of James V., also an admirer and importer of good horses; and during his minority it was one of the sports with which his faithless guardians endeavoured to divert his attention from more serious pursuits. A chief place for these trials among the young nobles and gentry of the capital was Leith sands, where, according to Lyndsay in his poem of *The Complaint*, the racing was carried on with keenness and spirit notwithstanding its occasional accidents:—

> "Some to schaw their courtlie corsis
> Wald ryid to Leith, and ryn their horsis,
> And wichtlie wallop ower the sandis;
> They nouther spairit spurris nor wandis;
> Casting galmoundis with bendis and beckis,
> For wantouness, some brak their neckis."

Another amusement less dignified, but almost as exciting and dangerous, was the hurley-hacket, which consisted in sliding down the smooth side of a hill or an inclined plane upon a piece of wood or a seat made for the purpose. From being a favourite place for this kind of sport the Heading Hill of Stirling had its ominous name changed into that of the Hurley-hacket; and so long did the game itself continue a favourite, that according to Sir Walter Scott it was practised on the Calton Hill at the close of the last century by the boys of Edinburgh, who used a horse's skull for their seat or sledge. But of all the sports of the period the most startling is announced in the following short entry of the king's treasurer, A.D. 1527: "For eggs to bicker the castle, 15*s.* 6*d.*" This was a pastime of bombarding a stronghold with eggs; and of all strongholds the castle of Stirling was the one assailed on this occasion, while it was held out by the defenders with the same kind of ammunition. We may imagine the condition of the combatants on either side, and the ease with which their wounds might be noticed and counted. It was one of those frolics with which the boyhood of James V. was amused, and in which he was likely to be a zealous actor; and when the shot was expended the common license of war seems to have been used in obtaining a fresh supply, as appears from this subsequent entry of the treasurer: "Item, Given at the king's command to poor wives that came greeting upon his grace for eggs taken from them by his servants, 20*s.*"

Of the other active games those which are chiefly noticed in the writings of this period are archery, leaping, running, wrestling, and casting the penny stone, quoit, or bar. Football or golf were also favourite games, and perhaps all the more that they were prohibited by acts of parliament, as they were found to interfere with the practice of archery. Among the higher classes was racket, which was probably the same as tennis. Another, a court game of this period under the name of ketche, kaitche, caiche, or cache—for with this variety it is spelled—was played with balls, and was perhaps similar to the game of catch-ball.

Next in order come the indoor and sedentary games and sports, of which the notices are both few and brief, and as far as we can learn they were principally confined to the higher classes. The chief of these amusements were maskings or mummings, an entertainment common to every European court; and among the treasurer's entries are several gowns for the use of James V. in these masquerades. Another favourite pastime was dancing. Among the dances of the time one of the chief was the pavo, pavin, or peacock, a stately, decorous measure of Spanish origin. In the poems of Gavin Douglas we also meet with the names of various other dances, of the figures of which, however, we have no description. It is probable that the French style of dancing predominated during the latter part at least of this period, in consequence of both the wives of James V. having been French princesses. But while the palace and the castles of the nobles were animated with gay music and stately evolutions there was more than sufficient scope given for coarse, rude, and even licentious capering, and the dance in the queen's chamber described by Dunbar was such a performance as would scarcely now be tolerated in a gin-cellar and among a bevy of fishwomen. In these as in other instances we can perceive how strangely semi-barbarism can blend the extremes of refinement with those of primitive coarseness. The dances of the common people appear to have been simple as well as sprightly and vigorous enough,

but even they too were already smitten with foreign innovations and following the example of their betters. Thus the merry-makers assembled at Christ's Kirk on the Green, after their national reels, betake themselves to "counterfeiting France" by passing to the dances of high life and fashion. A common dance among them was called plat-foot, of which, however, we know nothing but the name. Sometimes also in courtly society dances were exhibited by foreigners, whose performances were greatly relished and abundantly rewarded by the noble spectators; and of this we have several instances in the royal treasurer's accounts. One item is "to the Spaniards that danced before the king on the calsay of Edinburgh before the Treasurer's lodging, 30 Unicorns" (a unicorn being nearly equal in value to a pound). Among these troops of dancers also the "Egyptians" must not be omitted, who occasionally danced before the sovereign in Holyrood House and were gratified by his bounty.

Of the other indoor games of the period tennis still continued a favourite, and also chess, for the expenses of which there are several entries during the minority of James V. But still more attractive games had entered in the form of cards and dice, which are supposed to have been introduced with the arrival of Margaret, the queen of James IV., from England. Even these various sports, however, whether new or old, were insufficient for the dulness of domestic life at a stage of society when books were scarce and readers few, and therefore in Scotland as well as other countries the privileged fool was a necessary appendage both of the palace and baronial hall. He was no mere idiot, but an eccentric wit run wild, whose ludicrous blunders and sly jokes could keep both table and hall in a roar, and whose sayings and doings, after they had served their purpose in the mansion, were retailed in the houses of the village and round the firesides of the peasantry. The effect of his witticisms was also heightened by the bizarre dress which formed the usual livery of the fool, his cap and bells, and the bauble which he flourished as his truncheon of office and authority. The name of the chief fool of James IV. was English John, and of James V., Malcolm, but from the treasurer's entries we find that one such official was not deemed enough for the palace of a sovereign. From the same source we learn that the usual dress of these functionaries was a party-coloured one of green and yellow. But even a fool was not enough to dispel the dulness of inaction or satisfy the craving for what was strange and outré in humanity: the noble of the age not only needed persons of defective intellect to laugh *with*, but those of defective stature to laugh *at*, and therefore a dwarf was almost as essential as a fool for the completion of a royal or lordly establishment. Our kings accordingly had also their dwarfs, in the Scottish vernacular called *droichs*, who were regularly enrolled as part of the royal household and intrusted with such commissions as they were capable of performing. Nor were these state officials exclusively confined to the king; and Mary of Guise, in coming to Scotland, brought with her as part of her establishment a female French fool and a French dwarf. Lower still in the scale of favouritism were rare or beautiful animals; and of these, which are entered under the name of *pets* in the treasurer's accounts, James V. had a pretty large menagerie, consisting chiefly of paroquets, monkeys, peacocks, and swans. But before dismissing this part of the subject it is gratifying to mention that more intellectual favourites than these could sometimes divide the partialities of the high-born for fools, dwarfs, and monkeys. Although the old chivalrous calling of the minstrels had all but expired like the other usages of chivalry, the stirring ballads and romances of ancient times had not ceased to charm, and singers who could chant them were still certain of a favourable auditory. Indications of this we casually find in the royal household expenses of the period. Blind Harry, or Henry the Minstrel, as he is commonly called in the present day, was honoured as the recorder of the exploits of Wallace, and pensioned in his old age by James IV. By an entry we find the same king rewarding two fiddlers who sang to him the romance of *Graysteil*. He also had tale-tellers attached to his court whose chief office was to rehearse to him amusing stories and legends, and one of these persons was oddly enough named James Hogg.

In coming to the everyday life of the period the first article demanding our attention is that of dress; and here we find that the nobles of Scotland were scarcely inferior to those of France and England, with whom they were now so often brought into competition. It could scarcely indeed be otherwise under two such kings as James IV. and his successor, young, handsome, accomplished, and so devoted to the service of the ladies. In the first of these especially a love of personal magnificence so greatly predominated as greatly to impoverish his limited revenues. With the gallantry of his courtship at his first interviews with Margaret of England, his eagerness, like that of a falcon darting upon its quarry, his musical performances, and the worship with which he listened to her on bended knee as she responded to him

on the lute, and with the minutiæ of his dress even to the hawk's satchel at his back and the unshorn beard on his chin, we have already been made acquainted in the long and very particular account drawn up on the occasion by the English herald. From the same authority we learn that in conveying her from Dalkeith to Edinburgh seated on the crupper of his horse, the king was dressed in a jacket of cloth of gold bordered with purple velvet furred with black, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his shirt studded with precious stones and pearls, and long gilt spurs projecting from his boot-heels. At his marriage he wore a gown of white damask figured with gold and lined with sarcenet; a jacket with sleeves of crimson satin, the lists of black velvet; under that was a doublet of cloth of gold; and his hose were of scarlet. His shirt was embroidered with thread of gold; his bonnet was of black velvet, and ornamented with a rich balas ruby, and his sword was by his side. On the morning after his marriage, when he repaired to mass, we are informed by the same minute chronicler that he was arrayed in a rich robe of cloth of gold trimmed with fine black fur; a doublet of crimson satin; black hose, covered above with cloth of gold; and a crimson hat; while his ornaments were a Saint George of gold, on the dragon of which was a ruby, a string of gold beads hanging to his girdle, and a dagger before him. Of the nobles and gentlemen who followed the royal pair from Dalkeith to Edinburgh some had jackets of cloth of gold, some of damask of many colours and figured of gold, and some of camlet, while many of them were adorned with rich gold chains. These were their best dresses for great state occasions; but in the ordinary court costume of the nobles the outer covering was a long gown of black velvet furred with martens. In Dunbar's *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* we find that those of chief rank at court who affected superiority had their gowns made carefully to fall down to the feet in ample folds, and that they wore their hair loosely thrown back, and their bonnets set on one side. This leads us to mention that a new character had now appeared in Scotland to task the ingenuity of the tailor, and for the first time the courtier was to be found in the reign of James IV. It was late indeed before such a personage had been added to the northern court; but the wealth and liberality of the sovereign, and the rich livings which he had at his disposal, were sunshine enough to warm such insects into life and collect them within its rays, while their presence enriched and diversified the general costume. The chief parts of their dress were a delicately and profusely ruffled shirt, a little flat bonnet, russet hose, perfumed gloves, embroidered slippers that glanced in walking or the dance, a handkerchief also perfumed and adorned with a tassel at each corner, and garters knotted into a luxuriant rose at the knee. This extravagance in dress became so general among all the higher classes during the reign of James IV., that Dunbar in his poem of *Sons Exiled through Pride*, bewails its effects while he ridicules its absurdity. Our lords, he said, arrayed themselves in silk gowns, while their cellars were empty. A small baron's rich habiliments in silks, furs, chains, and other such gear would suffice to equip forty followers in jack and splent, and armed with bow and spear. He wishes they would economize and lay aside this gorgeous bravery, to be worn only on great occasions or when noble strangers visited the kingdom, in which case they would not need to buy any more silk for twenty years. But the style and spirit of fashion had descended, and here the poet's sarcasm especially breaks forth. He describes the vassal with his loose red short cloak trimmed with ribbons, or buckled tightly about his waist in woman's fashion, a velvet border about his threadbare coat, with his hat set jauntily on one side—and so proud of himself in this beggarly finery that he is unable to recognize even his own master.

It is unfortunate that amidst all this glitter of cramosie and minnever, of silk and satin, of gold plumes and jewels, the poets have omitted all mention of the male costume of the common people. We are, therefore, left to suppose that the fashion of the former period was still retained, with the exception of the jacket, which was now about to be superseded by the coat. In cold weather they also, according to the testimony of Sir David Lyndsay, wore *mittans*, that is, worsted gloves. A groom's dress in 1528 was a coat, hose, cloak, and bonnet.

Of the dresses of the ladies of the time we are in a great degree confined to the mere materials of which they consisted, their forms and fashions having in a great measure transcended the descriptive powers of our early recorders. At the marriage of James IV. the ladies of the Scottish court were attired some in gowns of cloth of gold, some of crimson velvet, some of black velvet—others in gowns of satin, of tinsel, of damask, of camlet of many colours, with corresponding hoods, and they had chains and collars upon their necks. Of the kinds of cloth that were in highest account among the ladies of the period, and how much of it went to the making of a dress, we have a casual notice in one of the items of the royal treasurer in 1542. In this the last year of James V. a present was given to Lady Errol of thirteen ells of red velvet of

grain for a marriage-gown, and 7½ ells of purple satin for a kirtle. Having thus obtained some knowledge of the materials our next desire is to learn how they were partitioned; and of this we gain some little knowledge in Henryson's poem of the *Garment of Good Ladies*. Here we learn that a complete female dress consisted of a gown ribboned, purfled, and furred; a kirtle laced with eyelet holes; an outer cloak or mantle; sleeves, but whether of cloak or gown does not appear; a tippet; a patelet; a belt or girdle; and a shift, of which the upper part was visible to show its fineness and rich needlework. Add to these a pair of gloves, a hood, a hat, hose, and shoes, and we have, bating her jewelry, the whole attire of a Scottish lady in the first half of the sixteenth century. Among female ornaments we find that amber necklaces were very fashionable among the ladies of rank. Even the farthingale or hooped petticoat, as we learn from Dunbar, had already commenced in Scotland before it had made its entry into England, a priority in the race of fashion which we could scarcely have expected.

We have formerly noticed that in the reign of James II. an act of parliament was passed against the practice of ladies who in public places "mussaled" or covered their faces, that they might not be recognized. The practice, however, was so favourable to love intrigues that it was still continued, notwithstanding this formidable prohibition and the heavy penalties it menaced. This we learn from the poems of Lyndsay, who at the same time declares that he had no objection to this concealment in an assignation with a lover, but that it was improper for kirk or market. But the great evil of female fashion at the present period was the "syde tails"—the long skirts or trains by which ladies of high rank asserted their pre-eminence, and that were soon followed by those of inferior grade. The evil at last became so general that Lyndsay penned a poetical petition against it to James V., which he entitled a "Supplication to the King's grace in contemplation of syde tails." In this he declares that these trains had become so long that they often dragged three-quarters of a yard behind the wearer's heels; that wherever those tails went it might be seen how clean they swept both kirk and calsey; and he adds withal such a trenchant and minute description of the retaliation made by the disturbed dust upon the limbs of the train-wearer as might have sufficed to hoot the fashion out of existence. But it held its ground, and continued to flourish not only in spite of parliaments but of general assemblies also, when the decrees of these spiritual courts had reached the height of their power.

In regard to the female dress of the middle classes we receive but scanty information from the poets of the period. It would appear, however, that the same love of finery which characterized the noble high-born dames of the court had descended to the inferior order, and that the wives of thriving merchants and substantial yeomen were not culpable of dressing beneath their means and station. In Dunbar's *Friars of Berwick* the hostess of the inn, when she receives her paramour, is dressed in a kirtle of fine red silk ornamented with silver, a fair white curch on her head, and two rings on every finger. In Maitland's poems a farmer's wife on an extraordinary occasion is described as dressed in a kirtle or close gown of fine red cloth, a white kerchief on her head, a girdle of silk adorned with silver, from which hung a purse and keys, and two rings on each finger. By the same poet a rural nymph is delineated in a red kirtle and brown hose, with her long yellow hair streaming down from under her kerchief. The fair rustics who attended the revel at Christ's Kirk on the Green, besides the usual essentials of dress, had kirtles of light linen well pressed with many plaits or folds, gloves of doeskin, and shoes of "straitis," which is supposed to have been a coarse kind of woollen cloth. From these particulars, few though they are, we find that in the female attire of the lower classes there was no lack of good taste or love of display, notwithstanding the general poverty of their order. If we are puzzled at the disproportionate number of rings with which they adorn their fingers we may suppose that at a time when banks were unknown this was the chief mode of investing capital; and that the fathers and husbands of the wearers thought no place so exempt from robbery and violence as a woman's gentle hand.

Of the homes and domestic life of the period our knowledge is also very limited. With regard to the interior of Holyrood, our acquaintance is chiefly due to the English herald in the train of Margaret Tudor, who on this occasion was most minute in his office of a chronicler of royal habitations. When James IV. sat in state and received the congratulations of his nobles on his marriage he occupied a chair covered with crimson velvet, the panels of the chair were gilt, and over his head was a canopy of cloth of gold of estate of blue velvet covered with gold; while on his right hand were seated the prelates, with the Archbishop of St. Andrews next the king, and on his left the temporal lords. The herald passes from the hall of state to the queen's dining-room, where was a royal seat canopied with cloth of gold very rich; and here she sat attended by the high ladies of Scotland and those who accompanied her from England, with the chief officers of her establishment. In the king's

room the walls were hung with tapestry of red and blue; the furniture was a chair of state of cloth of gold, a rich state bed, and a rich dresser or sideboard. Passing out of these royal penetralia the observant recorder comes next to the great dining-hall; the hour is three o'clock, when the queen's state dinner is served up on four large boards or tables. At the highest of these dined the queen's ladies and those of Scotland. At the second was her chamberlain with many nobles and knights. At the third sat other ladies and gentlewomen, and the fourth was occupied wholly by gentlemen. The hangings or tapestry of this chamber were embroidered with the favourite history of the siege of Troy, and in the glass windows were painted the arms of England and Scotland biparted, to which was added a "chardon" [thistle] with a rose interlaced through a crown. Besides the siege of Troy, the tapestry was adorned with the story of Hercules; the "syerges" [wax-candles] were ready to be lighted at evening, and a rich sideboard was laden with good cheer and good wine. In the king's great chamber was one table, where his chamberlain, master of the horse, and many others were seated, and the walls were draperied with the story of Hercules and other histories. Then came the king's hall, where there were three rows of tables, and one apart at the highest place at which sat the prelates, the great lords and nobles, while the other three tables were occupied by the knights, squires, and other gentlemen according to their degree. The tapestry of this chamber contained the "History of Old Troy;" six great "syerges" of wax hung up in the hall to light it at evening, and a rich sideboard was at hand which was well served. The halls, although so numerous, were thronged, and the guests ready to begin—surely the wedding-feast will be commensurate with the importance of the occasion! Here we are informed that the queen was served with a wild boar's head gilt within a fair platter, then with a fair piece of brawn, and then with a ham, after which followed twelve different dishes. The vessels appear to have been gilt as well as the boar's head. This was the first service: the second, we are briefly told, consisted of forty or fifty dishes, with the names and cookery of which we must be contented to remain in ignorance. There seems to have been abundance of eating and drinking, and no stint of good cheer. The English herald adds a circumstance of a professional and personal character which must have somewhat damped his satisfaction. After the banquet, when he and his brethren, according to established usage, cried, "Largesse! largesse!" the king's bounty, which had perhaps been carefully reserved for the occasion, contained forty light crowns of gold. This, however, was better than the liberality of James V., who on one occasion answered the cry of largesse by the paltry gift of "shillings tway!"

Amidst all this glitter of gold and gilding, of rich painting and tapestry, of chairs of state and goodly overhanging canopies, it is to be noticed that there is no mention of a carpet. This article, at present so essential to the cottages of the poorest, was still unknown not only in the palaces of Scotland but in those of England also, the nearest approach in the latter country being a piece of carpet used as a cover for the tables of princes. Even on the highest occasions, therefore, the floors of Holyrood were carpeted with nothing better than rushes, grass, or dried hay—in keeping with the thatched roof overhead, but by no means with the splendid furniture, ornaments, and dresses that shone and glittered between them. In accordance with this strange medley of squalor and splendour was the conduct of its lordly occupants and frequenters. The amours of James V., as described by Lyndsay in his "Flyting," were occasionally so coarse that they would be intolerable in a modern porter or coal-heaver, and the nobles were not likely to be in advance of so accomplished a sovereign. Nor were the ladies of the court of a superior description, as we find by passing allusions of the poets, and especially Dunbar's *Dance in the Queen's Chamber*, to which we have already alluded. Foreign examples, too, were not likely to polish the manners of Holyrood. Margaret, the queen-mother, being sick and confined to her chamber, Groselles, the French ambassador, intruded upon her with the vexatious affairs of politics; and not content with this rude annoyance, he commenced an indecent romping with the ladies in attendance on the queen. Young Stuart, afterwards Lord Evandale and husband of the queen, was obliged in consequence to send orders to the Frenchman to retire, otherwise he would throw him down-stairs.[1] The same style of life, character, and manners may be supposed, in the absence of positive information on the subject, to have characterized the city mansions and rural castles of the upper ranks, combining the extremes of stately ceremonial and boisterous rudeness, of splendour and discomfort, of plenty and destitution, of virtue and vice. With an overflow of energy and few intellectual resources, most of the nobility spent the greater part of their lives in the open air and were independent of domestic comfort; and when not employed in national enterprises they seem to have been occupied in hunting, feud-fighting,

[1] Letter of Dr. Magnus to Wolsey, 24th January, 1525.

and discontented political intrigues. Of the indoor life of the ladies while their lords were thus employed we have but a few momentary glimpses. Their chief resource and occupation, besides the weighty cares of a numerous and hungry household, was embroidery, and in this they were encouraged by the example of the queen, Mary of Guise, and her female attendants, whose entries in the royal treasurer's accounts for thread of gold, silver, and silk are sometimes of a startling amount. Bells they had none for summoning their servants, but instead of this they used a silver whistle or call; and for the purpose of partitioning time, or to prevent it from escaping them unnoticed, clocks (called *knoks*) were at this time finding entrance into lordly Scottish mansions. This fashion of having household time-keepers appears to have been commenced by James V., who had a *knok* in his palace and kept a knok-maker in his employ, who was also a smith. As inns were scarce and accommodation uncertain ladies had few inducements to travel, but when constrained to move to a distance they were obliged to carry a large portion of their domestic comforts along with them. Mary, the wife of James V., when journeying, was obliged, besides her retinue, horses, and chariot, to take with her beds, coffers, a chair of state, a table, bedding for her ladies of honour — and her favourite fool. In the homes and home life of the commons scarcely any change had as yet taken place except that the houses of the towns were beginning to be more commodious and built of more durable materials. In the country the cottage still seems to have consisted of its two divisions, the *but* and *ben*—a kitchen and room. The fireplace was in the middle of the kitchen, and round it the family and their friends clustered during the winter in social or convivial enjoyment. A tub or barrel in the kitchen contained the oatmeal for the family bread and porridge; and at the outside of the door, as we learn from Dunbar's *Friars of Berwick*, a large stone mortar usually stood in which barley was beaten with a large wooden beetle or pestle to fit it for the pot, before the invention of barley-mills. Even yet these hollowed stones are sometimes to be found in the old farm-house yards in Scotland, the memorials of a departed age. From the same poem as well as other notices we find that among the middle classes—still a scanty minority in Scotland—comfort both in eating and drinking was well understood, and the materials for supplying it were such as would not have been despised by their own order even in the nineteenth century. The finest cakes or loaves were called "bread of mane" or "main-bread," evidently made of the finest wheat, and this the innkeeper's wife is represented as setting before her reverend admirer, while she reserved for her goodman a cold sheep's head and foot, which perhaps had thus early been a favourite national regale among all classes. From the statistical notices of the time we also learn that the penny loaf of wheaten bread was one pound in weight, and the penny cake one pound eight ounces. But besides the coarse and fine bread gingerbread was also used as a dainty, as we learn in the account of the Earl of Athole's entertainment given in the sylvan palace to the king, the nobles, and foreign ambassadors. The drinks, which were cheap and plentiful, consisted exclusively of French wine and ale, and excess in drinking does not seem to have been so common as it afterwards became when the produce of distillation was added to the old beverages. By a regulation of the town-council of Edinburgh the price of French wine, both red and white, was sixpence the Scotch pint (equal to an English half-gallon), while the price of ale was twentypence the gallon. The common people drank out of a wooden flagon called a *caup*, and we learn from Lyndsay's *Three Estates* that people who were no flinchers at a hearty drinking bout were said to "play caup out." Thus occupied, they were thought to realize a couplet of the same poem, which perhaps was the origin of the popular proverb:

> "As long lives the mirrie man
> As the sad, do what he can."

In the style of conversation which characterized the social and domestic life of this period we can guess, from the few incidental notices of the poets, that there was abundance of that dry wit and comic humour which were already a national characteristic. But that it was also coarse enough as well as licentious the same authorities leave us no room to doubt. Among its elements, also, profane swearing was so especial that it is supposed to have constituted one-half of the conversational language of the day. At how early a period or from what cause England and Scotland had become distinguished for this vice we have no means of discovering; but on the Continent and during the wars of the former country with France, in the days of Crecy and Azincour, the English had become so notable for this peculiarity that an Englishman was called a God-damme, softened in French into a Godan, and by this name they were termed even by the pure lips of Joan of Arc. In like manner the poetry of Chaucer, detailing the sayings of the Canterbury pilgrims, is bristled all over with these profane expletives. Nor were the Scots a whit behind their old

kinsfolks and rivals of the south; nay, they seem to have outstripped them in the race of verbal impiety, as Dunbar's *Devil's Inquest* and the general poems of David Lyndsay, compared with those of Chaucer, clearly intimate. These Scottish oaths also were so coarse, so diversified, and so inconceivable to modern minds that if collected they would form a vocabulary of blasphemy that would rebuke the faint swearing of the nineteenth century into utter dumbness. In Scotland as in England, too, attempts were made to suppress the evil by statute, and a fine could be levied by the magistrate for every oath; but as it was found that these penalties would have impoverished even the richest, while legislators and magistrates were often themselves the greatest offenders, every enactment became a dead-letter. The first legal interposition to the evil in Scotland was an act of parliament in 1551, in which it is declared that "notwithstanding the oft and repeated preachings in detestation of the grievous and abominable oaths, swearing, execrations, and blasphemation of the name of God, swearing in vain by his precious blood, body, passion, and wounds; devil stick, cummer, gore, roast, or rive them, and other ugsome oaths and execrations," the sinful habit was unabated. It was so prevalent that no condition, rank, or sex was exempt from it. It was therefore enacted that every bishop, earl, or lord so offending should for the first offence be fined twelvepence, a baron or high-beneficed churchman fourpence, and those of less degree in a proportionate penalty. Females so trespassing were also to be mulcted in a sum proportioned to their rank and descent, or that of the parties to whom they pertained by marriage or relationship.

Another iniquitous characteristic of the Scots was that of sexual profligacy. During the era of chivalry, notwithstanding its high professions of superior purity and devotedness to the ladies, it could not number chastity among its practical virtues; and in this inconsistency the Scottish knights appear to have been nothing better than those of France and England. But while the evil was abated in other countries, which had occasionally both virtuous kings and well-regulated courts to discountenance the evil, the case was very different in Scotland; there the whole race of Stuart, from its commencement to the close, with the solitary exception of James I., whatever may have been their virtues, had been notorious offenders in this particular; and the example which they thus afforded to the nobles, by an easy transition went down among the lower classes, until the whole mass was leavened with the seductive taint. And now it had gathered to a head, while the country was prolific of historians and poets to expose it; and it is by them that our eyes are opened to the fact that Scotland had now become one of the most profligate countries of Europe. James IV. and his successor combined the lust of Francis I. and Henry VIII. with a coarseness and shamelessness which the latter sovereigns would not have dared to emulate. The nobles and aristocracy in like manner availed themselves of their power and opportunities among their tenantry, and became the fathers of an illegitimate race of bonnet lairds, soldiers of fortune, and gentle beggars, whose birth was no bar to their advancement amidst the stirring changes of the times. And the clergy, who ought to have been the salt of the community, had not only lost their savour but become corrupt and noxious, and could only empoison the fermenting mass which they ought to have purified and restored; so that while Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Hamilton had ladies of name and lineage for their concubines, the monk, the friar, the paltry hedge-priest had the land at large for his range and the confessional for his place of selection and vantage-ground. All these facts we learn from the satirists and poets of the day; and when we turn to its history we find the charges borne out by the records of its criminal trials, and by the number of its illegitimate men who were actors in the great events of the country, and the founders of families of name and worship. The descriptive pages of Dunbar and Lyndsay reveal a wider taint and deeper and more loathsome depravity than even those of Chaucer. Alas that the Reformation was so long in coming, and that when come its effect in this instance was so slow!

In coming to the state of the fine arts at this period we learn little of their progress in Scotland, and even that scantiness is mixed with doubt and obscurity. This is especially the case with our national music, where such extreme views have been adopted, and such controversies waged on either side, that harmonious agreement is little likely to be the result. The following description of the early church music of Scotland, as quoted by Mackenzie from Ælred, a writer who died in the twelfth century, is likely to be true, as it is applicable to the church music of more than one country both in ancient and modern times: "Since all types and figures are now ceased, why so many organs and symbols in our churches? Why, I say, that terrible blowing of bellows, that rather imitates the frightsomeness of thunder than the sweet harmony of the voice? One restrains his breath, another breaks his breath, and a third unaccountably dilates his voice; and sometimes,

which I am ashamed to say, they fall a quavering like the neighing of horses. Then they lay down their manly vigour, and with their voices endeavour to imitate the softness of women. Then, by an artificial circumvolution, they have a variety of outrunnings. Sometimes you shall see them with open mouths, and their heads restrained, as if they were expiring and not singing; and, by a ridiculous interruption of their breath, seem as if they were altogether silent. At other times they appear like persons in the agonies of death; then, with a variety of gestures, they personate comedians: their lips are contracted; their eyes roll; their shoulders are moved upwards and downwards; their fingers move, and dance to every note. And this ridiculous behaviour is called religion! and when these things are most frequently done, then God is said to be more honourably worshipped!" If this was one of the improvements introduced by Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore, for the purpose of superseding the unadorned church service of the Culdees, the country was no gainer by the exchange. Luckily, however, this ornate and artificial style of sacred music did not long continue, as we learn from the *Lives of the Bishops of Dunblane*, written by George Newton and quoted by Dempster, that Simon Taylor, a Scottish Dominican, in or about the year 1240, so improved the Scottish church music as to enable it to vie with that of Rome itself.

These general statements, however, which rest upon such doubtful authority, besides giving us no distinct conception of the sacred music of the country, which perhaps, after all, was nothing more than that of the Catholic world in general, and therefore, independent of national distinctions, affords us no help in ascertaining the state of the secular music in Scotland whether vocal or instrumental; and we are thrown back upon the clairshsho of the Highlands and the warlike cowhorn of the Lowlands as the only instruments mentioned for the purposes of festival and battle. That others may have been used even so early as the battle of Bannockburn is not unlikely, although there were no historians to record the fact. The earliest of our national chronicles was that of Fordun, who mentions the use of organs in Scotland at the period of Malcolm Canmore, when the body of Margaret in 1250 was removed for interment beside the high altar of Dunfermline church; and the organ could scarcely have existed without suggesting the fabrication of wind-instruments of a more simple and easy character. The notices of music in the writings of succeeding Scottish authors are wholly accidental, as if the subject had been one that needed no explanation; and with the period which ended with James III. we have a variety of wind and string instruments in use without any notice of the period of their introduction. And what is worse still, we are left in equal ignorance of the nature of the national music. Tunes were played and ballads were sung, but not a scrap of notation survives to indicate their character and style. A national music there may already have been, although of what kind it would be rash to conjecture. The same obscurity hangs over the subject during the present period of our history. Instruments there were of great variety and bands of performers in abundance; but there is not a single Scottish tune, however old, of which we can positively say that it existed so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The whole field of original Scottish music, therefore, is one of those glorious cloud-lands which theorizers find so convenient for the erection of castles and palaces, and they have not been slow to occupy it. Even to the best music of Italy itself they have tried to assign a Scottish parentage.

Abandoning these dreams and confining ourselves to recorded realities we find music enough during the present period to satisfy the reasonable demands of national patriotism. James IV. had such a love of it that thirty-one minstrels belonged to the royal household; and among the entries of the king's expenditure there is one for the payment of sixty-nine minstrels, shawm-players, trumpeters, drummers, fiddlers, lute-players, harpers, and pipers. He pays to William Sangster of Linlithgow the large sum of ten pounds for a song-book (and what would not now be paid for it!). He rewards, either by gift or salary, a band of English pipers who played at his gate with the sum of £8, 9*s*. He even carried organs with him (and light portable instruments they must have been) in his justiciary progress into Eskdale. In the treasurer's books there is an entry towards the close of this period of two organs for the chapel of Holyrood. That the love of music also was general is shown not only by the fact that it formed an essential in social and domestic life, but also by the musical bands which were maintained by the principal Scottish towns. In the meantime what had become of the bagpipe? This almost universal instrument, probably the "organ" of Jubal and his pupils before the flood, had been common to Asia, to ancient Italy, to Sicily, to Ireland, and to England before we hear of its notes reaching among those Highland lochs, straths, and mountains which are vulgarly supposed to have been its native home. In England the bagpipe appears to have been a favourite instrument so early as the time of Chaucer, and with this instrument the burly

miller cheers the pilgrims on their ride to Canterbury, while not a word about it is to be found among the earliest writings or traditions of Scotland. The first notices which occur of pipers is not till the present period, and during the reign of James IV.; but from the treasurer's entries the performers were not Lowlanders nor even Highlanders, but Englishmen. This, then, may after all have been the origin of the bagpipe of the Gael; and being found an instrument better fitted for the purposes of war and festivity it superseded their national instrument, the harp, which is no longer to be found among the Highlanders except as an antiquarian relic. With these surmises we now abandon what we feel to be dangerous ground.

Of the progress of painting in Scotland we are still more ignorant than that of music. It was indispensable for the purposes of heraldry; but the warlike cognizances which were delineated on banners and shields gave little scope to the art, and no encouragement for its improvement. Even when a runaway heretic was to be burnt in effigy his picture, which was painted upon a board for the purpose, was not likely to be either a very faithful or a very flattering likeness of the original. We find that Mary of Guise, before the death of James V., had a salaried painter in her employ; but what was the nature and style of his productions, and whether he was a native or foreigner, we are not informed.

Amidst the strifes and continued barbarism of this period it is gratifying to mark the commencement of an age of civilization and the promise of a better state of things. This was afforded in the establishment of those universities which, although so late in their origin and so humble in their appearance and endowments, were to act with such promptitude, vigour, and effect in exalting the national character and carrying Scotland from the rearward into the front rank of intellectual distinction. Of the establishment of the University of St. Andrews in 1412 we have already given an account; that of Glasgow followed, being established in 1451; and notwithstanding the restrictive plan of education to which the universities were at first confined, they were even at the commencement of this period preparing scholars by whom the country was to be enlightened, and reformers by whom it was to be regenerated. At the head of the one class it is enough to mention George Buchanan, and at the head of the other, John Knox. Such a commencement alone, had nothing else been effected, would have been well worth the experiment. A third university was to follow, the University of Aberdeen, originated by Bishop Elphinston in 1494, but which was not founded until 1506. Originally it was to have been called Mary's College; but in consequence of the sovereign having become its patron the name was changed into that of King's College. The branches of education comprised within its course may be learned from a list of the persons supported upon the endowments. These were a doctor of theology, who was also principal of the establishment; a doctor of canon law, a doctor of civil law, a doctor of physic, a professor of humanity to teach grammar, a sub-principal to teach philosophy, a charter, a sacrist, six students of theology, three students of the laws, thirteen students of philosophy, an organist, and five singing boys, who were students of humanity.

The first principal appointed to King's College was Hector Boece, one of the few learned men who appeared in Scotland during the present period. He was born at Dundee in 1465, and after studying at the schools of his native town, at that time noted for their superiority, he continued his education at Aberdeen, and completed it at Paris. He then occupied a chair of moral philosophy in the College of Montacute, until he was invited home by Bishop Elphinston to preside over the college newly established at Aberdeen, where his salary was only forty marks a year. Of the general scholarship of Boece we have no means of judging, although it was reckoned very great by his contemporaries; but of his mastery of the Latin tongue, which constituted the chief learning of the period, there can be no question, as he was one of the best writers in that language which our country has produced. His chief work was a *History of Scotland*, in which, although he greatly surpasses in eloquence his predecessors Fordun, Bower, and Wyntoun, he falls greatly short of them in accuracy and credibility, not only adopting but amplifying and adorning all the legendary tales by which the early history of our country is obscured. But in this he did nothing more than the earlier English historians have done, Milton himself not excepted; and his work was received as a veritable narrative not only by his countrymen but strangers. Even his eloquence and fervour, by which he carried others along with him, was inspired by conviction, and he deserved the character given him by Erasmus, that he was "a man who knew not what it was to make a lie." As he was regarded as the Livy of his country he was pensioned by James V. with fifty pounds Scots yearly, and honoured by the people of Aberdeen as the brightest ornament of their city and university. His history being in Latin would have been a dead-letter to most of his countrymen, had not the king commissioned John Ballentyne or Bellenden, in 1530 or 1531, to translate it into the vernacular for

the use of his majesty himself, and others "who had missed their Latin." The task could not have been intrusted to better hands. Bellenden, who was an accomplished scholar for the age, accomplished his task in 1533, his work being a paraphrase rather than a translation, in which, while he has lost nothing of the spirit of the original, he has corrected its errors, supplied its omissions, and retrenched not a few of its redundancies. Besides this translation Bellenden rendered into Scoto-English the first five books of Livy, and was one of the numerous poets of the day who attended the court of James V. Being an ecclesiastic, and holding several profitable church appointments, he was opposed to the Reformation; but finding it too strong for him, he left the country and died at Rome about the year 1550.

Another Scottish historian of the period was John Mair, whose name was latinized into the more ostentatious one of Major. He was born at North Berwick in 1469, and was educated first at the University of Cambridge and afterwards at that of Paris, in which last place he wrote his work *De Gestis Scotorum* in 1518, where it was published three years after. This history, unlike the work of Boece, is dry and brief, while its language is not only devoid of eloquence but is stiff and pedantic although written in Latin, which at that time was the tongue of the learned and eloquent throughout Europe. But in other particulars it is greatly in advance of that written by his more popular contemporary. He had the hardihood to laugh to scorn the early traditions of the descent of the Scots from Gathelus and his Greeks, and for the most part to omit the fabulous records of the forty or forty-five kings who were said to have reigned between the periods of Fergus I. and Fergus II., not only in defiance of the authorities of Fordun and Wyntoun but the cherished prejudices of his countrymen; and perhaps it was mainly for the restoration of these beloved myths that Boece was afterwards induced to write his history, the earlier part of which he has so diligently repeopled with the sovereigns whom the other had disowned. He had also the wisdom to methodize and boldness to propound those sentiments of civil liberty which at present were only vaguely fermenting in the minds of the learned and thoughtful, and which are supposed to have suggested to Buchanan, his pupil, his celebrated work, *De jure regni apud Scotos*. On the return of Major from Paris to his own country he first became a professor of theology in the University of Glasgow and afterwards held the same office in that of St. Andrews, where he distinguished himself by the boldness of his speculations; and although an ecclesiastic of the Church of Rome, prepared the way for the Reformation by the inquiries he awakened in the minds of his pupils upon the doctrines of civil and religious liberty.

There were other Scotchmen of the period who distinguished themselves by their learning and talents, and who, had they contented themselves with the pursuits of scholarship for its own sake, might have enjoyed a life of undisturbed tranquillity or risen to the highest offices in the church. But their inquiries were directed to the great questions of the day, and the conclusions which they boldly proclaimed were such as brought them within the charge of heresy and compelled them to flee to foreign countries. Such a one was Alexander Aless or Alesius, a canon of the cathedral of St. Andrews and champion of the Romish faith, until he was compelled to pause by the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, and who, on escaping to Germany, became a convert to the doctrines of Protestantism and afterwards distinguished himself as one of the ablest theologians of the period. Another learned Scot whose endowments were also lost to his own country, although not from the same cause, was Florence Wilson, known to his contemporaries by his latinized name of Volusenus. He was born near Elgin about the year 1500, and after studying at Aberdeen repaired to England and afterwards to France, in which countries his talents procured for him the patronage of Cardinal Wolsey, Cardinal du Bellai, and Cardinal Sadolet, and were afterwards celebrated by a well-merited eulogy of Buchanan. But by far the most learned Scotchman of the period, a man who would have reflected honour upon any age or country, was the person whom we have last named. George Buchanan, the poet, historian, political writer, religious reformer, and royal and national preceptor, who stamped the impress of his genius and character upon the land that produced him, was born in Stirlingshire in 1506; and though the son of a widowed mother struggling with poverty, he commenced his career with that which was soon to form a distinguishing mark as well as high privilege of his countrymen, however lowly and poor: he was sent to the school of his native village of Killearn, and there he acquired those rudiments of learning which suffice to awaken every intellect superior to the common range, and to fit it for its own path of excellence which has thus been opened up for its entrance. Having learned all that such a school could teach, the progress of Buchanan was facilitated at the age of fifteen by his transference to the University of Paris, whither he was sent by a maternal uncle, but

he had not continued here two years when he was obliged by his impoverished circumstances to return to Scotland. The same stern necessity compelled him to become a common soldier in the Regent Albany's short and inglorious expedition to the Tweed in 1523. After this period he was alternately a student of St. Andrews and Paris, until in 1529 he was appointed a professor in the College of St. Barbe. Three years afterwards he became tutor to the son of the Earl of Cassilis. On the marriage of James V. to the Princess Magdalene in Paris Buchanan returned in the royal train to Scotland, and began to distinguish himself by his scholarship and his Latin poetry, in which he mercilessly satirized the clerical vices of the day. James, who despised the priesthood while he made use of their services, was so delighted with these attacks that he encouraged the poet to persevere; and it was under the royal importunity that Buchanan wrote his *Franciscanus*, one of the wittiest and most bitter poems by which the Reformation had been heralded in any country of Europe. So frantic were the clergy on this occasion that nothing but the death of the culprit would satisfy them; and their revenge would have been successful had not the poet fled to England and afterwards to France, being pursued in both countries by the hatred of Cardinal Beaton and the Franciscans. It was not until the arrival of Mary in Scotland, and after he had won a European reputation by his writings and attainments, that Buchanan was enabled to return to his native country.

From these notices of the learned men of Scotland, few though they are in number, it will be seen that the intellect of the land was roused from its lethargy, and a promise given of a new national career in which the indomitable resolution of the people, hitherto so well approved, would not be found wanting. It will also be seen that this awakening had been chiefly provoked by the lethargy and corruptions of the church, under which the overlaid spirit of the land could sleep no longer; that this impulse, given by universities which were founded by prelates, was chiefly carried on by churchmen who had caught the inspiration; and that the subjects of investigation and contest were not the mere niceties of literature, the amusing theories of philosophy, or the discoveries and inventions of physical science, but the birthrights of man for time and his destinies for eternity. The forces were already mustering, and there were the preparations for the great coming encounter. It is in the next period, therefore, that we shall be able to perceive more fully the manifestations of that spirit which was already shaking the nation to its centre, and appreciate its character and its agents.

Although so few learned men had hitherto appeared in Scotland compared with England and the great nations of the Continent, this deficiency will be no subject either of wonder or disparagement to those who take the causes into account. Hitherto the history of Scotland had been an incessant struggle not for conquest or supremacy, but for very existence; and while other lands had enjoyed leisure for the cultivation of better pursuits, the mere science of war had formed the exclusive study of the Scot. Even when the period of emancipation had arrived it was to the poorest and least populous of all the nations, the latest to be visited, and the least prepared for the advent. It was not from barely a million of impoverished, overtoiled men that a numerous throng of scholars could be expected to issue; and yet even already the country had furnished its fair contingent. Even granting, however, that the list of literary and scientific men produced by the present period is a small one, the same cannot be said of its poets, by whom rather than by its scholars the intellectual character of the day was chiefly manifested. As we have already noticed in an earlier part of our history the first great poetical epoch of both Scotland and England had occurred almost simultaneously, James I. having been the contemporary and pupil of Chaucer, and, we might even add, his rival. But while a dreary interval followed in England, so that no poet worthy of note appeared from the reign of Henry IV. to the close of that of Henry VIII., Scotland had possessed its Barbour, Wyntoun, and Henry the Minstrel, who carried on the line successively from the reign of our poet-king to that of James IV., when such a host of Scottish poets appeared that it becomes difficult even to enumerate them. Thus while the harp of England was hanging on the willows and only murmuring occasionally to a passing breeze, Scotland, less refined, less educated, and with fewer incentives to intellectual emulation, produced a whole crowd of poets, most of whose works were above mediocrity, while some of them are still unsurpassed.

This peculiarity between the two countries may be attributed perhaps to the different spirit now at work in both to produce that vast national change, the Reformation. It is true that in England the change had also commenced, and that there it was effected sooner than in Scotland; but still the movement in the former, both in its character and agencies, differed greatly from that of the latter country. With the English it was in the first instance a limited and sectarian rather than a general rising, and

until royalty itself vouchsafed to adopt it for its own there was little prospect of their becoming a Protestant people. A reformation thus identified with political motives was carried on in the same fashion and by the same principles: the national faith, or at least the public profession of it, veered according to royal edicts from Popery to Protestantism, from Protestantism to an intermediate creed, and from that negative state back again to Popery, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary, until this uncertain oscillation was arrested by Elizabeth, who made her subjects Protestants according to her own favourite pattern by royal proclamations and acts of parliament. But in Scotland there was no such partial revolt against the old state of things. There was no such passive and compliant obedience to state authority. As soon as the new doctrines were announced the people felt that under the old creed they had been duped and enslaved; and taking this conviction into their innermost hearts, they were resolved to fight the good fight of religious liberty in the same bold spirit with which they had established their national freedom, and be as independent of Rome and the popes as they had made themselves of England and the Plantagenets. Their nobles might stand aloof or turn upon them, and their sovereigns might oppose them, but this was nothing more than they had experienced in former times; and they were ready to encounter it again, with the confidence that they would also surmount it. With the whole national enthusiasm thus kindled, and upon a subject in which the highest faculties of heart and soul were called into action, how could such a period be otherwise than an age of poetry? Even the first poetical heavings were the utterances of the popular desire; and the scholastic arguments with which the contest was waged were preceded by hymns, by satires, by tuneful appeals that woke a devotional spirit or roused the understanding to reflection and inquiry. Song was more intelligible than argument, and with song the Scottish Reformation commenced. In this manner such poets as Dunbar, Lyndsay, and Buchanan were not only the co-operators but the predecessors of Hamilton, Wishart, Knox, Craig, and Erskine.

To those who are curious in omens and coincidences it might seem a circumstance worth noticing, that when the new struggle for religious liberty was about to commence the laureate of Scotland's battles for political and national independence had not yet passed from the scene. Blind Harry was still alive, and supported by a pension from James IV. so late as 1492. The exploits of Sir William Wallace which he had so rudely yet eloquently sung were still affectionately remembered and enthusiastically recited, and, like the Homeric ballads by which the Greeks were armed against their Asiatic invaders, they may have animated the country for that coming struggle which neither the hero nor the poet had contemplated. Of the new race of poets by whom the blind old minstrel was succeeded, the first place is due to William Dunbar, the Chaucer of Scotland. This great poet, of whose life few incidents are mentioned, and these only accidentally, in the writings of his contemporaries and his own poems, appears to have been born about the year 1465, but in what part of Scotland is uncertain. The place, mode, and measure of his education are equally conjectural. Having been trained for the clerical profession he appears to have served in his youth as a novice of the Franciscan order, and in this capacity, according to his own statement, had travelled through every town in England between Berwick and Calais, and enjoyed good cheer in each of them; that he had obtained the distinction of preaching in the pulpits of Dernton and Canterbury; and that he had crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this vocation and mode of living he also acknowledges, half in mirth and half in sorrow and compunction, had compelled him to use many a pious fraud from the guilt of which no holy water could cleanse him. By such occasional sneers as these, and his attacks on the vices of the clergy, combined with his bold, free, independent sentiments, he indicates the middle ground on which his belief rested between the old creed and the new: he had so far extricated himself from the superstitions of his early training and the partialities of his profession as negatively to be on the side of the reformers, and disposed indirectly to advance their cause. Dunbar's first appearance in public life in Scotland was about the beginning of the sixteenth century, when he was a priest lingering at court for church preferment and joining in those courtly revels which at such a period were no disqualifications for a bishopric.[1]

[1] He thus describes himself as one of the performers in the "Dance in the Queen's Chamber:"—

Than cam in Dunbar the makar;
On all the flure thair was nane frackar,
  And thair he daunsit the Dirry-dantoun;
  He hoppet lyk a pillie wantoun,
For luiff of Musgraiffe, men tellis me:
  He trippit quhill he tint his pantoun: [shoe]
A mirrear dance micht na man see.

Than cam in Maistriss Musgraiffe;
Scho micht haiff lernit all the laiffe.
  Quhen I saw hir sa trimlye dance,
  Hir gud convoy and countenance,
Than for hir saik I wissit to be
  The grytest erle or duke in France;
A mirrear dance micht na man see.

He appears to have enjoyed an annual pension of ten pounds from James IV.; but notwithstanding his talents and his diligence to ingratiate himself both with the king and queen, his applications for a church living were neglected, although, as he stated, his wishes were limited to a poor country kirk covered with heather. The cause of this neglect on the part of such a sovereign, who was both a judge and bountiful rewarder of genius, we are unable to discover. The sadness produced by these repeated and long-continued disappointments is expressed in his poems with profound moralizings and touching pathos. Such is the little we can ascertain of one who is now regarded as the brightest ornament of the court of James IV., and whose name has outlived that of many a devoted hero who died for the king at Flodden. Even the date of Dunbar's death is unknown, but from an incidental notice in the works of Sir David Lyndsay it is certain that he died before the year 1530.

The first of the principal poems of Dunbar is the *Thistle and the Rose*, an allegorical epithalamium composed on the marriage of James IV. to Margaret of England. This marriage so important in its results, by which the crowns of the two contending kingdoms were finally united, was worthy of a poem exhibiting the highest combination of natural genius and poetical art; and such a character is amply merited by the *Thistle and the Rose* of William Dunbar. The allegory is skilfully constructed, the principal figures are vigorously sketched, and the whole picture is delicately lighted with the fairest tints of sunshine—proving that the highest classical elements of poetry are not necessarily dependent upon an advanced stage of civilization. His next large poem is the *Golden Targe*, an allegory illustrative of the predominance of love over reason, and the necessity of a targe or buckler as a protection from its allurements. In his smaller pieces, which are characterized by comic description and keen sarcastic humour, his *Two Married Women and the Widow* is the most conspicuous. But superior even to the *Thistle and Rose*, is his poem of *A Dance*, in which the seven deadly sins exhibit their wild unearthly gambols at the call of Satan their master. This poem, though short, may be pronounced his master-piece, as it combines the grandeur of Milton with the gloom of Dante, and sketches the personages of the dance with a vigour and distinctness which Spenser's *Faerie Queene* has not surpassed, and scarcely equalled. The excellence of the great Scottish bard is thus justly summed up by Pinkerton, who seems to have surveyed it in one of his few happy moods: "Humour, description, allegory, great poetical genius, and a vast wealth of words—all unite to form the complexion of Dunbar's poetry. He unites in himself, and generally surpasses, the qualities of the chief old English poets; the morals and satire of Langland, Chaucer's humour, poetry, and knowledge of life, the allegory of Gower, the description of Lydgate."

Another distinguished poet of the period, although inferior to Dunbar in genius and originality, is Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. Of this high-born, learned, and talented prelate we have already noticed the political career, while he was at one time contending for the archbishopric of St. Andrews with secular weapons, at another engaged in the contentions of his family against the royal power, and at another as their emissary to England, in which he was doomed to spend the last of his days as an exile. He was the fifth son of the renowned Earl of Angus, known in Scottish history by the name of Bell-the-Cat, and was born about A.D. 1474. Having been destined to the vocation of a churchman when such an office gave admission to the highest rank, wealth, and power, and when it was regarded as the best patrimony for the younger sons of noble families, Gavin Douglas was educated at the university of Paris, after which he is supposed to have travelled for some time upon the Continent. His first clerical living was the rectorship of the town of Hawick, and here he commenced his proper vocation of poet by a translation of Ovid's *Remedy of Love*, which he appears to have written before the year 1501. It was during that year that he produced his *Palace of Honour*, in which, under the similitude of a dream, he illustrates by great historical examples the vanity and uncertainty of worldly glory, and how nothing except virtuous self-denying perseverance can win its way to that palace, which he describes as seated on a high mountain, and very difficult of access. Although such an allegory would now be deemed a mere commonplace idea, it was not so in Scotland when the sixteenth century had only commenced; and the illustrations of the poet drawn from sources which were beyond the reading of the age, and embellished with the graces of poetry, had all the freshness of novelty to the people for whom he wrote. An attempt has been sometimes made to prove that Bunyan must have adopted the plan of his *Pilgrim's Progress* from the bishop's poetical allegory of the *Palace of Honour;* but, besides that the resemblance between the two works is no more than that between Macedon and Monmouth, the tinker of Bedford was not likely to have heard of such a poem, or to have taken his cue from a prelate and a papist.

In 1509 Gavin Douglas was translated from Hawick to Edinburgh; but happily for his fame, long before he entered the turmoil of the capital he had contemplated his chief attempt, the translation of Virgil's *Æneid* into his native tongue. As yet the great Mantuan was unknown either in England or Scotland, except to those who had more Latin than sufficed for the church service; and Douglas knew that a translation of Virgil would open up to him a path to the Palace of Honour more easy than the rugged way he had travelled in his dream, and where, according to his own showing, he had at last tumbled from a bridge into the river. In translating the *Æneid*, however, Douglas did not confine himself to the mere task of a translator, or hold himself bound to the very words of the original; on the contrary his aim was to reflect its character and spirit, to imitate rather than to copy; and by adapting the story to modern forms and usages, make it better understood and more keenly relished. It was thus, indeed, that the ancient authors were first translated into the modern tongues of Europe: they were paraphrases rather than translations, and he who undertook the task considered himself the son rather than the submissive slave of his great original. The adaptations of Douglas sometimes provoke a smile in the readers of our own day. He converts Æneas into a Trojan baron of the right chivalric stamp; and his conductor through the shades, instead of being a heathen Sibyl, and therefore a mere witch and child of Mahound and Termagant, he transforms into a nun, who piously exhorts her follower to tell his beads as he goes forward. He also changes so completely the names of some of the principal characters that it is almost impossible to recognize them. But, besides these liberties with his author, Douglas prefaced each of the twelve books with an introduction of his own, and added a translation of the poem of Maphæus Vegius, an Italian of the fifteenth century, written as a thirteenth book of the *Æneid*. The difficult and important task was accomplished in the short space of eighteen months, and finished in 1513. Of the work itself it is much to say that while the translator has caught the inspiration of his author and infused it into his rough vernacular, his own original additions are not blemishes, nor even the worst parts of the version. Most unfortunate it was, however, for the *Æneid* of Gavin Douglas, as well as the other literary productions of the period, that it was embodied in a language in its transition state, and which has now become so obsolete as to be scarcely intelligible even to antiquaries themselves.

After these pure and ennobling occupations, by which Douglas won for himself a high name both as a poet and scholar, a long period of political warfare followed with which his family ties connected him, and in which, as we have already seen, he came by the worst; and perhaps it would have been better for his literary fame as well as peace of mind, if his birth had been less distinguished, and his position no better than that of Dunbar. His last poetical production was *King Hart*, a poem in two cantos, supposed to have been the work of his old age, and which, characteristically enough, is a gloomy view of human life; and from its imperfect state it may be surmised that he had died before he had time or inclination to revise it. His death, which was occasioned by the plague, occurred in London in 1522. He was buried in the Savoy Church, and his epitaph was inscribed on the tombstone of Bishop Halsay by the side of whose remains his own were interred.

A less eminent but still a distinguished poet was Robert Henderson, or, as the name is commonly spelled, Henryson, supposed to have been the same person who is mentioned in early records as the schoolmaster of Dunfermline. The dates of his birth and death are also uncertain, but he preceded Dunbar, who in his *Lament for the Makers* speaks of him as one who had died before the year 1508. As a poet Henderson is not so remarkable for his power or originality, though in these he was not deficient, as for his language. It is wonderful as compared with that of his successors for its copiousness, simplicity, and easy musical flow of versification; and he is so free withal from that ostentatious pedantry of learning which was so often intruded into the poetry of the age that although he was the earliest, he may also be considered the most modern and intelligible of all the poets of this period. Of Henryson's works the principal is a collection of fables thirteen in number, of which the *Vponland Mouse and Burgesse Mouse* (Country Mouse and Town Mouse) is a well-known apologue that has been embodied in many languages. Another is entitled *Sir Chauntecleire and the Foxe*, and is an imitation of the tale of the nun's priest in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. It may be observed, however, of these productions of Henryson that in his zeal for amplification and description he forgets that brevity is one of the principal qualities required in a fable. One of the most remarkable of these productions is his *Testament of Cresseid*, written as a sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseid*. In this story, which Chaucer, Henryson, and Shakspere have all successively handled, it is to be noted that all three have adapted it to the life and habits of their own day, so that they present a

curious mixture of what is ancient and modern incongruously blended together. Thus Henryson's Troilus is a knight adorned with Christian virtues; a heathen temple is transformed into a kirk; Mercury is appointed speaker, not of Olympus but a parliament; and Cresseid, on being punished with leprosy for her inconstancy, is sent to the spittal-house and obliged, like other lepers of the time, to beg at the town's-end with cup and clapper. But of all the poems of Henryson none is equal in beauty, simplicity, and truthfulness to his *Robene and Makyne*. It is a pastoral poem, and, as far as can be learned, the first attempt of that kind in Scottish poetry; we may also add that it is the best, as Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* can scarcely be said to equal it.

But the great poet of the day, if the influence of his poetry upon the public mind and the course of national events is to be taken as the standard, was Sir David Lyndsay. He is supposed to have been born at the Mount, the seat of his family, near Cupar in Fife, about the year 1490, and was educated at the school of that town and the University of St. Andrews. His first recognizable appearance in the public events of the period was on a truly poetical occasion; it was in the church of Linlithgow and as one of the court attendants of James IV., when the strange visitant appeared before the king as the apostle John sent to him with a message from heaven, and denounced the rash invasion which he was preparing to conduct into England. It is added in the narrative that he tried with the other courtiers to arrest the mysterious monitor, who strangely vanished from their presence. During this period his office at court was an honourable or a humble one according to the light in which it is viewed; for it was as dry-nurse, playmate, household tutor, and personal guardian of the child and boy who was heir to the throne and was afterwards James V. These opportunities of ingratiating himself into the royal favour and becoming a leading man in the state were abruptly terminated by the queen-mother in 1524; and it was not until 1530, when the power of the Douglases was overthrown, that the poet was recalled to the court, invested with the order of knighthood, and appointed to the office of lyon-king-at-arms. But already he had distinguished himself as a poet by the *Dream* and the *Complaint*, written, it is supposed, during his retirement; and on being recalled to court he assumed the office of censor and court satirist in addition to that of lyon-king, while the vices of the courtiers and errors in the government furnished ample materials for his causticity and wit. Already also he had dared to avow his sympathy with the Reformation by rebuking the vices of the clergy and exposing their unfitness for the sacred office. On one occasion he expressed those feelings in a manner that was well suited to the rough wit of the times. While the king was one day surrounded by his bishops and courtiers Lyndsay entered with a humble petition for an office that had just fallen vacant. "I have served your grace long," he said, "and look to be rewarded as others are; and now your master-tailor at the pleasure of God is departed, wherefore I would desire of your grace to bestow this little benefit upon me." James, who must have seen that some good jest was about to take wing, expressed his astonishment that he should seek such an office, as he could neither shape nor sew. "That makes no matter," replied the poet, apparently in urgent earnest; "you have given bishoprics and benefices to many standing here about you who can neither teach nor preach; and why not I as well be your tailor, though I can neither shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are no less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to a tailor?" It was a biting jest, and showed that the lyon-king had the fangs of the animal from which he derived his title. However James may have enjoyed the joke, although a large share of it was at his own expense, he could scarcely promote one so hostile to the priesthood, on whose services he so greatly depended, and for whose sake he at last became a persecutor; and in the subsequent state of things Lyndsay may perhaps have congratulated himself that he had not been promoted to the honour of martyrdom itself. Still the king could not dispense with the services of his old favourite, so that Sir David was employed in important negotiations connected with the Scottish commerce both in the Netherlands and at the court of Denmark, and in 1537 he superintended the pageants with which Mary, the wife of James V., was welcomed to Scotland. During the stir of the Reformation and the war it occasioned, Lyndsay, who had done so much to facilitate its progress, was not an actor, but for this seclusion his age and studious habits may perhaps sufficiently account. Already, however, he had done his part, and he had done it well; what remained was the work of commissioned preachers, of influential nobles, and mail-clad barons whom he had partly stirred into proper action, and whose deeds he was ready to witness and applaud. When the movement commenced also he showed no reluctance to identify himself with its dangers and uncertainties. He was among the counsellors who confirmed the wavering Duke of Chastelherault in his purpose to

support the Reformation. When Cardinal Beaton was assassinated he was not only the apologist of the deed but the open friend of the garrison in the castle of St. Andrews; and when they deliberated on the expediency of calling John Knox to be their minister Sir David was taken into their counsel on this important occasion. He outlived the present period and was alive in 1567, when he was approaching the age of fourscore, but of the date of his death we have no account. How he had escaped martyrdom was wonderful, considering his early adoption and bold profession of Protestant principles, and his unsparing attacks upon the vices of the clergy and the superstitions of the established religion; and it has been supposed that James V. extended to him that royal protection which he ungenerously withheld from Buchanan when the latter wrote his *Franciscanus*. But besides that James was little inclined to interpose between the church and its victims, the clergy indicated what they would have done to the poet of the Mount by condemning his writings to the flames during his lifetime under the regency of Mary of Guise. It is probable that Lyndsay rather owed his safety to the powerful families with which he was connected, and still more to the popularity of his works, which were admired and relished by all classes of the people, whatever might be the difference of their religious belief.

The poetry of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, although of such unquestionable merit, can scarcely compete with the productions of Dunbar. Occasionally he has noble touches of sublimity, tenderness, and descriptive excellence that bring him near the standard of the latter; but instead of these higher poetical excellences, his forte lay in sound practical common sense, lively Scottish humour, and pungent sarcasms—qualities that, besides expressing the national spirit of his countrymen, fitted him for the crisis in which he lived, by making him the successful assailant of a corrupted church and the harbinger of a better faith. Accordingly he was eminently the poet of the Scottish Reformation; and his popularity, being established upon such a durable basis, continued unabated and unshaken until his language ceased to be generally intelligible. Indeed until the middle of the last century the favourite poets of the common people were "Blind Harry" and "Davie Lyndsay." Of Lyndsay's productions, which are numerous, the chief are the *Satire on the Three Estates*, the *Adventures of Squire Meldrum*, *The Dream*, *The Complaint of the King's Papingo*, *The Answer to the King's Flyting*, and *The Complaint of Basche the King's Hound*.

Besides these poets of a higher order so many others of inferior note belonged to this period, emphatically the age of Scottish poetry, that it becomes difficult to enumerate them. But it would be unpardonable to omit James V., who, if really the author of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, as there is strong presumption for believing, might have become in a humbler position or under different circumstances one of the greatest of Scotland's poets instead of one of the most unfortunate of its kings. To him has also been attributed by popular tradition those rollicking but truly humorous ballads, the "Jolly Beggar" and the "Gaberlunzie." To such a royal authorship it has been objected that the language of these poems is too modern for the earlier part of the sixteenth century; but such short ballads, which were favourites with the people and transmitted orally from one generation to another, would necessarily become modernized by the process before they were finally committed to print. Another poet, Walter Kennedy, a native of Carrick in Ayrshire and a churchman, was also a poet and satirist of no mean order, who maintained against Dunbar one of those poetical skirmishes called a "flyting," which seem to have been a favourite amusement among the Scottish poets of the period; and that he was able to hold his own, as he appears to have done, against such a redoubtable antagonist, is no trivial commendation. In this combat Kennedy had for his poetical squire or second Quintin Shaw, also one of the "makers." Besides these poets we have two of the name of Rouell, one of them an inhabitant of Aberdeen and the other a priest of Corstorphine, and Clapperton, whose Christian name is unknown, but who wrote a song entitled "Wa worth Marriage," of wonderful simplicity and beauty. Besides these and others that might be named, Dunbar, in his *Lament for the Makers*, enumerates not less than nine Scottish poets his contemporaries, but of whom little is known, and of whose productions only a very few fragments have survived. It was unfortunate for their memory that they had passed away either before the art of printing had been introduced into Scotland or before its uses were of general application.

That great desideratum, however, was at hand, and when its services were most in requisition. The introduction of the art of printing into Scotland had been long delayed; but our surprise at this will cease when we remember how little demand had as yet existed for its exercise; and while the other European countries had promptly availed themselves of the invention that gave wings to knowledge, our country had been confined to the specimens of

the new art which were imported from abroad as rarities. In this way the first entrances not only of literature but of the Reformation had been made, and instead of satisfying they only increased the newly awakened craving. The practice of reading created the capacity and the desire to write, and the country must have a press of its own. This inevitable demand was fulfilled, but not until 1507, when a printing-house was established in Edinburgh by Walter Chepeman and Andrew Millar, two of the city burgesses. The royal patronage seems to have been secured for the undertaking by the circumstance of Chepeman having been a servant to the king in some literary capacity, and held in considerable estimation. In the grant it was stated that these citizens having undertaken at the request of the king (James IV.) "to furnis and bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand thereto, and expert men to use the samyne," had obtained an exclusive privilege to print books of law, acts of parliament, chronicles, mass-books, portuises, the legends of Scottish saints, and all other books that should be judged necessary. So strict and exclusive a monopoly of the great instrument of knowledge was nothing less than necessary for the encouragement of such a new and precarious adventure as that of setting up a press in Scotland.

Strengthened by such patronage Walter Chepeman and his partner were not remiss in the use of their license: in the same year that the patent was granted their press was in active operation; and in the treasurer's entries of James IV., dated November 22, 1507, we find one of fifty shillings for "three printed books to the king taken from Andrew Millar's wife." The printing establishment was in the Cowgate, and among its issues the works of William Dunbar held a conspicuous place. Like other patentees, also, the printers were obliged to maintain their exclusive rights against interlopers; and we find that so early as January, 1509, they lodged a complaint against several of their fellow-citizens who had imported and were daily selling books that had been printed abroad. On this occasion the lords of council confirmed the privileges of the complainers, and prohibited the sale of all books that did not issue from their press. But other and more serious difficulties occurred to retard the progress of printing in Scotland. By the death of James IV. Chepeman and his partner lost their royal and bountiful patron; the disturbances of the minority of James V. and the ascendency which the clergy afterwards acquired laid an arrest upon the free diffusion of knowledge, and compelled the spirit of inquiry to rest satisfied with the importation of such books from England and the Continent as were able to elude or pass through the ordeal of a strict clerical censorship. Accordingly, from 1513 to 1542 the operations of the Scottish press were suspended, until the commencement of the Reformation burst the barriers by which the spirit of inquiry was confined, and not only brought freedom to the dissemination of thought, but imparted new life to every form of intellect and every department of literature.

PERIOD VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V. TO THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. (A.D. 1542 TO A.D. 1567).

CHAPTER I.

REGENCY OF THE EARL OF ARRAN (1542–1545).

King Henry's treatment of the Scottish prisoners taken at Solway—His design to unite the two kingdoms by marrying his son to the infant Queen of Scots—The prisoners set free on condition of forwarding the match—State of parties in Scotland at this period—Cardinal Beaton's intrigues to obtain the regency—He is set aside, and the Earl of Arran chosen governor—Beaton plots against Arran—The cardinal thrown into prison—Intrigues of a party of the Scottish nobles to promote the English match—Terms of agreement to it proposed by the Scottish parliament—Henry's rejection of the terms—Beaton regains his liberty—Henry's imperious demands in the marriage proposal—The "secret device" subscribed by certain Scottish lords—Beaton's efforts to counteract it—Beaton and the governor reconciled—French influence strengthened in Scotland by the imperious conduct of Henry—His mean attempts for a reconciliation—The lords of his party defeated—Treaties of the Scottish parliament to strengthen the country against England—Continuing progress of the Reformation in Scotland—Journey of Cardinal Beaton to Perth for the suppression of the Reformation—He holds trial on those accused of heresy—Nature of their offences—Their punishment—Martyrdom of Helen Stark—Renewed intrigues of the nobles in the English interests—Their wavering and double-dealing—Explanation of their inconsistent conduct—Their proposal to have Beaton assassinated—The English invade Scotland—They land at Leith—They burn Edinburgh—Indiscriminate havoc effected in their invasion—They retreat—Unprofitable results of their expedition—The Earls of Lennox and Glencairn take arms in behalf of the English party—They are defeated, and Lennox escapes to England—Attempts to displace Arran from the office of governor—Lennox makes an unsuccessful invasion into Scotland—Scottish anarchy followed by English invasions—Henry's grant of a large portion of Scotland to Layton and Eure—They invade Scotland to win their possessions by conquest—Destructive character of their inroad—They are met and completely routed at Ancrum—Anger of Henry at the event—Derisive apology of the Earl of Angus for his share in the victory of Ancrum.

AFTER the rout of Solway the Scottish prisoners of chief estimation to the number of seven noblemen and twenty-four gentlemen were conveyed to London. If they so tamely surrendered to the enemy for the purpose of avoiding the shame of returning home, and the just anger of their king, they gained little by the alternative; for greater ignominy awaited them in London, and the exactions of a harsher sovereign than James V. On their arrival in the English capital they were paraded through the streets, and after undergoing the sharp rebukes of Henry VIII. were thrown into the Tower, where they were watched with the utmost closeness. This would probably have been but a foretaste of deeper humiliation and a heavier punishment, but for the tidings which arrived a few days afterwards from Scotland, that its king was dead, with none but a new-born infant for his successor, events which wholly changed the views and proceedings of Henry. By a marriage of his only son Edward with the infant daughter of James the union of Scotland with England would be accomplished without the labour or the risk of conquest; and with the resources of both kingdoms at his disposal he would be more than a match for any coalition which the Catholic powers upon the Continent might be ready to form against him. And never, indeed, had the chance of such a measure been more propitious, or its promise of success more hopeful. An interregnum had once more succeeded in Scotland, when, as had always been the case, chief would be arrayed against chief, and every man against his fellow. Protestantism, which was of such rapid growth, had already entered Scotland; and its adherents would be more willing to unite with Protestant England than with France and the Popish party in Scotland. But besides these divisions both religious and political, which might all be equally subservient to his views, Henry had pledges in

hand, and through them the means of present action—an advantage more congenial to his impetuous disposition than the distant, though assured, results of these contingencies. The exiled Earl of Angus was his devoted pensioner, so that he might reckon upon the Douglases; the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners might be won by conciliation and sent home enlisted in his interests. Nothing was needed but prudence and patience to combine these advantages and conduct them to a happy issue; while the warning of former trials was sufficient to point out the errors to be avoided in attempting the long-sought union.

But prudence and patience were the virtues in which Henry was deficient, and his rashness sufficed to mar the scheme at the outset. He would not consent that the union of the two kingdoms should be upon equal terms, or that any other than himself should be recognized as the absolute sovereign of both; and these conditions by alarming the national pride and independent spirit of the Scots were certain to unite them for a national resistance, let their nobles be as acquiescent as they might. Overlooking these considerations Henry, after soothing his prisoners by a few kindnesses and many promises, laid before them the project of a union of the kingdoms by the marriage of his son Prince Edward to the Princess Mary, but clogged with such conditions as were enough to alarm their pride both national and personal. They were to acknowledge him as lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland. They were to exert their utmost power and influence to obtain for him the government of the kingdom, and have its chief fortresses surrendered into his hands along with the infant Mary, who was to be conveyed to England and consigned to his keeping; and should the Scottish parliament refuse these proposals they were to join his armies with their whole feudal array for a complete conquest of Scotland.[1] On these conditions they were to be released from confinement and permitted to return to their homes. And that they might have no chance of escape from such degrading conditions after they were set at liberty, a bond was drawn up of the terms of this engagement to which they were required to append their subscription and confirm it by the solemnity of an oath, while their eldest sons or nearest kinsmen were to be surrendered to his keeping as hostages for their fidelity. Even if their endeavours failed to be successful, instead of being freed by the failure they were still to be at his command, by either returning to their prison at his summons, or remaining in Scotland to assist him in its conquest if he judged their services to be necessary there. To these degrading terms the most influential of the Scottish nobles, the Earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, and the Lords Oliphant, Somerville, and Maxwell submitted, and were set at liberty, while the rest of the prisoners, either not having the same offers or having the spirit to reject them, were still retained in captivity.[2]

While these transactions were going on in London the condition of Scottish affairs was in the highest degree unsettled. On the one hand were Cardinal Beaton and the clergy, whose chief political principles were hatred of the Reformation and heretical England, and devotedness to the interests of France and the Romish religion—principles to which they could readily impart the character of piety and true patriotism—and whose very existence depended upon the maintenance of the old order of things. With them were joined the nobility of the old school, whom ancestral pride, love of country, or the profitable fruits of a war with England could still rally round the standard under which their fathers had fought and died. With them, also, were the greater portion of the people, who as yet knew nothing of gospellers and the new religion, and who were content to believe what their priests taught, and to follow where their lords might be pleased to lead them. Opposed to them were the party who were either inclined to the cause of the Reformation or to an alliance with England, and who were in favour of the marriage of their infant queen with Prince Edward, if it could be accomplished without prejudice to the independence of their country. But, besides the weakening influence of Henry's machinations, this party was little likely to have its interests benefited by the wavering Earl of Arran, who was at its head, or by the lords now returning from their English captivity, or by the Earl of Angus and the Douglases, who were ready to join it for the advancement of their own traitorous purposes. It was well that the Scottish Reformation was not left to such supporters, or obliged to depend upon its political resources, and that it was able to surmount the perversity of its friends as well as the opposition of its enemies.

While Henry was intriguing for the subjugation of Scotland by a royal marriage the two Scottish parties had commenced that struggle into which no compromise could enter. It was to decide the question whether Scotland was to belong to Rome or to the Reformation. The first step was taken by Cardinal Beaton, who produced the will of the late king appointing

[1] Sadler's State Papers, i. 97.

[2] Maitland's *History of Scotland*, ii. pp. 837, 838.

him the guardian of the infant Mary and also governor of the realm, with the aid of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Moray, and Huntly, three noblemen attached to his interests; and on the strength of this doubtful document he caused himself to be proclaimed regent, and proceeded to assume the direction of public affairs. But here his ambition overreached his craft by exciting the alarm of the proud nobles, who were not prepared for such a summary usurpation, and that especially by a churchman: they proclaimed the will a forgery drawn up by the cardinal himself, and subscribed with the dead king's hand, while the Earl of Arran, as heir presumptive of the crown, insisted upon his right to the regency, and had his claims universally acknowledged. It was time, indeed, for Arran to rouse himself from his habitual apathy and strengthen himself against the cardinal, for upon the king's person at the time of his death was found a scroll, drawn up, it was asserted, by Beaton himself, in which three hundred and sixty persons were marked for prosecution or destruction. They were the names of the principal noblemen and barons who were suspected of a leaning to the Reformation, by the confiscation of whose estates James might enrich himself and make his power absolute; while the list was headed with the name of the Earl of Arran himself, whose attachment to the old faith had already become questionable. These revelations of the cardinal's cruelty and ambition were sufficient to unseat him after he had exercised his office only a few days, and on the 22d of December, 1542, the Earl of Arran was solemnly installed in the regency.[1] But this defeat only animated the cardinal to a more decided and open resistance to the progress of the Reformation in Scotland and an alliance of the country with England. He alarmed the fears of the mercantile community by representing the iniquity of Henry's proceedings in seizing the Scottish shipping in the English ports and confiscating their cargoes without proclamation of war. He roused the patriotism of the people at large by representing the proposed marriage of their princess to Henry's son as nothing more than the old device of Edward Longshanks to enslave the liberties of their country and bring it into subjection to England. And not trusting to the popular feeling alone he wrote to France and the princes of the house of Guise, representing the dangerous state of affairs, and requesting them to send him aid in men, arms, and money, if they wished that Scotland should still be retained in its adherence to the faith of Rome and its ancient alliance with France.[2]

While these dangerous proceedings were going on Arran, whose authority they would soon have overturned, was strengthened by the opportune arrival of the Douglases and the nobles who had been released from their English prison. However various might be their views in religious matters, or however unpatriotic their purposes, they were at one in their hostility to the cardinal, who was equally opposed to their schemes and their interests, and whom, therefore, in the first instance it was necessary to remove. And this was done in that rude and summary manner which so generally characterized a measure of the kind in Scotland. On the 20th of January, 1543, without previous notice, and while he suspected no danger, Beaton was suddenly arrested on the charge of a treasonable correspondence with France, and hurried off a prisoner to the castle of Blackness.[3] Having thus silenced their principal enemy for the time the nobles issued a proclamation commanding every man to oppose a landing of French soldiers wherever they should appear upon the coasts. A parliament also was appointed to be held on the 12th of March, chiefly for the purpose of furthering the alliance with England and procuring the condemnation of Beaton. But the cardinal, though a prisoner, was now more powerful than ever, and this through his spiritual character, which was supposed to be violated by his incarceration; and while a popular reaction had commenced in his favour, as a martyr alike to the national creed and national independence, the clergy suspended their public functions, and would neither say mass, administer baptism, or bury the dead from the period of his apprehension.[4]

Encouraged by these appearances the lords and barons who were hostile to the English alliance, and who now regarded Beaton as their rallying-point, interceded for his liberation, offering to be sureties for his appearance to answer the charges that might be brought against him. But this proposal was peremptorily rejected by Arran and the Douglases. As if this refusal had not been offence enough it was aggravated by the impetuous interposition of King Henry, who now demanded that Beaton should be delivered into his hands to be kept a prisoner in England; and that the Scottish fortresses should be surrendered to him in conformity with the promises of Angus and the Scottish nobles whom he had set free on these terms. This was more than they could perform or

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Wodrow edition), vol. i. pp. 93, 94; Buchanan, book xv. c. 1.

[2] Sadler's State Papers, i. 138.

[3] Keith's *History of Scotland*, p. 27; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 26.

[4] State Papers, vol. v. p. 249.

safely attempt, and they endeavoured to appease the impatient king by assurances of their devotedness to his service. Beaton, they declared, should be kept under such strict custody that all his machinations would be known and prevented. And as a report was prevalent that the Duke of Guise was about to visit Scotland for the furtherance of French interests in that country, they promised to reject his proposals of an interview and to prohibit his landing at any of the ports. Henry was obliged for the present to acquiesce, on which account he continued the abstinence of war till June and sent his trusty diplomatist, Sir Ralph Sadler, as his ambassador to Edinburgh, to watch the proceedings of the French party and of the Scottish parliament which was soon to be assembled. But before this meeting took place a fresh and more decisive attempt was made to overthrow the English party by those lords whose recent application for the deliverance of Beaton had been rejected. The Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, Moray, and Argyle, with a numerous body of their influential adherents, assembled at Perth and sent proposals to their opponents which they thought themselves powerful enough to enforce: these were that the cardinal should be immediately set at liberty; that permission to the laity to read the New Testament in the vulgar tongue should be withheld; and that other Scottish ambassadors than those whom Henry himself had selected should be sent to negotiate the marriage of their infant queen with Prince Edward. These demands were peremptorily refused, and the assembly was commanded to disperse under the penalties of treason. Aware that Arran and his party were too strong to be arrested, and that these denounced penalties would be unscrupulously executed, the sittings at Perth were instantly dissolved and the malcontent lords made haste to excuse themselves to the governor and return to their allegiance. It was by such a submission, next to an open successful resistance, that they could best promote the interests of their party and the objects they had in view. The parliament was about to be opened, over the proceedings of which they could watch, and in which they might give their free and impartial verdict.[1]

This event occurred on the 12th of March according to appointment, and its importance was so generally appreciated that there never had been so great a gathering of the three estates within the realm of Scotland. While the expediency of an intimate alliance with England was generally felt, the feeling was guarded and controlled by that spirit of national independence which the measures of Henry were so fitted to alarm and provoke. After a few preliminary measures the great question of the English marriage was brought forward by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the chancellor, who stated the proposals of Henry and the instructions with which the Scottish ambassadors were to be furnished for negotiating this royal union. And these instructions, while they were just and reasonable in themselves, were an effectual safeguard for the nation's rights and privileges. The queen, instead of being immediately intrusted to the care of her future father-in-law, was not to be sent to him until she had reached the age of ten years, and in the meantime not a single fortress of the kingdom was to be surrendered to the custody of England. Scotland was to retain its distinctive name and all its laws, ancient courts, officers, and immunities whatever; and even after the marriage, whether there should be issue or not, it was still to remain an independent kingdom, while in the event of the failure of the heirs of such marriage the Scottish crown was to devolve to the nearest lawful successor without question or obstacle. Such were the terms on which the parliament would consent to the marriage of their queen with the Prince of Wales, and ambassadors were appointed to announce them at the English court. After this weighty affair had been decided the parliament proceeded to the internal affairs of the kingdom. The Earl of Angus and his family were restored to their estates and honours; guardians for the young queen's person were appointed, and the palace of Linlithgow was assigned for her residence under the superintendence of her mother. During the prorogation of parliament to the 17th of that month several important statutes were enacted at the sittings of the Lords of Articles, among which was one of great importance to the progress of the Reformation. Lord Maxwell, who in his English prison after the rout of Solway had become a convert to Protestantism, now proposed that all should have permission to read the Scriptures in an approved English or Scotch translation, provided no discussion was held upon the controverted points; and this proposal, notwithstanding the earnest protest of the Archbishop of Glasgow, was ratified by Arran, the governor, who was now avowedly and openly a Protestant.[2]

These decisive proceedings of the parliament, in which the independence of the kingdom was so carefully guarded, were so subversive of the designs of Henry that his ambassador, Sir

[1] State Papers; Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, an. 1543.

[2] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. 411, et seq.; Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, i. 98–100.

Ralph Sadler, as soon as he arrived in Edinburgh endeavoured to have them exchanged for more favourable terms. For this purpose he on the one hand threatened the governor with menaces of an immediate invasion from England, and on the other tempted his ambition with the offer of a marriage between his son and Henry's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth; but Arran, though weak and unstable, was firm for the honour of his country and resisted both threats and allurements. Nor was Sadler more successful with the other parties. The question of the national independence was now at issue; and none, let their political opinions or private interests be what they might, were bold enough to resist the general feeling by proposing terms more favourable to the wishes of the English king. The ambassador saw the hopelessness of further resistance to the decisions of the three estates, and of this he advertised his master, assuring him that the Scots were prepared to suffer any extremity rather than sacrifice their rights and alter their own laws and customs. All that could be hoped was that their ancient alliance with France might be dissolved, and that time might reconcile them to a more tolerant endurance of English rule. These assurances gave little satisfaction to Henry, whose impatience was that of the hunter eager to run down his game rather than that of the provident husbandman who will sow in hope and wait for the slow arrival of harvest; and he cared little for the superiority over Scotland unless it was recognized in his own person as over-lord. He therefore gave vent to his disappointment in reproaches against the Earl of Angus and the nobles whom he had freed from durance. He would not, he informed them, abate one jot of his former conditions; he would compel the Scots by force to deliver their queen to his keeping; and as for the nobles themselves, they must either assist him in the conquest of the country or return to their prison in England according to agreement.

While Henry was thus urging his Scottish adherents to an enterprise which they felt to be hopeless, and alienating them from his cause by threats and reproaches, the most formidable of his opponents reappeared in their councils. This was Cardinal Beaton, who, in a manner that has not been explained, obtained his liberty. He had been placed by the governor under the custody of Lord Seton, who was attached to the ancient creed as well as independence of his country, and likely, therefore, to prove a gentle keeper to the cardinal. As Beaton's strong castle of St. Andrews was still in the hands of his retainers Lord Seton accompanied him thither, under the promise or pretext of receiving its surrender, but with an armed train so few in numbers that the cardinal, on arriving at his stronghold and palace, was a free man and able to bid his enemies defiance.[1] There appears to have been no further mention of remanding him to his durance in Blackness; and, from the late imperious behaviour of Henry, it is probable that this quiet restoration of the cardinal was made with the consent of all parties. His aim was now to reconcile them all for the purpose of directing them to the advancement of his own political views. He therefore conciliated the governor, professed his adherence to the present rule, and offered himself for trial to disprove the accusations of having held a treasonable correspondence with France. He even offered, through Sadler, to promote a union of the two kingdoms consistently with their mutual advantage, and be the earnest promoter of Henry's interests in Scotland so far as his allegiance would permit.[2] The English king's father would have closed with these offers, whether made in sincerity or deceit, and have turned them in either case to his own advantage by using the cardinal as an instrument or exposing him as a traitor; but the son, whose only arguments were force and violence, rejected these offers with disdain. This refusal, which could only serve to strengthen the cause of Beaton and his party and make the prospect of a union between the two kingdoms more hopeless, was aggravated by the reception of the Scottish ambassadors whom the parliament had sent to England. When the conditions on which the marriage between their queen and Prince Edward were delivered Henry would concede nothing more than that the infant Mary might remain in Scotland until she had completed the age of two years instead of being delivered immediately into his charge. He revived the antiquated claim of his predecessors to be recognized as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and as such demanded that the government of the kingdom should be submitted to his authority. These inadmissible demands could only receive one answer from the ambassadors and the Scottish nation at large. The ambassadors rejected them, and when they were announced in Scotland they were met with universal indignation and defiance. Nothing could have been more advantageous to Beaton, who well knew how to improve the opportunity. Previous to his escape from Blackness Castle his cause had been strengthened by the arrival from France of Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, natural brother of the Earl of Arran, and about

[1] Sadler's State Papers, i. p. 137; Buchanan, xv. 4.
[2] Ibid. i. 131–133.

the same time he procured the return of the Earl of Lennox from the French court for the purpose of setting him up as a rival to the governor. The relationship of Lennox to the royal family of Scotland, in which he stood next to the governor himself, was adroitly used by the cardinal to stir up the jealousy of Arran. He flattered the former with hopes of obtaining the queen-dowager in marriage, while he alarmed the latter by encouraging a rumour spread by the clergy that the second marriage of Arran's father contained a flaw in the article of divorce by which his third marriage was a nullity, and the governor, who was born of it, illegitimate—thus giving the right not only of precedence to Lennox, but also of succession to the other hereditary possessions.[1] Arran was dismayed, as well he might be, at this prospect of disinheritance and deposition; he was also alarmed at the unpopularity of a union with England, which was hourly becoming more intense; while he had for his chief adviser his sagacious, politic brother, the Abbot of Paisley, who laboured to bring about a reconciliation between him and the cardinal as the best means of making head both against England and the Reformation. The first step of advance made by the governor to an alliance with the cardinal was a sure promise of a speedy reconciliation. Hitherto, according to the testimony of John Knox, he had been one of the most fervent Protestants in Europe; he favoured the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, and the liberty of the people to study it for themselves; and he had for his family chaplains Friar Williams and John Rough, who were distinguished in that fervent age by their zeal for Protestantism and their bold denunciations of the errors of Popery. These chaplains Arran now dismissed from his service, as if to prepare the way for a public abjuration of their doctrines. It would be difficult, indeed, to discover whether King Henry or Cardinal Beaton was at this time the most effectual enemy to the advance of the Reformation in Scotland. On the other hand the Catholic clergy identified their religion with the interests of that national independence which was so dear to the heart of every Scotsman, and were thereby recovering that popular influence which their own corruptions and the light of the Reformation had been dissolving. After having acted as the emissaries of the cardinal in denouncing the English alliance and rousing the spirit of the common people to resistance, they held a convention at St. Andrews for the purpose of ascertaining what aid they could contribute in resisting an invasion, should a war with England be inevitable; and they agreed not only to devote their own private possessions but to melt down the church plate for this sacred cause, and even to take arms themselves should such an extreme step be found necessary.

Amidst these proceedings, by which the discordant materials of the country were gradually combined in a common interest, the friends of the English alliance found themselves opposed at every turn. The bulk of the nation was alienated from them, and not only regarded them with suspicion but had begun to treat them with contempt. Even Sadler, the English ambassador, could not venture abroad in the streets of Edinburgh without being exposed to insult and even to violence. The French alliance, under the management of the cardinal and the queen-dowager, was recovering its ancient vigour, and promises of military aid were held out by France to confirm the Scots in their resistance to England. It was necessary to persuade Henry to undo the mischief which his alarming demands had occasioned; and for this purpose they sent Sir George Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus, as their envoy to the court of England. No better proof could have been given of the ability of this clever diplomatist than the fact of Henry's abatement in his conditions. A convention of English and Scottish nobles was finally held at Greenwich on the 1st of July, and the terms offered on the part of Henry were such as might be accepted without disparagement to the national honour. The marriage of the Prince of Wales to Queen Mary was not to take place until the queen had attained her majority; and until she had completed her tenth year her residence was to be in Scotland under the care of her guardians appointed by parliament, and having an English nobleman, his wife, and their attendants to form part of her household. Within a month after she had entered her eleventh year she was to be delivered at Berwick to the commissioners appointed by England; and in the meantime two earls and four barons were to be given as hostages for the fulfilment of this part of the treaty. Even if there should be offspring of the marriage of the queen to Prince Edward the kingdom of Scotland was still to retain its name and be governed by its ancient laws. As for the old-established league between Scotland and France, the dissolution of which was so earnestly desired by Henry, the Scots would assent to nothing more than a compromise in the form of a clause afterwards inserted, by which it was agreed that neither England nor Scotland should afford aid to any foreign ag-

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation*, i. 110.

gressor, irrespective of any former agreement to the contrary.[1] Such were the conditions offered to the Scottish ambassadors, and the moderation of their spirit was in remarkable contrast to the exorbitance of Henry's former demands. But all this moderation was shown to be hypocritical from an agreement called the "Secret Device," which was drawn up for the signature of the Scottish nobles taken at the Solway, and on the acceptance of which alone, besides the payment of their stipulated ransom, their liberty was to be ratified. By the terms of this device, dated 1st July, 1543, each subscriber was bound, in the event of any trouble arising in Scotland, whether from the cardinal, churchmen, France, or otherwise, to adhere to the cause of Henry, so that "his highness may assuredly attain these things now pacted and covenanted, or at the least the dominion on this side the Firth." In this way his hold upon Scotland was to be so confirmed that he could direct its councils and overrule its proceedings in spite of all his open agreements to the contrary. With the exception of Angus there is no proof that any of the lords gave their signature to this degrading condition; but if their subscription was withheld it was from no lack of diligence on the part of Sadler, to whose keeping the device was intrusted for the purpose of obtaining their assent.[2]

The Scottish ambassadors having completed their negotiations returned with the treaty, in the hope that it would be ratified, and that a lasting union would thereby be established between the two contentious kingdoms. But during their absence Beaton had become more powerful than ever, and he was soon in a condition to take the field if necessary, and oppose all further advance to an alliance with England by a fresh war. It is not unlikely that he had detected the existence of the "secret device," and made effectual use of the discovery; for the nobles and leaders of his party mustered their forces in various parts of the kingdom and proclaimed themselves in league for the defence of their country and its old religion, which, they averred, had been sold to Henry by traitors and heretics. It was necessary, indeed, that Beaton should be thus alert when his liberty and even his life were at stake; for Henry, enraged at the churchman's opposition, was urgent with Arran and his party to throw him into prison. To strengthen still further his assurance of safety and the success of his cause the cardinal had now recourse to that measure which was a favourite master-stroke in the rude politics of Scotland: it was to secure the person of his sovereign, and stamp his proceedings with the sanction of the royal name. Accordingly the principal lords of his party, Lennox, Huntly, and Argyle, at the head of ten thousand men, advanced to Edinburgh, and being joined by the Earl of Bothwell, and the Kers and Scotts, they composed a force which the governor and his adherents could not resist. Mary and her mother were soon removed from the palace of Linlithgow and the keeping of the Hamiltons to Stirling Castle. To prevent the ratification of the peace with England was the next attempt of Beaton, and this he tried by holding out to the governor the prospect of the marriage of the young Master of Arran to his kinswoman Queen Mary, by which the royal succession should be secured to his house instead of passing into that of the Tudors. But the earl, who had already been tempted with a similar offer by which his son and the Princess Elizabeth of England were to be united, resisted this second allurement as he had done the first, so that the peace was publicly ratified at a convention of the nobles on the 25th of August. To this ratification, however, the cardinal and the lords of his party would not give their assent; on the contrary they declared that the treaty with England was null and void, being the work of a faction, and contrary to the wishes of a majority of the nobles as well as those of the country at large.[3]

While matters were in this train all prospect of peace was interrupted by one of those rash and arbitrary proceedings which signalized the reign of Henry VIII. A fleet of Scottish merchant ships bound to foreign parts had been obliged by stress of weather to take shelter in an English port; but under pretence that they were carrying provisions to France, with which country England was at war, the vessels were detained and their cargoes confiscated. The mercantile loss, aggravated by such a national insult, was too much for the Scots, and while all parties clamoured against it, the Earl of Arran was compelled to feel the unpopularity of his adherence to the English interests, and the precarious tenure by which his office was held. War appeared to be inevitable, and the time had come when he could temporize no longer. As heir-presumptive of the Scottish crown and governor of the kingdom his choice was not difficult; but in this case he carried it farther than his friends or the nation at large could have expected. He held an interview with Cardinal Beaton at Callander House, and was soon won over by that able churchman, with whom he rode to Stirling: a short time after he

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv. 786–791.

[2] "Copy of the Secret Devise" in State Paper Office, 1st July, 1543.

[3] Sadler's Letters, vol. i.

publicly abjured the Protestant faith in the Franciscan convent; and on being formally absolved and received into the bosom of the Catholic Church he renounced his treaties with England, and delivered his eldest son to the cardinal's keeping in token of his sincerity.[1] Strengthened by such an acquisition the Catholic and anti-Anglican party as the national representatives proceeded to the coronation of the young queen, which was performed at Stirling, and appointed a convention to be afterwards held at Edinburgh for the continuation of the peace with England. But this prospect was rendered more hopeless than before through the conduct of the lords of the Anglican party and the intemperate proceedings of Henry. The former, with the Earl of Angus at their head, not only refused to attend the coronation, but mustered their retainers and subscribed a bond which they sent to Henry, engaging to support his cause in Scotland with all their strength and resources.[2] As for Henry he denounced immediate war unless the former treaties which had been repudiated by the governor were instantly fulfilled, and began to make preparations for an invasion upon a great scale. In this way he was throwing the country more completely into the arms of France, than which nothing could be more injurious to his own interests as well as the progress of the Reformation. This was soon shown by the arrival in Scotland of the Sieur de la Brosse, a French ambassador, and Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia and legate of the pope, and the cordial welcome with which they were received. Animated with promises of aid from France the Scots now thought lightly of a war with England, and were so ready to encounter it that Henry was compelled to pause and defer his purposes of invasion. An attempt which he made about the same period to strengthen his cause in Scotland by a stroke of mean political huckstering, and the scorn with which it was flung back in his face, must have persuaded him that the national spirit was not to be easily subdued. Sadler, his ambassador, whose office of late could scarcely protect him from the popular indignation, was instructed to sound the Scottish merchants with the promise of the restitution of their ships and property if they would aid the King of England in his views against their national independence. But they were indignant at the offer, and declared that they would lose all rather than be traitors to their country.[3]

The Scottish interests of Henry were now almost solely represented by the Earl of Angus and the few lords with whom he was confederated. But an event now occurred which reduced their influence to the lowest ebb. In the course of their treasonable negotiations with England their emissaries, the Lords Maxwell and Somerville, were apprehended, and their letters found, by which their plans and engagements were detected. The two lords were imprisoned, and a parliament was summoned for December to impeach Angus and his party, who resolved to answer the charge in the old Scottish mode upon the field and at the head of their military retainers. But before they were in readiness for action Arran anticipated them by taking possession of Dalkeith and Pinkie, which belonged to the Douglases, and commanding the Earl of Angus to dismiss Sadler from Tantallon, in which place of shelter he was carrying on his intrigues against the government. On the assembling of parliament Angus and those of his party who had subscribed the bond with England were accused as traitors, and a summons commanding them to appear and answer to the charges was drawn up against them. The treaties of peace with England and of union by the marriage of the queen with Prince Edward were annulled in consequence of the late unjust seizure of the Scottish merchant ships. The proposals of the French ambassadors, de la Brosse and Mesnaige, for the renewal of the old French alliance were afterwards confirmed, and the offers of aid from Francis I. for the defence of Scotland and the young queen against the aggressions of England gratefully accepted. Embassies were sent not only to France for the confirmation of the league between the two kingdoms, but to Denmark requesting assistance, and to Bavaria for the protection of the Scottish commerce with that country, now that war with England was about to be commenced.[4] In these prompt measures were to be distinctly recognized the effect of Henry's arrogant proceedings, the national indignation they had kindled, and the ascendency of Cardinal Beaton, whose master-spirit was now predominant in the deliberations of the three estates. But one decree more than all was indicative of the cardinal's influence and the presence of Grimani, the papal legate, whose commission was to take cognizance of the heretical opinions now prevalent in Scotland. In consequence of the numerous complaints which had been made to the governor of the prevalence of such opinions throughout the realm, all prelates were commanded to make diligent search throughout their dioceses and proceed against those who propagated or enter-

[1] Buchanan, xv. 11; Knox's *History of the Reformation* (Wodrow edition), vol. i. pp. 108, 109.

[2] Sadler's Letters, i.

[3] Ibid. i. p. 324.

[4] State Papers; Maitland's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 854.

tained such heretical doctrines with the penalties appointed by the laws of the church.

Something more than a mere parliamentary edict, however, was by this time necessary for the suppression of the Protestantism of Scotland. As in other countries it had strengthened and grown not only by the favour, but in spite of the opposition of government; and when Arran apostatized from it all his efforts were insufficient to counteract the effects of the previous encouragement he had bestowed on it. And as might have been expected nothing had so greatly tended to spread the knowledge of its doctrines, and increase the number of its adherents, as the permission given by parliament to the laity during the preceding year to study the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Before this act of clemency was issued a man would have been accused of heresy if he had read the Lord's Prayer, or the articles of belief in English; but now "the Bible might be seen lying on almost every gentleman's table, the New Testament was carried about in many men's hands."

To counteract such progress by those means of suppression which the parliament had sanctioned Cardinal Beaton, as soon as its sittings were over, undertook an ecclesiastical progress to the city of Perth. He was accompanied by the governor, the chief justice, and several of the nobles, and by the Bishops of Orkney and Dunblane. On arriving at Perth on St. Paul's Day (January 25th, 1544), he opened his spiritual court and commenced his judicial proceedings with that merciless severity which was certain to defeat his aim and recoil upon his own head. Although many were accused of heresy only four men and a woman were selected for trial. Their alleged offences and their punishment are equally worthy of notice as characteristic of the time and the period. One of them was accused of having interrupted a friar while preaching in the pulpit. He boldly avowed the act, but declared that it was not the duty of any man who understood and knew the truth to hear it impugned without contradiction. In the same bold spirit he had refused to escape while others were flying from the town at the cardinal's approach, and although the mob were ready to tear him to pieces for his offence. He and two others of the arraigned were likewise accusing of nailing a pair of ram's horns to the head and a cow's tail to the hinder end of an image of St. Francis, and hanging it up in derision; also, of being guilty of the sin of eating a goose on All-hallow eve! Another of the offenders, James Hunter, an ignorant, simple-minded man, was accused not of being a heretic, as he "could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine," but of having consorted with and used the company of heretics. James Ronaldson, also one of the offenders against the image of St. Francis, was accused of setting upon a step of his stair a three-crowned diadem carved of wood, which was supposed to be a satire on the cardinal's hat. As for the female culprit, Helen Stark, who was the wife of Ronaldson, her offence consisted in refusing to call upon the Virgin Mary in the pangs of child-labour; she would only pray to God for Christ's sake: she had also said there was no special merit in the Virgin which procured to her the honour of being the mother of Christ, but the free mercy of God alone that had exalted her to that estate. The whole five were condemned to die, the men at the common place of execution, and the woman by drowning, a punishment reserved in Scotland for the worst of female malefactors. The town entreated the governor in their behalf; but he was given to know that his intercession would be useless; the priests in Perth who had shared of their hospitality were also implored to intercede, but they refused. Even the request of the woman, that she might be permitted to die in company with her husband, was churlishly denied. She followed him, however, to the place of execution, encouraging and comforting him; and when she gave him a parting kiss she said, "Husband, rejoice; for we have lived together many joyful days, but this day in which we must die ought to be most joyful to us both, because we must have joy for ever: therefore, I will not bid you 'good night,' for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." When her own turn came she was led to the place where she was to be drowned, carrying in her bosom her unweaned infant that was drawing nourishment for the last time from her breast—a spectacle, however, which her judges and executioners could contemplate without remorse or pity. She gave her babe to the nurse, commended her children to her neighbours of the town for God's sake, and submitted to her revolting death in the highest spirit of martyrdom.[1]

While Beaton was thus employed in destroying heretics and stirring up a spirit of persecution among his adherents, the lords of the English faction were not idle. In January the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Cassilis, and Glencairn had pledged themselves to the governor that they would be true, faithful, and obedient to the queen and her authority, and would aid in the defence of the realm against its enemies of England; and in token of their sincerity they

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 116–118; Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 171–176.

had placed in his custody the eldest son of the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus. In this way they had arrested the doom of forfeiture which the parliament would have pronounced upon them for their treasonable correspondence with the King of England. But two short months had scarcely elapsed when Angus and the rest had resumed their treasonable correspondence. They were earnest for an invasion of their country, and minute in their advices by which it might best take effect. They advised that the country should be assailed at once both by land and sea before aid could arrive from France; and that further to distract the attention of the government the Highland chiefs hostile to the Campbells should be let loose against the territories of the Earl of Argyle, aided by a squadron of English ships detached for the purpose to the western sea. But how to dispose of the cardinal, the most formidable enemy to their designs, was now the principal question. To the Protestant party he was the strongest bulwark of idolatry; and to those who sought a union of their country with the sister kingdom as the best guarantee of its safety he was an impracticable enemy, and one who would rather see Scotland in vassalage to France than in alliance with England. At this period of semi-barbarism and religious enthusiasm the stern vindictive examples of retribution in the Old Testament were more familiar than the clement lessons of the New; and to strike down an enemy of God and his gospel was too often thought a meritorious deed in countries even further advanced than Scotland. There also such summary removals, when a great public benefit was to be secured, had been no unfrequent events, and the assassination of Comyn at Dumfries and of Earl Douglas at Stirling had high examples to sanction them as well as useful national results to recommend them. Could not Beaton, then, be dealt with as an impious Eglon or a domineering Douglas, during whose life neither religious truth could prosper nor the country be safe? It is under such qualifying considerations, which doubtless would suggest themselves to his enemies at this time, that we can find any apology for the revolting proposal which they now appear to have started. It was nothing less than the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. But thus to remove one so powerful in the state was highly dangerous; to slay a prince of the church would be more perilous still; and while it would unite almost every party against them both at home and abroad, those who contemplated such a design, unless they meant to throw away their own lives in the venture, behoved to look well to their own safety by enlisting powerful supporters in their behalf. The first time the proposal appears to have been made was in April, and to the Earl of Hertford, commander of the expedition against Scotland, who was then at Newcastle. The agent on this occasion was an obscure person of the name of Wishart, who merely from the name has been absurdly confounded with the reformer; and he stated to the earl that Crichton, laird of Brunston, Kirkaldy of Grange, the Master of Rothes, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and John Charteris were willing to apprehend or kill the cardinal if they were assured of support from England. From Newcastle Wishart was sent to London, where he repeated the offer and showed his credentials to the king, who approved of the design and promised the conspirators a shelter in England after the deed was performed. But there the matter rested; either Beaton had been warned or the time had been found unfavourable; and Henry turned his attention to the expedients of war and violence, which were more congenial to his character.[1]

And now the projected invasion was commenced in earnest. On the 3d of May a fleet of more than two hundred vessels appeared in the Firth; and while the citizens of Edinburgh and Leith gazed at the coming portent, and wondered whence the armada had come and for what purpose, they were at last able to distinguish the royal flag of England at the masthead of the admiral's ship. This hostile arrival also was so unexpected that no preparations had been made to oppose it; and when the tidings were brought to the governor and cardinal, who were then at dinner, the latter exclaimed in scornful bravado, "It is the English fleet; they are come to make a show and put us in fear, but I shall lodge all the men-of-war in my eye that shall land in Scotland." At evening the fleet cast anchor in Leith Roads, and took soundings from Granton to the eastern extremity of Leith; but in spite of these preparations the inhabitants were still so confident there would be no landing that "every man went to his rest, as if the ships had been a guard for their defence." To effect a landing under such circumstances was easy, and on the following morning (which was Sunday) it was commenced at daybreak so effectually that before ten o'clock eleven thousand armed men were brought ashore. It was only then that Arran and the cardinal were convinced of their danger; and having prepared no means of resistance they mounted their horses and removed themselves twenty miles off, while on the same night

[1] State Papers.

the Earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, the master of Glencairn, and Lord Maxwell were relieved from their durance, in which they could no longer be confined without a rescue. On Monday the invaders were joined by two thousand horse from Berwick under the command of Lord Eure and his son Sir Ralph; and after plundering Leith they advanced upon Edinburgh. But though thus taken unprepared the inhabitants would not yield without a struggle. They first sent their provost, Otterburn of Reidhall, to the Earl of Hertford to propose terms of accommodation; but on the earl's imperious demand that they should deliver up their young queen to King Henry under penalty of fire and sword, they closed their gates and flew to arms, although their provost, through fear or treachery, had deserted them. Their first resistance obliged Hertford to pause and even to retire to Leith; but on bringing up his artillery the citizens, aware of the frailty of their walls, left the town during the night with as much of their property as they could carry away; after which the English entered, plundered the houses, and set them on fire along with the palace of Holyrood. They also attempted the castle, having for this purpose hauled their heavy cannon up the High Street by strength of men to the Butter Tron, but even yet these formidable engines of war were so little understood and so unskilfully handled that they made little impression upon the ramparts. Their first fire was directed against the main entrance to the castle; but a single shot from the besieged, which dismounted one of the English guns and slew several men, made the assailants glad to withdraw their battery and retire to the easier work of burning the defenceless town. While Hertford and the main army was thus employed, the cavalry under Lord Eure scoured the surrounding country in every direction, burning, wasting, and plundering, so that scarcely a village or house within seven miles of Edinburgh escaped their destructive visits. Among their captures was the castle of Craigmillar, next in strength to that of Edinburgh, and to which a great part of the property of the citizens had been conveyed for safety. This noble edifice was surrendered on an assurance of being kept untouched, but was plundered and set on fire. Leith was again sacked and then burned; and after loading their ships with the plunder part of the army returned to England by sea, and the rest under Hertford by land. His return was as destructive as his advance: every town on his way was plundered and burned, and by these deeds his progress was signalized for a fortnight until he entered Berwick on the 30th of May. It was not only an inglorious but an unprofitable expedition, considering the great scale on which it was conducted and the results it might have effected; and by its reckless, indiscriminate havoc, that fell alike upon friend and enemy, many of the well-wishers to the alliance with England and the progress of the Reformation were alienated or disheartened. Such was especially the case with the Earl of Angus and the Douglases, whose lands the invaders had wasted as unsparingly as those of the enemies of England and its king. In consequence of this outrage the earl and his adherents, so lately freed from prison, went over to the cardinal.[1]

By this secession of Angus and his party the supporters of the cause of Henry in Scotland were reduced to not more than two influential nobles, the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn. The first, a weak, wavering man, who was called from France as a rival to the governor, had been thrown aside by the cardinal as a useless tool as soon as Arran had reconciled himself to the Catholic Church. Indignant at this rejection, and frustrated in the hopes with which Beaton had flattered him of supplanting the Hamiltons in the succession to the throne, Lennox had suddenly wheeled round to the English party, and was welcomed by Henry, who promised to reward him with the office of governor of Scotland. Glencairn was a man of a different stamp, being not only one of the most powerful and influential of the nobility of the west of Scotland, but having in his eldest son, the Master of Kilmaurs, an agent who by his spirit and talents was well fitted to carry out the plans of his father. On the 17th of May, while Hertford was still burning and destroying during his slow return to England, the two Scottish earls concluded an agreement at Carlisle by which they agreed to acknowledge Henry as Protector of Scotland, to use their efforts to have the young queen delivered up to him, and to place in his hands Dumbarton and the isle of Bute, with the principal fortresses of the kingdom. It was a treasonable, un-Scottish compact by which, in their blind zeal, they endeavoured to advance the cause of true religion, for by it they also undertook to cause the Word of God, the only foundation from which all truth and honour proceed, to be faithfully taught in their territories.[2] Few, alas! even throughout Christendom at large, were as yet aware that divine truth could go on and prosper independently of the aids of force and fraud. After this agreement the two lords lost no time in proceeding to action, and while Lennox mustered his vassals at Dumbarton the

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, i. 119–123; Buchanan, xv. 15; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 31.

[2] Sadler's Letters, i.; Rymer's *Fœdera*.

Earl of Glencairn took possession of Glasgow. The governor with unwonted promptitude advanced against the latter at the head of a thousand men before he could be joined by Lennox; and Glencairn, impatient for the combat, sallied out to meet him with five hundred spearmen. The two parties joined battle on a common at that time called the Muir of Glasgow, within a mile of the town; and the fury of the conflict gave little cause for regret that the combatants were so few. At first the governor's front ranks were driven back and their artillery taken; but at this critical moment the arrival of Lord Boyd made both parties pause, as they knew not what side he would take. He joined Arran, who was victorious, and Glencairn fled, having lost two sons and nearly three hundred men in the encounter.[1] The governor entered Glasgow, which his soldiers plundered so completely that even the doors and windows of the houses were destroyed or taken away. Lennox was so disheartened at this defeat that in spite of the dissuasion of his friends he fled to England, where he was kindly received by Henry, who gave him his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. By this union the line of Stuart was to be perpetuated through the unfortunate Henry Darnley. In consequence of his flight Lennox and his friends were proclaimed traitors and sentenced to forfeiture by a meeting of parliament held at Linlithgow. But here the penalties of his political apostasy did not terminate; for in France his brother, Lord D'Aubigny, was deprived of his office of Captain of the Scottish Guard and thrown into prison.

At this particular period the changes in the political horizon of Scotland were so strange and sudden that it is impossible to comprehend and difficult to follow the alternations of storm and sunshine by which it was characterized. Among these was a temporary union which appears to have taken place between the Protestant and Catholic parties for the purpose of displacing Arran, who was now distrusted by both, from the office of governor. A general council was held at Stirling on the 3d of June, which was attended by all the nobility of Scotland with the exception of the fugitive Earls of Lennox and Glencairn; and there the governor was deprived of his authority, and proclamation made that none should obey it. For the government of the realm also a new privy-council was appointed, consisting of three earls, three lords, three bishops, and three abbots, while the Earl of Angus was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But this change was neither beneficial nor lasting, and its only effect seems to have been to deepen the resentment of the English and multiply their aggressions upon Scotland. A principal actor in these invasions was the Earl of Lennox, who with ten ships entered the Firth of Clyde, plundered the isle of Arran, and afterwards made a descent upon Bute, taking possession of both islands in the name and on behalf of the King of England. The occupation of Dumbarton Castle, which would give to Henry the chief command of the west of Scotland, was his next attempt; and as he was proprietor of this important stronghold and had left it in the keeping of Stirling of Glorat, one of his officers, he had no doubt that its gates would be opened at his first summons. But both commander and garrison met his orders with defiance, so that he was obliged to fall down the firth; and after dispersing the Highland troops of the Earl of Argyle that were drawn up against him at Dunoon to hinder his passage, he plundered the coasts of Kyle and Carrick and returned to Bristol. But he had failed in his attempt upon Dumbarton, which was the chief object of the expedition; and the Earl of Glencairn, on whose co-operation he had relied, refused to join him in a war with England against his own country. The whole tendency of the enterprise, in which so little was effected, only brought double odium upon himself and increased the difficulties of a cordial union between the two nations for the promotion of their common interests.

The condition of the kingdom was now even worse, if possible, than it had been during any previous interregnum. Arran, although formally deposed, still continued to act as governor, while opposed to him was the queen-mother, who had already commenced those intrigues which soon afterwards raised her to the regency. While the Lowlands were thus divided between two rulers, not knowing which of them to obey, and each district opposed to its neighbour through the contentions of the rival nobility, the Highlands were equally disturbed by those hereditary feuds that wasted the best blood of the nation and deepened the general confusion. It was that prevalence of internal anarchy and confusion under which the strongest nation is reduced to helplessness and may be plundered by every invader, and of this opportunity the English had never been slow to profit. Accordingly from July to November they had kept up a series of inroads upon the Scottish border, in which towns, towers, and houses were destroyed, cattle swept away, and the districts reduced to a desert. At length Angus, who still held the office of lieutenant-general, although he was

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 32; Calderwood's *History*, i. p. 179; Buchanan, xv. 19.

suspected of continuing his treasonable correspondence with England, contrived to muster 7000 men, with which he advanced against the invaders, who had plundered Jedburgh, Kelso, and the neighbouring districts. The English, who were scarcely a third of that number, fortified themselves in the church of Coldingham, of which Angus commenced the siege. But even here there was a divided authority, for the governor was in the camp, and the lieutenant-general's sincerity was so greatly doubted that his army was likely to disperse on the first alarm. No sooner, therefore, were they advertised that an English force was on its way from Berwick for the relief of Coldingham than they commenced their flight to Dunbar, Arran himself being foremost among the fugitives. It has been said that Angus exerted himself, but in vain, to stop this disgraceful panic, and that when his entreaties were unavailing he exclaimed aloud that he would bring away the cannon with him or not return alive. The artillery accordingly was dragged off in safety to Dunbar with the garrison of Coldingham following in pursuit.[1]

In consequence of the success of these invasions and the contentions of the Scottish parties, which precluded any plan for the national defence, the conquest of Scotland as far as the Forth appeared an easy achievement. This was represented to Henry by Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Layton, who were commissioned to make the attempt; and to encourage them a royal grant was issued in their favour, assigning to them the greater part of the districts which they could wrest from Scotland during the campaign. The gift was in character with the overweening confidence of Henry; and to heighten its impolicy the hereditary lands of the Douglases were included in the wholesale grant, by which they were to become the property of Eure. This was enough to convert the Earl of Angus to patriotism, and he swore a deep oath that he would write the deed of possession upon Eure's own skin with sharp pens and bloody ink. Animated with the hope of winning rich lordships Sir Ralph and Sir Brian crossed the Border with more than four thousand men, composed of English archers and foreign mercenaries, and were soon joined by six hundred Scottish borderers, who had neither patriotism nor allegiance except for the winning side. Their progress was that of conquerors who meant to slay that they might keep possession; and among their merciless atrocities they burnt the tower of Broomhouse, where a noble and aged lady, with her whole family and servants, perished in the flames. They then advanced to Melrose, which they wasted, and wrought wild havoc on its abbey, not sparing even the tombs of the Douglases, which they plundered and insulted. These indignities were keenly felt by the Earl of Angus, who endeavoured to rouse the reluctant governor into action with the following blunt appeal:—"You are suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor: if you would purge yourself of such slanders do not let pointed speeches but deeds be your apology!" They mustered their forces, which did not number a thousand men, and hurried to Melrose; but all they could do was to hover on the outskirts of the enemy, whose headquarters were at Jedburgh. On being joined by the Master of Rothes with twelve hundred spearmen, and Sir Walter Scott, the laird of Buccleugh, they resolved to give battle to the enemy, who were still in sight. To compensate for their inequality of numbers, the skilful Buccleugh advised them to retire from the height on which they were posted to the level plain behind it, called Peniel Heugh, and send their horses with the camp boys to a more distant eminence behind them, where they would be in view of the invaders. The stratagem was successful: the English, who thought that the whole Scottish force were in hasty retreat, advanced to give chase and rushed up the hillside, but were astonished to find the Scots drawn up below in a compact phalanx bristling with its thick array of sharp spears. At that moment a heron, disturbed by the din, soared upward from a marsh beside them, on which Angus exclaimed, "Oh, that my white goshawk were here, that we might all yoke together!" As the English force consisted chiefly of cavalry they came down the hill at full speed, hoping to sweep away that little phalanx with a single charge: but the wall of spears was firm, and horse and horsemen went down before it, or reeled back in confusion upon their own infantry. The Scots had also the advantage of sun and wind, and their enemies were blinded by the smoke of their own harquebusses. Broken by their ill-judged eagerness the English ranks gave way, and as soon as their flight commenced the Scottish borderers who had joined them cast away their red crosses and made common cause with their successful countrymen. The peasantry also rose upon the fliers wherever they appeared, and even the women joined in the pursuit, with the cry, "Remember Broomhouse!" Of the English eight hundred were killed and a thousand taken prisoners; and among the slain were Eure and Layton, whose previous inroads into Scotland had been so pitiless and destructive.

[1] Calderwood's *History*, i. p. 180; Buchanan, xv. 22; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 36.

The effects of this victory of Ancrum Moor, as it was commonly termed, won on the 17th of February, 1545, was the complete expulsion of the English across the Borders, and the recovery of the territories of which they had taken possession. Henry's rage at this defeat was increased by the share which Angus had taken in it, whom he denounced with many fearful threatenings; but these the victor in the first flush of his success regarded with scorn. "Is our good brother offended," he said, "that I am a good Scotsman—that I revenged on Ralph Eure the abusing of the tombs of my forefathers at Melrose? They were more honourable men than he, and I ought to have done no less. Will he for that have my life? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Kernetable: I will keep myself there from his whole English army."[1]

CHAPTER II.

REGENCY OF THE EARL OF ARRAN (1545–1546).

Henry ineffectually attempts to reconcile the Scots to his proposals—Plan of Beaton's assassination renewed—Henry's conduct on receiving the proposal—Reinforcements from France arrive in Scotland—Strange battle of the clergy in the cathedral of Glasgow—War renewed with England—The allied Scottish and French army—Its futile inroad across the Border—The lords in favour of England renew their plots—The Earl of Hertford invades Scotland—Destructive character of his invasion—His treacherous conduct advised by his sovereign—Complication and obscurity of the Scottish affairs of the period—Progress of the Reformation—George Wishart appears—His previous history—His personal appearance and demeanour—Wishart commences his ministry in Montrose and Dundee—He removes to Ayr—Success of his preaching in Ayrshire—His attempts to prevent disturbance and violence—He returns to Dundee while the pestilence was prevalent—His apostolic devotedness in the midst of the infection—Attempt of a priest to assassinate him frustrated—Defeat of a similar attempt on the part of Beaton—Wishart returns to Edinburgh—His preaching at Inveresk—His presentiments of approaching martyrdom—He retires to Ormiston—He is apprehended and given up to Beaton—Trial of Wishart before Cardinal Beaton—Sentenced to be executed—Wishart's conduct in prison—Particulars of his execution—His dying prediction of Beaton's downfall—Feud of the Lesleys against the cardinal—His contempt of danger and confidence in his power—A small party combine to kill him—They surprise his strong castle of St. Andrews—His attempts to parley with his captors—They put him to death—The alarm of the townsmen pacified—Character of Cardinal Beaton.

The victory of the Scots at Ancrum Moor, and the effects it produced, were not the only subjects of annoyance to the English king. The French, with whom he was at war, had resolved to send aid to Scotland, by which they might not only confine him at home, but retaliate his late invasion of their country and their loss of Boulogne. On learning this, which he did from his steadfast adherent, Sir George Douglas, Henry began to make advances to a reconciliation with Scotland through the Earl of Cassilis, while he levied an army of thirty thousand men upon the Borders to be in readiness in case of the worst. Cassilis presented the conditions of the English king before the convention of parliament held at Edinburgh in April. But although they were terms of peace and marriage, they were made in the language of a superior granting pardon to rebels who had offended him rather than to the subjects of a free kingdom which he had unjustly invaded, and accordingly the proposals were rejected. Their effect was only to accelerate the ratification of the league with France, strengthen the party of Arran and the cardinal, and confirm the resolution of the Scots in their purpose of a new and more determined resistance.[2]

As Beaton, who was now in the ascendant, was the most confirmed enemy of an alliance with England, and the most dangerous from his talents and resources, the plan was at this time resumed of removing him by assassination. The idea appears to have been first suggested by the Earl of Cassilis, who had for his partners the Earls of Angus and Glencairn, the Earl Marshall, and Sir George Douglas. Having come to a mutual understanding upon this atrocious subject Cassilis wrote a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, offering to kill the cardinal, but desiring first to know "if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." Sadler communicated the contents of the letter to the Earl of Hertford, and the latter laid the whole affair, not before Henry himself, but the privy-council, that his master might not be compromised until the plan was matured. But Henry, when it was communicated to him, demurred: he was not

[1] Buchanan; Calderwood; Godscroft's *History of the Douglases*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[2] State Papers; *Diurnal of Occurrents.*

yet prepared for the odium of such a responsibility that would not only have covered him with reproach, but might have produced a reaction in kind upon his own head, and accordingly the project was once more abandoned in favour of open war.

And that alternative was at hand. On the last day of May a French fleet arrived at Dumbarton, having on board three thousand infantry and five hundred horse under the command of Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie. To make this aid also more welcome the expedition brought money for the payment of the French troops for six months, so that they might not be chargeable to their impoverished allies; and to this considerate boon were added a body-guard of a hundred archers for the governor, and the Order of St. Michael, with which he and the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Argyle were invested. After they were landed these reinforcements marched out of Dumbarton on the 4th of June, and were "received by the queen's grace and governor with great dignity."[1] But where was the cardinal at a meeting so connected with his own interests? He was indeed no farther off than Glasgow, about twelve miles distant, but engaged in a warfare upon his own account. A controversy had arisen between him and Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, upon the ticklish question of pre-eminence, and as to which of their crosses should be carried the foremost in religious processions in that city, the cardinal asserting his pre-eminence because he was primate, cardinal, and *legatus a latere*, while Dunbar as stiffly contended, that within his own diocese and cathedral his ecclesiastical rank was superior to that of any other churchman. Upon this momentous 4th of June, while the trains of the two prelates were either entering or leaving the great gate of the cathedral, the two cross-bearers, first regarding each other with a frown, proceeded to hostile shouldering, which quickly came to blows; and when fists were unavailing they wielded their crosses, which were soon shivered in the encounter. The battle became general between the attendant priests, "and then," says John Knox, "began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rochets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, and side gowns might have been seen wantonly wag from the one wall to the other: many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity; and therefore could not buckle [each] other by the byrse [bristles] as bold men would have done. But fye on the jackmen that did not their duty; for had the one part of them rencountered the other then had all gone right." Could the poor men whom Beaton hanged at Perth for their contempt of the externals of Popery have exceeded, or even matched a display like this, to make the whole subject ridiculous and contemptible? It needed little sagacity to foresee the doom of a church whose chiefs could furnish such a spectacle at a time like the present.

It was under such an omen that the war was resumed, of which the re-establishment of Popery in Scotland was the principal object. On the 9th of August the muster of the Scottish army for a great inroad into England was completed. As is too frequently the case, a correct estimate of its numbers cannot be obtained, one account raising it to thirty thousand soldiers, and another diminishing it to 15,000; but in either case it would have been formidable if properly conducted, owing to the zeal that animated it and the materials of which it was composed. To the native ardour and readiness for war by which the feudal array was at all times distinguished, there was added the military science and experience of the French auxiliaries, of whom two thousand were armed with harquebusses, and three hundred were cavalry mounted on barded horses, and the religious enthusiasm of the cardinal's allies and retainers, who were all mustered for the occasion under the consecrated banner of their ecclesiastical lord. But beyond crossing the Border, and the destruction of a few insignificant villages, this army of promise effected nothing, and returned after a short stay of two days upon English ground. The Earl of Angus, who was leader of the vanguard, appears to have resumed his allegiance to Henry, and was therefore not desirous that the expedition should succeed, while his brother, Sir George Douglas, effectually aided him in impeding its advance and sowing doubt and dissension among the leaders. Thus the army crossed the Border into England in safety, but without honour, and "after a show returned with more shame to the realm than scathe to their enemies."[2]

On returning home Angus and his party renewed their intrigues for effecting the union with England; and for this purpose they counselled that the Earl of Hertford should advance into the country during the present harvest, that his army should be strong enough to bear down opposition, and that it should be sufficiently provided for a stay in Scotland at the approach of winter; while to strengthen these arguments of force and famine they advised that he should proclaim peace and toleration to all who were in favour of the English alliance and marriage. Had the advices of the traitors been followed to the letter it would have gone

[1] Knox; Buchanan.

[2] Knox.

hard with the independence of Scotland, but fortunately for both countries the Earl of Hertford could only comply with them in part. On the 5th of September he mustered his forces, which did not exceed 15,000, and crossing the Border he burned several towns, among which were Kelso and Melrose. As the co-operation of his Scottish allies had been expected he had already written to the Earls of Angus, Cassilis, Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, requiring them to repair to him with their retainers; but they answered that they could not safely join him until they were more fully advertised of his plan of action. The plan, be it what it might, was not likely to be realized under such an unexpected hesitation! Made furious by the disappointment the Earl of Hertford continued the work of havoc, in which the lands of the Douglases were wasted without mercy, and thus the selfishness of these men was visited with the punishment which they had sought to avoid. Hertford, instead of wintering in the country, could only remain there fifteen days; but as if to excuse the shortness of his stay he boasted to his master that such havoc by fire had not been wrought in Scotland for the last hundred years. Nor was this a mere rhetorical flourish; for according to the list drawn up on the occasion seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towns, five market-towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals had been burned and destroyed. During this expedition, otherwise so full of atrocities, an incident occurred by which consummate baseness was added to the account. Some of the French auxiliaries deserted to Hertford, who wrote to his master to know on what terms he should receive them. Henry replied through the privy-council that no credit was to be given to the men of a nation with whom he was at war unless they proved their sincerity by some deed of good service. He therefore advised the earl if any more such deserters applied to him that he should require of them "some notable damage or displeasure to the enemy"—among which kidnapping or killing Arran, Beaton, De Lorges, or some other man of estimation was specially mentioned. If any such deed were done the earl was not only to receive them into the service of England but bountifully to reward them.[1]

At this period the complication of Scottish affairs is such that even with the aid of the State Papers it is impossible to unravel or to comprehend them. On the one hand we have Henry pursuing as steadily as his nature permitted the favourite plan of his ancestors—the subjugation of Scotland, at one time applying force and at another fraud, according to the change of his mood or the opportunity, and effecting his purpose by bribes, negotiations, and promises when arms were unavailing. On the other hand we have a large portion of the Scottish nobles, part of whom were the purchased adherents of Henry and ready to compromise the liberty of their country at his bidding; while another part with a higher and more disinterested aim were equally blind in their mode of promoting a union with England at any sacrifice as the best means for the advancement of true religion and the welfare of the people of whom they were the natural protectors. But still we find it often impossible among these two Scottish parties to tell where a sordid selfishness or a mistaken patriotism predominated, or to separate the false men from the true. And amidst this confusion of characters and motives we perceive a fierce and half-barbarous but brave, fearless, honest-hearted people, bewildered and at a loss what teachers to believe or in what leaders to put their trust. Still, however, amidst the darkness and storm we can descry the sacred ark that looms by fits in the distance, and in which is contained the promise of national regeneration. Over tempest and gloom it still rides triumphantly, while all as yet is safe within; and to its career we gladly direct the eye that has hitherto been strained by the contention that has been gathering and darkening around it.

The cause of the Reformation had still been making progress in Scotland, not only in spite of the opposition of its enemies but the more dangerous support of its friends, and every wind that shook its branches only gave strength and tenacity to its roots. The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, which had excited wonder, had also provoked inquiry; and the further persecutions inflicted by Cardinal Beaton, instead of arresting had strengthened the general interest. It was at this crisis that George Wishart entered upon the scene and commenced his brief but most important career.

This distinguished martyr was a gentleman of honourable family, the Wisharts of Pitarrow in Kincardineshire, and was probably a son of the official of that name and title who was justice-clerk to James V. Of his early history few particulars are known. His first appearance was at Montrose, where he was master of a school into which he introduced the study of Greek; but as this was a language unknown to the generality of the clergy, and applied by the reformers to the elucidation of the New Testament, the cry of heresy was so loud against him that he was

[1] State Papers.

obliged to make his escape to England. Afterwards we find him preaching at Bristol against the worship of the Virgin, for which he was condemned to die; but he escaped the fire of martyrdom for the present by publicly burning his faggot, the usual token of recantation. This was in 1538, after which he disappeared; and although it is surmised that he betook himself to Germany and Switzerland we learn no more of him until 1543, when he was a student at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Here also it appears he not only completed his studies but renewed his courage and enlarged his knowledge of religious truth; and the picture given of him at this time by Emery Tilney, his affectionate pupil, is so vivid and distinct as almost to make the martyr stand personally before our view. "He was a man," says Tilney, "of tall stature, bald-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged of melancholic complexion by his physiognomy; black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland; courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well-travelled; having upon him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle freese gown to the shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands, and cuffs at the hands." After describing his self-denying, simple, ascetic mode of life and generous disposition the affectionate pupil thus sums up his master's character:—"If I should declare his love to me and all men; his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all and to hurt none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him." Already, too, he had resumed the good work which he had abandoned in a moment of weakness, and was freely confronting those difficulties which were to continue with him to the close, for Tilney adds:—"He taught with quiet modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence, and he, after due correction for their malice by good exhortation, amended them, and he went away."

Such was George Wishart when he returned to Scotland in 1544 in company with those Scottish commissioners who had been sent to treat of the marriage of their queen with Prince Edward. He first began his ministry by teaching in the town of Montrose, and afterwards passed to Dundee, where he lectured on the Epistle to the Romans, "with great admiration of all that heard him." This was enough to excite the attention of Cardinal Beaton, who procured a prohibition by which the reformer was silenced from preaching and the townsmen from listening to his instructions. This arrest was laid upon him in the pulpit while preaching; and although the Earl Marshall and several noblemen who were present and who favoured the Reformation were urgent with him to remain, or at least to have gone with them, he saw from the spirit of the people that his further stay in Dundee would be useless. He therefore bade them a mournful farewell, denouncing their rejection of the gospel, and warning them in prophetic language that God would send them messengers who should fear neither banishment nor burning. After this he repaired to the county of Ayr, the land of the Scottish Lollards, and there his preaching was welcomed by multitudes. This, however, was too much for Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, who, instigated by the cardinal, hastened to the town of Ayr to prevent Wishart's ministry in the town. On hearing of this arrival the Earl of Glencairn and several gentlemen of Kyle by whom the reformer was patronized would have taken possession of the church for the purpose of excluding the bishop—a violent proceeding which Wishart would not sanction. "Let him alone," he said; "his sermon will not much hurt: let us go to the market cross." This they did, and there Wishart delivered a discourse of such power that his opponents were confounded. As for the archbishop, he too preached in the pulpit from which he had excluded the other; but his audience consisted only of his own jackmen and a few old men of the town, while his sermon was as harmless as any of its class could have been. It was an apology for the remissness of the priesthood, and its purport was in the following words:—"They say that we should preach: why not? Better late thrive than never thrive. Hold us still for your bishop and we shall provide better for the next time." "This," says Knox, "was the beginning and the end of the bishop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not again to fulfil his promise."

Wishart continued his work in the county of Ayr, where he was followed by multitudes, and in every case he was careful to prevent those fierce outbreaks among the people which the resistance of his enemies had provoked. This was the case at the church of Mauchline, in which he had been invited to preach, but which the sheriff of Ayr had occupied with a guard of soldiers. His friends would have carried the building by storm had he not prevented them by his gentle admonitions. "Brother," he said to Hugh Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, the most ardent of his supporters, "Christ Jesus is as

mighty upon the fields as in the church; and I find that he himself preached oftener in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane than in the temple at Jerusalem." He accordingly withdrew, accompanied by the crowd, to the edge of a moor on the south-west side of Mauchline, and preached to them more than three hours, while the people listened eagerly to the close. If this and the succeeding century was the age of long sermons, the life-and-death importance of their subjects, especially at such a period, must be taken into account, and the limited means and opportunities for their inculcation.

In the meantime one of those avenging messengers whose coming Wishart predicted had entered into the town of Dundee. It was the pestilence, which had visited the town only four days after his departure; and the number of deaths which it daily occasioned surpassed all former precedent. The generous heart of the reformer was moved by the miseries of a people who had rejected and expelled him, and he resolved to share their dangers that he might be their comforter in the hour of their extremity. He hastened back to Dundee, which was now converted into a huge lazar-house; and for his place of preaching he selected the east gate of the town, called the Cowgate Port, the sick and suspected being on the outside of the gate, while the healthy were within the town-wall. Thus standing between the living and the dying, and selecting for his text the words from the 107th Psalm, "He sent his word and healed them," the preacher roused and gladdened the dispirited hearts of the townspeople with his proclamations of the blessings of the divine goodness, which are equally available in health and sickness, in life and death. With the duties of a teacher he combined the more dangerous and irksome office of visiting, tending, and nourishing the sick and the dying, for the calamity of famine had been added to that of pestilence. Nor was infection the only danger which Wishart braved among these labours. A certain desperate priest called John Wighton, bribed, it was alleged, by the cardinal, had undertaken to slay the reformer, and for this purpose took his station at the foot of the pulpit stair waiting the moment when his victim should descend. But Wishart, who, though careless of his personal safety, was also sharp-eyed, saw something in the priest's behaviour that made him exclaim, "My friend, what would you do?" At the same instant he grasped the priest's hand that was concealed within his loose gown and plucked from it a naked dagger or whinger, which had been unsheathed for the death-stroke. The priest, thunder-struck with the sudden arrest, fell down at Wishart's feet and confessed his purpose; but such was the rage of the sick without the gate at their benefactor's danger that they burst in at the entrance, crying, "Give up to us the traitor, or we will take him by force!" Wishart took the trembling priest in his arms and by his assurances appeased their fury. "Whosoever troubles him," he cried, "shall trouble me; for he has hurt me in nothing, but has done great comfort both to you and me, for he has let us understand what we may fear in time to come. We will watch better." The assassin was dismissed unharmed through the clemency of the man whom he had sought to murder.

The stay of Wishart was continued in Dundee until the pestilence had abated. He then felt that duty called him elsewhere; and accordingly he told the townsfolks, that, one battle having thus almost ended through the providence of God, he found himself summoned to another. The gentlemen of the west who were favourable to the Reformation had written to invite him to meet with them at Edinburgh, to hold a public disputation with the bishops, which they meant to demand for him, and assuring him that he should have a public hearing. Such an opportunity was what the early reformers eagerly sought, but could not often find, and Wishart gladly closed with the proposal. In the meantime he repaired to Montrose, the scene of his early exertions, but while there a fresh attempt was made upon his life by the cardinal, who sent him a forged letter as if from his friend the Laird of Kynneir in Fifeshire, telling him that he had fallen suddenly sick, and entreating Wishart to hasten to his bedside. The messenger had also brought a horse for the journey, and not doubting that haste was required Wishart set off without delay, accompanied by a few friends. But as they rode along he suddenly drew bridle, and would proceed no farther. His friends were surprised, but he said to them, "I will not go: I am forbidden of God: I am assured there is treason. Let some of you," he added, "go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." They approached the place accordingly, which was within a mile and a half of Montrose, and there saw an ambush of sixty jackmen lying in wait by Beaton's appointment, ready to issue out upon Wishart as soon as he had come within their reach. On being informed of what they had discovered he said, "I know that I shall finish my life by that bloodthirsty man's hands; but it will not be in this manner."

At the time appointed Wishart repaired to Edinburgh to meet the gentlemen of Ayrshire, and hold a public discussion with the prelates; but on arriving at Leith he found that his pro-

mised supporters had not come forward. This compelled him to keep himself private for a day or two; but such inaction was a weariness to him, and he longed to be at work every hour, as he knew that his day would be cut short. "What differ I," he said, "from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? To this time God has used my labours to the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; now I lurk as a man that was ashamed, and durst not show himself before men." His friends perceived his earnest longing to preach, but warned him of the danger that would attend it, to whom he replied, "Let you and others dare to hear; then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him." They ventured to comply, and on the following Sunday he preached publicly in Leith. As his further stay so near the capital was dangerous he was persuaded by several gentlemen of Lothian attached to the Reformation to shift his quarters, and shelter himself in their country mansions. On the next Sunday, however, he preached at Inveresk, where many who were inclined to the reformed doctrines heard him gladly. During the sermon two Gray Friars were perceived standing at the church door, whispering to every one who entered, whom Wishart courteously invited to come forward and be seated; but on seeing that they still retained their post and continued to trouble the people, he turned again to them and exclaimed with an indignant look, "Serjeants of Satan, deceivers of the souls of men! will you neither hear God's truth nor suffer others to hear it? Depart and take this for your portion: God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy: within this realm you shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." This prophetic spirit, as we are assured by his affectionate follower John Knox, was often manifested in the brief public career of Wishart. The downfall of the hierarchy, the destruction of religious houses, and the complete establishment of the Reformation in Scotland were announced by him as certainties, the coming of which would not be long delayed. But he announced also that his own course would be a short one, and would terminate in a death of violence, so that his own eyes should not witness the happiness that awaited the present generation under the new order of things when truth should go on unchecked. This assurance of a speedy termination to his labours only made him the more earnest to complete them, that he might finish his course with joy and obtain the welcome reserved for a "good and faithful servant." Nor was he a time-server or flatterer of his friends and supporters, but on the contrary a stern denouncer of lukewarmness and indifference wherever it might be found, or whatever might be the danger of denouncing it, as was manifested in his rebukes administered publicly to whole towns, especially in the cases of Haddington and Dundee. Could a public teacher of religion, who, under such trying circumstances manifested a spirit so bold, so upright, and of such disinterested devotedness, be considered as either a deceiver or a vulgar fanatic? It was reserved for a hard, cold, sceptical age to represent and denounce him as one or both, because his prophetic character and predictions could not be made to square with their own theories of the possible and supernatural.

Of the last public services of Wishart our notice must be brief. He has been represented by some historians as parading from district to district accompanied by armed barons, and with spearmen before and behind him; but in turning to the accounts of the period these barons dwindle into a handful of friends who occasionally accompanied him on his journeys, and the throng of weapons into a two-handed sword that was sometimes carried before him by a faithful attendant to guard his master from sudden violence or assassination. He had preached at Haddington, but with small welcome from the people; and on departing from the town he bade a sad and solemn farewell to the friends who were with him as if it had been a last one. John Knox, who for the time appears to have been the two-handed sword-bearer, was earnest to accompany him; but this Wishart would not permit. "Nay, return to your bairns," he affectionately said, "and God bless you: one is sufficient for one sacrifice." Knox accordingly returned to his pupils—and how much depended on that change of purpose! Wishart then went on foot to Ormiston, accompanied by John Cockburn, laird of Ormiston, Crichton of Brunstone, John Sandilands of Calder, and others, with their servants. They retired early to rest; but before midnight the castle was surrounded by armed men, that none might escape, while the Earl of Bothwell, their leader, assured the laird of Ormiston that resistance was in vain, and demanded that Wishart should be given up to him. A parley ensued, and Wishart surrendered himself, the earl solemnly pledging his word that he would keep him in his own hands unharmed instead of surrendering him to Arran or the cardinal, and either set him free or restore him to the place where he had received him. Bribed by the cardinal's gold, however, and the queen-mother's promises, Bothwell violated the assurances he had given and surrendered Wishart to his enemies. But the capture of Wishart alone was not enough for Beaton, who was at Elphingstone Tower within a mile of Ormiston, and, re-

solved to secure the three lairds, he sent out a body of horse for their capture. The laird of Brunstone escaped to a neighbouring wood and got clear of the pursuers; but the lairds of Ormiston and Calder were apprehended. The former afterwards escaped from the castle of Edinburgh by leaping from the wall during the forenoon, while Calder only obtained his liberty by subscribing a bond of man-rent to the cardinal.

In the first instance the reformer was given up as prisoner to the governor; but Beaton, who was bent on the destruction of Wishart, prevailed on the Earl of Arran to give him up to an ecclesiastical trial, for which the cardinal prepared by summoning the bishops and principal clergy to St. Andrews. He even on this occasion reconciled himself with the Archbishop of Glasgow, notwithstanding the recent cross controversy in the cathedral, as the presence of the western primate among the judges was essential to the approaching trial. He also sent to the governor to demand the presence of a civil judge, as in the event of Wishart being condemned as a heretic the sentence of death could only be pronounced and carried into execution by a layman; but here Arran demurred; and he wrote to the cardinal requiring him to postpone the trial until he should be present in person. But the cardinal would admit no such delay, and resolved to proceed independently of the governor's presence or concurrence. The trial was held on the 28th of February (1546). The place was the Abbey Church, and thither the cardinal repaired in military and prelatic pomp, accompanied by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the church dignitaries, and attended by a train of a hundred of his servants in full military harness, armed with axe and spear. The prisoner was brought from his dungeon in the sea-tower of the cardinal's castle of St. Andrews, and a sermon which prefaced the trial was preached by John Wynrame, sub-prior of the monastery. But Wynrame himself was at present in a transition state between the old church and the new, and his sermon, which was an exposition of the parable of the good and bad seed (in Matt. xii.), bore fully as hard upon the notorious vices of the clergy as upon the doctrines of the heretics which they had met to condemn.

The trial itself was distinguished by the usual characteristics of such trials during the sixteenth century throughout the whole range of Christendom. The public accuser or prosecutor addressed his victim at each charge with the titles of "renegade, traitor, thief," &c.; and when Wishart appealed from the ecclesiastical to the civil tribunal, and from the judgment of the cardinal to that of the governor, as he was the prisoner of the former, his appeal was scornfully rejected. The charges against him were contained in eighteen articles; and although he answered temperately and discreetly, his answers only provoked abuse or ridicule. The principal offences that were cited against him had reference rather to the ceremonials of the Romish Church, the outworks which the reformers had first assailed, than to the more positive doctrines of the Reformation; and the fact that Wishart had questioned the number of the sacraments, the efficacy of exorcisms, holy water, &c., the power of the pope, and the spiritual authority of the priesthood, the worship of saints, the setting apart of holy days, and such like, was a greater offence in their eyes than the more grave and weighty matters that might have been extracted from his public teaching. In all his answers he appealed to the gospel as the only authority for his opinions; and although such arguments were useless with his judges, who only regarded them as additional proofs of his guilt, it was different with many of the by-standers, who listened as to a dying man, and felt the sincerity and power of his words. On one occasion, when a chaplain, provoked by these replies, said that he had the devil and the spirit of error within him, a young boy observed, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak." When the fifteenth article was read the judges resolved that Wishart should have no further license to speak; and a priest who stood behind the prosecutor bade him read on without waiting for his answers, "which we may not abide," said he, "any more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross when it is named." With a tribunal thus disposed, and which assumed the right of action irrespective of the civil power, the fate of Wishart could not for a moment be doubtful: he was sentenced to die, and his execution was to take place on the following day.

The short interval between the sentence and its execution was spent by Wishart in preparations for the last scene. He sought a conference with Wynrame, who left him so fully impressed with the conviction of his innocence that the cardinal rebuked him sharply, giving him to know that the eye of the church was upon him, and that his doubtful conduct had laid him open to suspicion. On the morning of his execution the martyr breakfasted with the captain of the castle and a few friends of the latter, and took the opportunity of discoursing to them for half an hour concerning the Lord's supper, his sufferings and death; after which he gave thanks, blessed the bread and wine upon the table, and administered them to the company, bidding them remember in these the body and blood of Him

GEORGE WISHART LED TO EXECUTION AT ST. ANDREWS.

The trial of the Scottish martyr George Wishart took place in the castle of Cardinal Beaton at St. Andrews. The charges against him related chiefly to the sacraments and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and in all his answers he appealed to the authority of the Scriptures. His judges, however, were bent upon finding him guilty, and in the end he was sentenced to death. The following morning Wishart was bound and led forth from the castle to the place of execution, while at the gateway he was accosted by two beggars asking alms in mockery. When he was fastened to the stake, he prayed for his persecutors and judges, and exhorted the people to stand stoutly for the truth. When the pile was lighted he was heard to say: "This fire torments my body, but noways abates my spirit". Soon afterwards the cord round his neck was drawn by the executioner, and his torture was at an end.

W. H. MARGETSON.

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GEORGE WISHART LED TO EXECUTION AT ST. ANDREWS. (A.D. 1546.)

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who had died for them. While Wishart was thus inaugurating his death by the administration of the sacrament of the supper according to the Protestant form in one part of the castle, preparations for his execution were going on in another. Apprehensive that a rescue would be attempted, the cardinal had caused the guns of the castle to be pointed against the place of execution at the foot of what is now called Castle Wynd, where a great tree stood, which was to serve the purpose of a gibbet; and that he might enjoy the spectacle and witness his own triumph in the destruction of such a heretic, he had caused the castle windows that faced the Wynd to be furnished with rich hangings and velvet cushions, where himself, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and others could recline at ease and view the proceedings below. Wishart was led out to execution guarded by soldiers, with his arms pinioned; and when certain beggars at the castle gate asked of him an alms for God's sake he replied to them, "I want my hands wherewith I should give alms; but the merciful God of his benignity and abundance of his grace that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both to your bodies and to your souls." Two friars confronted him on the way and said, "Mr. George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son;" to whom he said meekly, "Cease; tempt me not, my brethren," and so passed on. He was led to the stake clad in a coat of linen, dyed black, with bags of gunpowder tied to several parts of his body, a rope round his neck, and an iron chain about his middle; and the few moments that remained to him after he was fastened to the stake were spent in prayers not only for himself but his persecutors and judges, and exhortations to the people to endure any hazard rather than forsake the truth he had preached to them, and for which he was now about to die. To the executioner, who craved his forgiveness on his knees for the part he was to act, Wishart, kissing him on the cheek, replied, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thy office." The pile was kindled, and to the captain of the castle, who affectionately pressed near and exhorted him to be of good courage, he said, "This fire torments my body but noways abates my spirit." The pompous and merciless parade at the castle windows did not escape the gaze of the dying man, and he uttered that memorable prediction as he looked at the cardinal: "He who in such state from that high place feeds his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride." The cord round his neck was then drawn by the executioner, and after his tortures were ended by strangling the body was burned to ashes, while the people bewailed his death and mused upon the prediction.[1]

That prediction was not to fall to the ground; and he whom the conspiracies of the Scottish nobles and the power of the English king could not remove was to be swept away in the midst of his security and strength and from his place of pride by a sudden, unexpected deed of daring which has scarcely a parallel in history. Whatever remained of the popularity of Beaton had perished in the pile of Wishart: men openly said that his death should be requited; and among these John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, was wont to exclaim in public with a determined gripe upon his weapon-hilt, "This whinger and this hand shall be priests to the cardinal!". But Beaton, confident in his power, scorned these murmurings as idle bravadoes. He had fortified his castle of St. Andrews so strongly that it was impregnable to the rude strategy of the country, while his bonds of man-rent were so numerous that he could at any time outnumber his enemies in an open field. As for the malcontents, he had them so closely watched that he felt certain of their inability to form any plot against him of which he should be kept in ignorance. But a conspiracy the while was ripening against him with a quickness which his statesmanship could not follow, and it was his own act that brought it to maturity. He had made certain large promises to Norman Leslie, the Master of Rothes, about the exchange of some lands, and these, it appeared, he was now unwilling to fulfil. When reminded of his promises by the master he had answered so equivocally that the other departed in a rage to his uncle, John Leslie, and the two were not long in converting their grievance into a family death-feud. It was Angus and the Douglases on the one hand and an invasion threatened from England on the other that chiefly occupied Beaton's care, and when warned of meaner foes he contemptuously exclaimed, "Tush! a fig for the fools—a button for the bragging heretics and their assistants in Scotland! Is not my lord-governor mine? Witness his eldest son, pledge at my table. Have I not the queen at my devotion? Is not France my friend, and I a friend to France? What danger should I fear?" A family alliance which he formed at this time served to deepen this ill-judged security. Although a priest, he was father of a numerous progeny; and one of his natural daughters, Margaret, was married to David Lindsay, Master of Crawford, the bride being enriched

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation*; Fox's *Martyrology*. Knox omits this prediction of Wishart, although it is stated by others of our early historians.

with a splendid dowry and the marriage celebrated at Finhaven Castle with princely and prelatic magnificence.

Of the small band now arrayed for the death of the cardinal the motives were various: some to whom he was personally an enemy dreaded his resentment, and power to gratify it; others whom he had injured or deceived were impatient for revenge. But these motives might have been insufficient for the deed that followed had not the cruel execution of Wishart deepened their intensity and concentrated them for decisive action. By this murder Beaton had violated both civil and ecclesiastical, both divine and human law, and could claim the protection of neither; while the atrocity of the deed was such that the death of the perpetrator would only be regarded as a righteous retribution. So felt the best of these conspirators, who had loved and followed Wishart while living, but who had now forgot the gentle lessons he had taught and the examples of forgiveness he had given them. The determined band repaired to St. Andrews, but singly and with few attendants; and on Saturday, the 29th of May, early in the morning, they met in the abbey churchyard not far from the castle. The gates of the castle were open and the drawbridge let down to admit the building materials for strengthening the defences; and to secure these entrances William Kirkaldy, the younger of Grange, advanced with six others, as if to visit the cardinal, and asked if he was yet stirring. The porter could not tell; his lordship might be still asleep, for Mrs. Ogilvie, one of the cardinal's favourites, had that morning been let out by a private postern. While Kirkaldy was occupying the menial with questions John Leslie advanced in haste with four attendants. Alarmed at this sudden coming, the porter would have drawn up the bridge; but Leslie, leaping on it, prevented its rise, while a blow on the head silenced the porter, whom they threw into the sea after they had taken possession of his keys. The alarm commenced, but the conspirators, though not more than sixteen men, advanced fearlessly in their enterprise. The workmen, who were above a hundred, quickly swarmed upon the walls, but were dismissed without hurt or resistance through the wicket of the gate, and about fifty menials were brought from the chambers and removed with equal facility. These ejections could not be accomplished without some din; and, roused by the shouts, the cardinal called from a window to know the meaning of the noise, and was told that John Leslie had taken the castle. Instant flight was necessary, and he made for the private postern, but found it guarded by Kirkaldy; he retreated to his chamber, laid hold of his two-handed sword, and blocked up the door with chests and other articles of furniture. It was but the work of a moment, for immediately after three of the conspirators — John Leslie, the chief, James Melvill, an attached acquaintance of Wishart, and Peter Carmichael—were thundering at the door and endeavouring to force an entrance. To Beaton's question of who was there he was answered from without, "My name is Leslie." "Is it Norman?" cried the cardinal. "No," said the other, "my name is John." "I will have Norman," replied the terror-struck priest, "for he is my friend." "Content yourself with such as are here," was the reply, "for none other you shall have." And after this short, significant parley the struggle was renewed to burst the door open. In his agitation Beaton hid a box of gold under a heap of coals in a corner of the apartment, as if not yet certain whether the attempt aimed at burglary or assassination; and finding that they were likely to make their entrance good he again had recourse to parley. "Will you save my life?" "It may be that we will," was Leslie's equivocal answer. "Nay, but swear to me by God's wounds and I will open to you," said the cardinal. It was a binding oath for the martialists of the day when a more civic one might have been eluded. The answer was short and express, "That which was said is unsaid;" and having thus given warning of the worst Leslie called for fire to burn down the door. A vessel full of live coals was applied to the strong barrier, and Beaton might have been stifled like a fox in his den had not the door been opened. As the murderers rushed in he threw himself helplessly on a chair and cried, "I am a priest, I am a priest! ye will not slay me!" In fulfilment of the vow he had made on his dagger-hilt Leslie struck him once or twice, and the same was done by Carmichael; but James Melvill interposing drew them aside and said, "This work and judgment of God ought be done with greater gravity." He then advanced the point of his weapon towards his cowering victim and thus addressed him in the spirit of a Phineas, to whose office he conceived himself divinely summoned: "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable servant of God Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire hath consumed before men, yet crieth it for a vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here before my God I protest that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have wrought to me in particular moved or moveth me to

strike at thee, but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy gospel." With these words he passed his sword once and again through the body of the cardinal, who fell exclaiming, "I am a priest! Fy, fy! all is gone!"

In the meantime the town of St. Andrews was in an uproar. Those who were expelled from the castle had quickly conveyed the alarm through every street; and scarcely had the assassination been completed when a crowd of townsmen, headed by their provost, hurried to the castle, which they were unable to enter as the conspirators had secured themselves from interruption by dropping the portcullis. "What have you done with my lord cardinal?" cried the terrified provost from the bank of the fosse; "where is my lord cardinal? Let us see my lord cardinal." He was answered from the ramparts, "Ye had best return to your own houses, for the man you call the cardinal has received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more." This was not assurance enough for the citizens, and they cried, "We will not depart until we have seen him." To satisfy their doubts the body was dragged from the apartment and hung by a sheet, all ghastly and bloody as it was, over that part of the blockhouse from which Beaton had lately looked down upon the martyrdom of Wishart. This was enough, and the multitude retired. From the difficulty in the way of immediate interment and the heat of the weather the corpse was rudely embalmed with salt, wrapped in a covering of lead, and conveyed to a dungeon at the bottom of the sea-tower, where Beaton had been wont to confine his prisoners accused of heresy, to await whatever obsequies might be afterwards decreed to it.[1] Thus perished the great Scottish cardinal, the first and the last who bore that office in Scotland. He was the Wolsey of his country; but having no despotic superior to arrest him in mid-career, he proceeded to greater extremities than his English contemporary would perhaps have dared, but only to be stopped by a more terrible arrest. He had attained the highest rank in the church in a country and at a time when such a situation was the most odious and dangerous, and from his position he was compelled to enter into that conflict where either his church or its enemies must succumb. But when humane proceedings would have best availed and gentleness been the wisest policy his pride and power despised such a course, and he became a persecutor in a country where men were as impatient of enduring an injury as they were fearless in requiting it.

CHAPTER III.

REGENCY OF ARRAN (1546-1550).

Confidence of those employed in the death of Beaton—Their preparations for defence—They are reinforced—Preparations of the governor to besiege them in the castle of St. Andrews—The siege—Equivocal terms of surrender—The siege suspended—Knox joins the garrison during this peaceful interval—His call to the ministry—His sermons and controversies in St. Andrews—His disputation with Friar Arbuckle—Renewed preparations for the attack and defence of the castle of St. Andrews—Its capture—Treatment of the garrison—Invasion from England anticipated—The governor's proceedings on the occasion—The Duke of Somerset invades Scotland—Skirmish between the Scots and English at Preston Pans—The Earl of Huntly's challenge to the Duke of Somerset—The duke's refusal of combat—His unsuccessful letter to the governor—Preparations for the battle of Pinkie—Principal movements of the encounter—Defeat of the Scots—Their heavy loss in the battle and flight—Irresolute conduct of Somerset after his victory—His useless advance and hasty retreat—The Scots driven by his proceedings into closer alliance with France—Resolution to send their young queen to France—Continued aggressions between the Scots and English—Somerset's fruitless negotiation for a union between the two nations—The war continued—Arrival of French reinforcements—Departure of Mary Stuart to France—Haddington garrisoned by the English—Besieged by the Scots and French—Failure of an English expedition into Scotland—Discordance between the Scotch and French troops—Their quarrel on the streets of Edinburgh—The French pledge themselves to the capture of Haddington—They fail in the attempt—The Scots and French succeed in their other undertakings—Peace established between the Scots and English—Treatment of the Scottish prisoners in France—Their refusal to conform to Popery—John Knox in the French galleys—His hopes of freedom and prediction of a return to St. Andrews—Escape of several of the Scottish prisoners—John Knox obtains his liberty.

So daring a deed as the slaughter of a cardinal was a new feature in the history of Scottish feuds. It was a subject for debate and controversy throughout Christendom at large which

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, vol. i. 171-180.

the reformers of every country would find some difficulty in advocating; and its actors would not only have the ban of the church, but the arms of France and Scotland arrayed against them. It might have been thought that the little band of conspirators, after the slaughter was perpetrated, would have sought safety in flight, and even in foreign countries and under other names have tried to escape from recognition. But no such timid misgivings appear to have interrupted them; and they were prepared to abide the consequences of the deed with the same fearless confidence that had inspired its commission. Nor were they alone in their resolution, for those who sympathized with them, or who feared a redoubled persecution of their religious tenets, repaired to the castle of St. Andrews, which was certain to be soon besieged. The little garrison was thus increased to about 150 men, among whom was Norman Leslie, so distinguished at Ancrum Moor, and William Kirkaldy of Grange the younger, while the castle itself, being open to the sea, might be victualled and reinforced from England. Even at the worst the sons of those noblemen whom Beaton suspected, and especially the eldest son of the governor, were hostages in the castle, and might be available in procuring favourable terms should the siege be pressed to extremity.

In the meantime the Earl of Arran showed no great haste to revenge the death of Beaton, under whose ascendency he had hitherto been eclipsed. Before proceeding to action, also, it was necessary to guard the country against the chances of an English invasion and reconcile the different parties of the nobles among themselves, that he might proceed with common consent against the disturbers of the public peace. This was done; and the chief article obtained by this conciliation was the abandonment by Angus and his party of the design to espouse their young queen to the Prince of England. Having restored some order in the government Arran's first proceedings with those in the castle of St. Andrews were by negotiation, and it was even resolved that a pardon should be granted to them under the great seal on their agreeing to discover all they knew relative to the cardinal's murder and set the governor's son at liberty. But it was soon discovered that the garrison had no intention to surrender, and were merely seeking to gain time in confidence of aid from England. Indignant at this the offers of pardon were rescinded; and that no advantage might be derived by the conspirators from having the governor's son in their possession, an act of parliament was passed by which he was debarred in favour of his younger brother from succeeding to his father as long as he was a prisoner. The siege of the castle was then commenced in due form; but the fortress was so strong, and the artillery brought against it so ill-served and inefficient, that no damage was wrought upon the walls, while the besieged laughed their enemies to scorn. As the garrison, also, was composed of such mixed characters, where pious, earnest reformers were mixed with military desperadoes, the bravery of their defence was accompanied with all the wildness and profligacy of the camp. From the end of August to December the siege was carried on but without effect, although the whole military force of the four districts into which the kingdom was divided was brought successively against the castle. Weary of such an enterprise, which only revealed their own weakness, a negotiation was again opened with the besieged, who agreed to surrender upon the following terms:—1. That the government should procure for them a sufficient absolution from the pope for the slaughter of the cardinal; and that in the meantime hostilities against them should cease; 2. That none of them, or any belonging to them, should be prosecuted at law for the slaughter; and that they should enjoy all their rights spiritual and temporal as if no such deed had been committed; and, 3. That the besieged pledged themselves to surrender the castle as soon as the papal absolution should arrive, but retaining in the meantime the custody of the governor's son. Upon this agreement the siege was suspended. It is probable, however, that neither party was sincere, and that this treaty was only meant to procure a short intermission; for while the garrison sent to Henry VIII., informing him that they sought the delay for the purpose of revictualling the castle and requesting him to use his influence to stop or hinder the absolution from Rome, the Earl of Arran had applied to the French court for supplies of arms, men, and ammunition, and also for skilful military engineers who understood the right ordering of war and the attack and defence of fortified places. During this interval of suspense two great potentates died, whose wars and rivalry had so greatly influenced the affairs of Scotland, and to whose arbitration its contending parties had so often referred their quarrels. These were Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. of France, the former of whom expired on the 28th of January, 1547, and the latter only two months after.

However contemptible the siege of the castle of St. Andrews might be either in its military or political aspects, it was now to be connected with a simple incident through which it was to become the great turning-point of the destiny of Scotland. In April, when the hollow truce had

lasted about three months, and when the ultimate fate of the fortress and its inmates was still uncertain, John Knox arrived in St. Andrews. Of an undistinguished family of the peasantry, his ancestors having been retainers of the Earls of Bothwell, he had been designed for the church, and had taken priest's orders in or near A.D. 1530; but, like many of the priesthood of the period, his keen eye had detected and his vigorous mind thrown off the mass of superstitions which had now taken the place of religion. And here it was well for his country that he did not stop short: his love of truth was only kindled, not satisfied with the negative victory it had already achieved; and having detected the false and unreal he advanced with redoubled earnestness to the inquiry what true religion was, and where it might be found. Like the other great reformers the truth was only the more endeared to him, and the more distinctly unfolded to his view, from the length of the pilgrimage and the intensity of the struggle through which he had passed from darkness into light. Like Luther, also, after he had toiled in the furnace to purchase heaven, and found the debt still undiminished, he had turned to the doctrine of justification by faith, which formed his last as well as earliest consolation. These facts we can discover from incidental notices in his works to his earlier career before he emerged into public notice. His first appearance was as a follower of Wishart, whom he would have accompanied to the close had not the latter desired him to return to his pupils, for that one was enough for the sacrifice. Finding himself marked for persecution by the hierarchy, and weary of removing from place to place, he had resolved to leave Scotland and visit the schools of Germany; but at this crisis the state of St. Andrews gave promise of a shelter and rallying-place to the friends of the Reformation of which the parents of his pupils were desirous to avail themselves; and at their solicitation Knox, with two sons of Douglas of Long Niddry, and one of the laird of Ormiston, to whom he had been preceptor for several years, were admitted within the castle.

However obscure the Scottish reformer might hitherto have been, he soon became a noted character among the garrison and citizens of St. Andrews. In his capacity of tutor he not only taught his pupils in the learning of the period, but carefully instructed them in the doctrines of religion; he catechized them in the parish church; and his prelections which he gave to them on the gospel of St. John he delivered at a certain hour within the chapel of the castle. The mode and nature of his instructions arrested the attention of several in the castle, but especially of Henry Balnaves of Halhill, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, and John Rough, formerly chaplain of the Earl of Arran, but who now officiated as chaplain of the garrison, and they earnestly urged him to become their preacher; but this he refused, saying that he "would not run where God had not called him." It was the "lawful vocation," as he terms it, which he sought—the call expressed through the voice of the people, without which he would do nothing. This call, however, they were resolved he should have in public through the voice of their minister, and the manner of delivering it was soon arranged. Upon the appointed day John Rough, after delivering a sermon upon the nature of the ministerial vocation and its sacredness, however few in numbers the congregation might be, and the danger of rejecting it, thus solemnly addressed John Knox personally by way of application: "Brother, be not offended, though I utter to you that which I have in charge even from all those that are here present, which is this—In the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of those present that call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but that as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces upon you." Then, turning to the people, he said, "Was not this your charge to me? And do you not approve this vocation?" They answered with one voice, "It was; and we approve it." Knox burst into tears and hurried to his chamber. Even his strong heart, which nothing earthly could daunt, was dismayed by the responsibility of the office, and for several days he gave himself up to sadness and meditation. But the charge thus solemnly given him he dared not to reject, and thus unexpectedly he was called to be the public teacher of religion to a handful of proscribed men, and through them to the nation at large and to the generations that were yet unborn.

Another necessity besides the call of this little flock compelled Knox to assume the office of preacher. With all his zeal and boldness that distinguished him among our early reformers, John Rough, from his defective education, was unfitted for controversy; and this disadvantage laid him open to the attacks of Dean John Annand, principal of St. Leonard's College, who assailed his preaching with arguments which he could not answer. On this occasion Knox had come to the aid of the chaplain with his pen,

and so effectually driven the dean from all his defences that he had at last taken his stand upon the authority of the church. "This authority," he said, "condemns all Lutherans and heretics: where, then, the need of further disputation?" Knox replied, that the church to which Annand referred was not the immaculate spouse of Christ but the mother of confusion; and this he offered to prove either by word or writing. This he said openly in the parish church of St. Andrews after the dean had abruptly closed the question; and the people, with whom it was no mere tourney of logic, but a subject of most vital importance, gladly caught the proposal. "We cannot all read your writings," they cried, "but we may all hear your preaching; therefore we require you, in the name of God, that you will let us hear the proof of that which you have affirmed; for if it be true we have been miserably deceived."

The following Sunday was appointed for the public debate, and Knox opened it with a discourse on a portion of the seventh chapter of the book of Daniel, from which, after showing the rise and progress of Antichrist, he proceeded to explain in contrast the marks of the true church, and the characteristics by which it is distinguished. Three hundred years of controversy have familiarized the arguments which in those days were startling novelties, as well as revelations of life and truth, and the people intensely hung upon every sentence of a long and complex demonstration which would now set an auditory to sleep. He also preached to hard-headed men, accustomed to reflect, and by no means liberal of assent, while some of them were ripe scholars, well fitted to pronounce upon the authorities he adduced. Of these, besides priests, friars, and members of the university, it is enough to name Sir David Lyndsay the poet, and John Major. It was a terrible ordeal for a preacher's first discourse, more especially when we take into account the extent of its range and the boldness with which it advanced the inquest into errors hitherto undetected. "Others prove the branches of papistry; but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole," was the exclamation of some: others said, "Master George Wishart never spoke so plainly, and yet he was burned; even so will he." This last remark was shrewdly and justly answered by the laird of Nydie: "The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse. And therefore we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that otherwise you will be disappointed: men now have other eyes than they had then."

As the party with which Knox and Rough were connected was for the present too strong in the town, the churchmen could not have recourse to persecution, while of discussion they had already got enough. But they were again driven into action by the rebukes of John Hamilton, the elected Archbishop of St. Andrews in the room of Beaton, who wrote to the subprior expressing his astonishment that such heretical and schismatic doctrine should continue to be taught unchecked. A convention of the clergy was accordingly held, to which Knox and his colleague were summoned to answer for their doctrines, of which nine articles were adduced subversive of the Romish creed and authority. On this occasion Wynrame, the subprior, as vicar-general, was the judge and appellant, while John Knox was sole respondent. He defended his doctrines with firmness and gentleness, while Wynrame, already more than half Protestant, was glad to devolve the weight of the argument upon a grey friar, named Arbuckle, who readily undertook the task. But he was no match for the reformer either in logic or scholarship, and after being driven from the ceremonies of the church, which he undertook to defend by Scripture, but could not find them there, he alleged that the apostles had not received inspiration when they wrote their epistles, but afterwards, and then had ordained the ceremonies! "Father," cried Wynrame, confounded at this incredible blunder, "what say you? God forbid that you affirm that, for then farewell the ground of our faith!" The friar, thus rebutted on both sides, went stumbling through the rest of the controversy, and had no better proof for the existence of purgatory than the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid*, while he held that its worst infliction was a bad wife. The result of these debates, however, was to teach the clergy greater caution; and finding that they could not match the reformers in argument, they resolved to close the pulpit upon them by using it exclusively themselves, for which purpose the learned of the abbey and university were to occupy it every Sunday in rotation. But Knox, who saw their design, officiated upon the week-days in the parish church, and praised God that Christ was preached and nothing publicly said against the doctrines he had taught there. "If in my absence," he added, "they shall speak anything which in my presence they do not, I protest that you suspend your judgment till it please God that you hear me again."

The deaths of Henry VIII. and Francis I. had not abated the intrigues of the French and English courts to obtain the ascendency in Scotland; and while Henry II., the successor of Francis, had sent Monsieur D'Osell, his ambassador, to renew the league between the Scots

and French and encourage the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, in opposing the Reformation, the Duke of Somerset, lately Earl of Hertford, and now Protector of England, was resolute to accomplish his deceased master's plan of uniting Scotland with England by the marriage of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and to effect it by force of arms if negotiation should fail. He therefore encouraged the garrison of St. Andrews with promises of assistance, renewed his intrigues with the Scottish lords who had favoured the English cause, and made preparations to invade the Scots with so large an army as should ensure him of success. While the renewal of war was thus imminent, and its first outburst upon St. Andrews inevitable, the condition of the Protestant cause which this town represented was far from being gratifying or encouraging. John Knox, indeed, continued his ministrations with energy and success; not only those of the castle but many of the townsmen attended them; and the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered among them in the simple form of the continental Protestant churches. But as a counterpart to this the conduct of the greater part of the garrison continued to be such as to disgrace the cause with which they were identified. While matters were in this state the promised absolution arrived from Rome; but the clause in it containing the words *remittimus irremissibile* [we pardon the unpardonable deed] was such a solemn piece of trifling that the defenders of the castle proclaimed the treaty for surrender at an end, and declared their resolution to hold out to the last.

Nor had they long to wait, for only a few days after they had announced their resolution to the governor and council a fleet of twenty-one French galleys appeared containing a considerable land force supplied with all the materials for a siege, and commanded by Leon Strozzi, prior of Capua, an officer of great skill and experience. At the same time the Earl of Arran, who was at the head of a considerable military force on the Borders, no sooner heard of the arrival of the French fleet on the coast than he hastened to the scene of action to co-operate with the prior. At first the siege made little progress, and nearly three weeks were spent in battering the castle from the sea before the artillery was landed and planted on the churches and principal buildings of St. Andrews. All was now over with the besieged; their whole line of defences was commanded by the enemy's artillery, and the pestilence broke out among them carrying more dismay to their hearts than the wounds and death of conflict. Even to the last, however, this handful maintained their resistance, and it was only when their walls were breached and no longer defensible that they opened a treaty of surrender. The conditions were such as they could accept with honour. Their lives were to be secured to them, and they were to be safely conveyed to France, instead of being left in Scotland at the disposal of the governor. If they chose to accept the conditions of the French king they should have their freedom and permission to enter into his service; but if they refused they were to be conveyed, at the expense of France, to what country they chose except Scotland. On these terms they surrendered on the 31st of July, and the victors were enriched with the spoil of the immense wealth which Beaton had hoarded; while the castle, either because it was canonically accursed by being stained with the blood of a cardinal or to secure it from falling into the hands of the English, was dismantled and converted into a ruin. The hostages, and especially the master of Arran, were restored to their parents. As for the garrison, in violation of the treaty some on their arrival in France were dispersed to different prisons, but the greater part, among whom was Knox himself, were sent to the galleys.[1]

It was unfortunate for the Earl of Arran and the interests of France in Scotland that Leon Strozzi should have set sail so quickly after revenging the death of the cardinal instead of waiting for the English invasion, which was to be both soon and certain. His departure was the more to be regretted as many of the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, some from religious and others from selfish motives, had renewed their amity with England, and were ready either to give way to the invaders or aid them in their advance. This fact was known to Arran, whose vacillating disposition it seems to have bewildered, so that his preparations to meet the coming storm were in some cases characterized by utter feebleness and in others by rashness and foolhardiness. Although aware of the names of the defaulters, he contented himself with throwing the Earl of Bothwell, one of their number, into prison, by which he merely gave warning to the rest instead of striking them with dismay or humbling them into submission. He also sent the fiery cross through the country to raise a levy *en masse* at a time when trained soldiers alone, instead of an armed mob, could be available for the defence of the country. On the other hand the Duke of Somerset, although his army was comparatively small, scarcely exceeding 15,000 men,

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation;* State Papers; *Acts of the Scottish Parliaments.*

had made a careful selection of the best troops in England, led by officers who had acquired skill in the wars of France and the Continent. Of these soldiers there were four thousand men-at-arms and demi-lances and two thousand light horse, while in hagbuts and artillery, now more dreaded in battle than the old gray-goose shaft, his army was supplied to an amount which the Scots could not match, and might scarcely be expected to withstand.

On the 2d of September (1547) the Duke of Somerset entered Scotland, his progress by land being attended by an English fleet at sea of thirty-four ships of war and thirty transports. On arriving at Berwick he expected his march to be interrupted at a place called the Peaths, or paths, one of the best ravines in Scotland for the purposes of defensive warfare, being six miles in length, stretching towards the sea, while its banks on either side were so steep that the communication between them was by paths not direct but aslant and irregular. Here the English army might have been brought to a stand by a very inferior force; but the place by an unaccountable neglect of Arran was wholly unoccupied; and Somerset, after clearing the dangerous pass, which was not effected without great labour, advanced without interruption, capturing on his way the castles of Douglas, Thornton, and Innerwick. On the 8th of September he had reached Salt Preston, better known as Preston Pans, a village about eight miles east from Edinburgh, and here he paused; for upon Edmonstone Edge, about three miles off, the Scottish army was encamped and preparing for battle. On the following morning about fifteen hundred of the Scottish light cavalry under Lord Hume, supported by an ambush of five hundred foot, approached the English camp shaking their spears and provoking the enemy to battle, at which challenge Lord Grey of Wilton, commander of the English horse, came down upon them with a thousand men-at-arms and a strong force of demi-lances. The Scots, who were Borderers lightly armed and mounted on small hackneys, after gallantly maintaining a fight of three hours, were broken, crushed, and scattered by the weight of the English cavalry, leaving thirteen hundred dead on the field. It was a disastrous commencement of the campaign to the Scots, who thus lost the best part of their cavalry. It was complained against the English that they had used their advantage in this successful skirmish with great cruelty; but they answered the reproach by reminding the Scots of their conduct at Peniel Haugh, where the armies of Eure and Layton had been almost annihilated and where no quarter had been granted.

Notwithstanding this partial defeat the Scottish army was too strongly posted to be safely attacked, having a morass on their right, the Firth on their left, and the river Esk in front between them and the English. Upon this ground their tents were pitched in four rows, each about a bowshot apart, resembling, says Patten, "four great ridges of ripe barley." On surveying their position Somerset was aware of their advantages, and while he reconnoitred it with a heedful eye he was interrupted by one of those chivalrous bravadoes which had now become ridiculous in regular warfare. A Scottish herald in his tabard, and accompanied by a trumpeter, advanced to the duke, who was accompanied by a party of his chief officers, and proposed on the part of the Earl of Huntly to decide the national quarrel by a combat with the English protector of twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in their single persons man to man. Somerset replied that he came not for war but peace and the benefit of both realms, and that as the Scots had refused peace they must abide the consequences of war. "And thou, trumpet," he added, "say to thy master he seemeth to lack wit to make this challenge, being of such estate by the sufferance of God as have so weighty a charge of so precious a jewel, the governance of a king's person, and then the protection of all his realms, whereby in this case I have no power of myself; which if I had, as I am a true gentleman, it should be the first bargain I would make. But there be a great sort here among us his equals to whom he might have made this challenge without refusal." Here the Earl of Warwick caught the proposal; he offered, with his grace's permission, to fight with the Earl of Huntly, and promised the herald a hundred crowns if he should prevail on his master to accept the challenge. "Nay," said Somerset, "the Earl of Huntly is not meet in estate with you, my lord. But herald, say to the governor and him also that we have been a good season in this country, and are here now but with a sober company, and they a great number; and if they will meet us in field they shall be satisfied with fighting enough. And, herald, bring me word they will so do, and by my honour I will give you a thousand crowns." Warwick was still eager for the meeting; but Somerset, whom the other was afterwards to bring to the scaffold, peremptorily forbade it, and the herald was dismissed.

As the chances of war were still so uncertain the English protector made a last effort at negotiation by sending a private letter to the Scottish regent. The terms of peace he proposed on this occasion were very different from

the imperious demands of King Henry. He entreated Arran in the strongest manner no longer to oppose the reconciliation of the two countries and the royal marriage. All he now demanded in that case was that the young queen should remain in Scotland until she was of a fit age to choose for herself, and that assurance should be given that she should not be disposed of to any foreign prince. On these conditions he offered to withdraw his army and give full compensation for whatever damage had been committed. These tempting offers, which were probably occasioned by the duke's precarious situation, and which were not likely to be faithfully observed, were communicated by Arran to his natural brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who advised him to keep them concealed, as they would tend to strengthen the English party and create divisions among their followers. They accordingly gave out that the overtures of Somerset were nothing but insulting threats of carrying the queen out of the country, compelling her to marry the King of England, and orders to the Scots to submit themselves to his clemency.

An appeal to arms being thus his only alternative, Somerset, on the morning of the 10th of September, broke up his camp and gave orders to the army to march to Inveresk. In his previous survey of the field he had noticed that the Scottish position was partially commanded by the hill of Inveresk and the higher parts of the lane that led from Faside Hill, and these he was anxious to occupy before he risked an engagement. This movement was mistaken by the Scots for a retreat; they imagined that the English were making for the fleet now lying in Musselburgh Bay, for the purpose of returning by sea to England; and resolved that his enemies should not thus escape, the governor ordered the Earl of Angus, who commanded the first line of the Scottish army, to cross the Esk and throw himself between them and the sea. Angus, who was better acquainted with the English and the common rules of warfare, would have disobeyed this infatuated order; but on being commanded to comply on pain of treason he reluctantly crossed the river, and was followed, though at a considerable interval, by the other divisions of the army. The vanguard, ten thousand strong, and comprising the best of the army, was flanked on the right by a few pieces of artillery drawn by men, and on the left by four hundred light horse; and that nothing might be wanting to the rashness of their advance, a large body of priests and monks accompanied them marshalled under a white banner, on which was painted a woman with hair dishevelled kneeling before a crucifix, while underneath was the motto, "Afflictæ sponsæ ne obliviscaris." They had thus endeavoured to consecrate their resistance with the character of a holy war, and they were now only anxious that the English heretics should not escape. Their descent from their strong position had been witnessed by their enemies with satisfaction; and while they were hurrying tumultuously forward to occupy the rising ground towards which the English were marching the latter suddenly wheeled round and took possession of another eminence called Pinkie Cleugh, where they had the advantages of sun and wind and communication with their ships. Having thus secured the advantage of the ground, Somerset placed his van on the left of the rising ground but farthest from the sea; his main battle rested chiefly on the hill with its extreme right on the plain, while the rear, under Lord Dacres, was posted wholly on the plain; and at some distance on the extreme left Lord Grey was stationed with the men-at-arms and mounted carabineers. This large and formidable arm of battle, in which the Scots were so deficient, was designed to complete the victory, and for this purpose Lord Grey was ordered not to act until he saw the vanguard engaged with the Scots and the main battle at hand to support him.

When these arrangements were completed the Scottish vanguard had cleared the intervening ground; but before they could advance to the charge they were exposed to a galling fire on their flank from the English shipping under which their van was thrown into confusion. On discovering their dangerous position they made a lateral movement towards the west end of Faside Hill for the purpose of occupying the higher ground, from which they might make the attack with greater advantage; but here Lord Grey was called up with his formidable cavalry to prevent them from gaining the hill. In this, indeed, he was successful; but, not satisfied with the advantage and forgetful of orders, he resolved to assail the Scottish vanguard. Nothing could apparently be more resistless than this headlong torrent of steel-clad cavaliers that came down the hill at full gallop upon the Scottish ranks, which they threatened to rend asunder like a cobweb. But the closing ranks that stood shoulder to shoulder, and the Scottish spears three ells in length that rose tier over tier like the quills of an angry hedgehog, once more showed the superiority of an unflinching infantry over cavalry, and the English horsemen went down before that wall of sharpened steel over which their lances were too short to reach. Again and again the charge was repeated, but with similar failure; and a ditch or

slough that lay between the assailants and the Scots gave good protection to the latter, and entangled those cavaliers whom their spears could not touch. Lord Grey himself was dangerously wounded in the mouth and neck, and several of his captains were despatched by the knives of the Scots as they lay unhorsed and encumbered with their armour. The battle was thus restored to equal terms, so that superior generalship alone must turn the scale; and here the advantage was with the English commanders, who had been trained in France to warfare, in which science was added to mere force and courage. On seeing the disastrous plight of the cavalry the Earl of Warwick, with the main of his infantry, moved to their assistance, withdrew them from defeat and ruin, and enabled them to form anew in the rear of his troops. Even then, however, he was too wise to hazard a close encounter: instead of this he drew up his mounted Spanish carabineers armed in mail, his foot-hagbutteers, archers, and artillery, and from a distance plied the Scottish vanguard with cannon-balls, musket shot, and arrows. Every missile found its mark among these close ranks, and the Earl of Angus, who saw his men falling fast beneath the death-shower, endeavoured to withdraw them to the main battle, which as yet had not entered into conflict. This movement was unfortunately mistaken for a flight; the panic circulated through the whole army that paused, wavered, gave back, and fell into inextricable confusion, while the governor, instead of attempting to rally the disordered ranks and restore the battle, raised the cry of "Treason! treason!" and fled with the fugitives. As the flight increased three crowds of runaways were to be seen at the same instant, one towards Edinburgh, another along the coast to Leith, and a third towards Dalkeith; but swifter still was the remorseless pursuit, especially of the English cavalry, whose late defeat was to be avenged, as well as the affair of Peniel Heugh, which they made their watchword to animate each other in the chase. In the fight and pursuit fourteen thousand Scots were said to have perished, so that the Esk ran red with blood, while the ground for five miles in length and four in breadth was covered with dead bodies that lay as thick as cattle reposing in a well-stocked pasture field. As this also had been made a religious war by the Catholic party, the worst brunt fell upon the priests and monks in the Scottish army, to whom the English gave no quarter, while their sacred banner was trampled under foot. After a chase of five hours the pursuers were recalled, and the English army encamped on Edmonstone Edge, which they formerly occupied. On reassembling they raised such a simultaneous shout of triumph, that it was heard by the startled citizens of Edinburgh, where it was mingled with the shrieks of three hundred and sixty widows, whose husbands had fallen in this fatal battle of Pinkie.[1]

After so decisive a victory, and one so easily obtained, it might have been thought that the Duke of Somerset would immediately follow up his success. Leith was already at his mercy; Edinburgh was unprepared for resistance; and Stirling Castle, the residence of the young queen, to which the governor had fled, must have surrendered to him at the first summons. In this manner he might have made himself master for the time of the government of Scotland, and have enforced that marriage which was the great object of his expedition. But such decisive measures, which would have been adopted by a bold sagacious victor, were too much for the Duke of Somerset, who, as Earl of Hertford, had shown himself better fitted for murderous and marauding inroads than decisive campaigns, and who now, as Protector of England, was a timid vacillating politician, as defective in moral courage as he had formerly been in military enterprise. He knew also that his enemies in the English council were availing themselves of his absence and intriguing to deprive him of the protectorship. Instead, therefore, of confirming his tenure of office and increasing his popularity at home by following up his successes in Scotland, until he had united the crowns of the two kingdoms, he resolved to forego his advantages and return to England, that he might watch over his own personal interests. All that he effected after the battle of Pinkie was accordingly confined to a few paltry exploits more indicative of a love of mischief and temporary resentment than the ambition of a conqueror or the dignity of the representative of England. On the day after the battle he entered Leith, which he plundered; he released the Earl of Bothwell from prison, set fire to Kinghorn and other fishing villages on the coast of Fife, and placed a garrison in the deserted monastery of Inch Colm. He attempted to take Edinburgh Castle, but could not, and stripped the Abbey of Holyrood of its bells and leaden roof. After a whole week had been thus uselessly squandered the want of provisions was added to his desire of returning; and he commenced his retreat on the 18th of September by setting fire to the town of Leith, after which he marched through Merse and Teviotdale to Berwick, receiving the submission of several gentlemen on his route, and

[1] Patten's *Expedition of the Duke of Somerset into Scotland;* Buchanan; Knox; Calderwood.

garrisoning a few small castles and forts which were too weak to bridle the districts, and too far from England to be reinforced with supplies. Simultaneously with the army the English fleet took its departure, and on the passage homeward took possession of the strong castle of Broughty, in the mouth of the Tay, which was surrendered by Lord Gray, its proprietor, at the first summons. The irresolute conduct and unexpected retreat of Somerset involved the failure of another expedition which had been undertaken to support him under the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton, who entered Scotland at the head of five thousand men two days after the battle of Pinkie. They broke into Annandale, which they ravaged without resistance, took several castles, and destroyed the town of Annan; and after laying the Borders under contribution they were only prevented from marching to Edinburgh to reinforce the English army by the unexpected retreat of the protector.[1]

However insignificant these operations might be in a military point of view, they led to important results which Somerset was far from anticipating. These were the indefinite postponement of the union of the crowns of Britain and the removal of Mary to France, two events by which the national history both of England and Scotland were for a long time afterwards to be materially affected. On the arrival of the Earl of Arran at Stirling after the battle of Pinkie he called a meeting of the nobles, which was held in the queen-mother's presence; and although the enemy was already at the gates of their capital they were unanimous in their resolution to continue the war. A new army was to be levied, and the aid of France invoked against England. After the unexpected retreat of Somerset another meeting of the nobles was held at Stirling to consider what measures were to be adopted for the security of the national independence. It was evident that England would not desist from the marriage so long contemplated, and would be ready to resume those violent addresses which already had been all but successful. It was also evident that their young queen could neither be fitly educated nor even effectually protected in a country so liable to invasion, and so long as she was the prize of such a dangerous competition. As for the chances of a successful resistance these at present were few, as they had no army in reserve, or a fort that could stand a siege, while the nobles were divided among themselves and the confidence of the people broken. In a council where the queen-mother and the French ambassador were present the remedies were of easy suggestion, and likely to be favourably received. Mary of Guise and D'Osell advised that the young queen should be sent to the court of France, where the best educational training would be accompanied with full protection and safety, while such confidence on the part of Scotland would be reciprocated with French assistance. These ideas, which were favourably received, were followed by the suggestion that the young Dauphin of France would be a more eligible husband for their queen than the sovereign of England, whose pretensions had already cost them so much; and this proposal also was welcomed, although Arran himself demurred, having contemplated the possibility of effecting the marriage of his own son to the young queen. It was decreed that ambassadors should forthwith be sent to Henry II., craving his aid and protection, and offering to send Mary Stuart to be brought up in his court, and in due time married to his son. The offer was at once accepted by the French king, and a large force of his veteran troops were ordered to be embarked for Scotland.

Although no immediate arrangement was made for the transference of the young queen to the court of France the unsettled condition of affairs in Scotland and the continuance of the war made it certain that her departure could not be long delayed. Bought over by bribes, persuaded that a union with England was more desirable for their country than an alliance with France, or preferring the advance of the Reformation to national expediency or personal profit—in these various motives we are to read the otherwise unintelligible conflict of parties and persons which at this time prevailed in Scotland. Nor was the policy of the Duke of Somerset calculated to lessen this confusion, who alternately obtained adherents by money or amicable protestations, and as quickly lost them by acts of violence and aggression. His was a feeble imitation of the worst part of Henry's proceedings, and as such it was equally futile. An expedition undertaken at the beginning of the following year was illustrative of this line of conduct and its natural tendencies. Trusting in the co-operation of the lords and barons who for the present were in the interests of England, Lord Wharton and the Earl of Lennox made an irruption across the Borders in February (1548), expecting to be joined by the Douglases; but instead of this they were assailed, routed, and dispersed by the Earl of Angus himself, while the Scottish borderers in the English army turned upon their employers in the heat of the affray and made common cause with their countrymen. Another part of the expedition under Lord Grey that had advanced as far as Had-

[1] Patten; Buchanan; Calderwood.

dington was in consequence of this reverse obliged to make a hasty retreat to Berwick. Although enough of blood also was shed on these occasions the mischief was not confined to the usual horrors of war: military executions followed; and while Arran sacked the houses of those Scottish barons who had favoured the advance of the invaders, the hostages they had given to the English leaders as pledges of their fidelity were hanged at Carlisle by Lord Maxwell.[1]

While these warlike operations had been going on Somerset had not remitted the task of negotiation, of which these invasions were merely to be the adjuncts. On the same month of February, and apparently only a very few days before the irruption of Lord Wharton, he had written to Arran proposing terms of peaceful accommodation and alliance. He disclaimed any design of subverting the Scottish government or subjugating the country to England; on the contrary all that he wished was a union of the two kingdoms on a footing of perfect equality. "Nature," he said, "pointed out a union between people on the same continent, of the same country and language; and providence had, by the death of James V. and his two sons in so short a space of time, and the crown's falling to a daughter, opened the best and surest way for establishing a perpetual friendship. This was such an opportunity as had not offered in 800 years; and as their queen must be married to somebody there could not be a fitter match for her than Edward, whose age, dignity, excellent qualities, and other circumstances recommended him for a husband to her preferably to any prince in Europe."[2] These were indeed self-evident truths—but, alas, that they should have been presented at sword-point! In consequence of their rejection, and the failure of the expedition by which they were to be enforced, Lord Grey once more entered Scotland and proceeded to Haddington, which he occupied on the 18th without opposition. The Scots, indeed, were so dispirited by the plague, which at that time was the most wasteful of invaders, that they were in no condition to interrupt the English, who carried their incursions to the gates of Edinburgh. One of their principal exploits was the capture of the castle of Dalkeith, the residence of that crafty politician Sir George Douglas, who had so often joined the cause of England and so often abandoned it. Still more to embitter his loss his dislodgment was effected by his own favourite weapon. Lord Grey, pretending to trust his professions, advanced towards Dalkeith with peaceful assurances; and before the other could be on his guard nearly a thousand horse and foot were pushed forward to his castle walls, and the place carried by storm. Douglas escaped, while his wife, son, and kinsmen fell into the enemy's hand, as well as great store of plunder; for so confident were the people of the district in Sir George's wisdom and good fortune, that they had sent their best effects to his castle as a place of assured safety. After leaving a garrison of two thousand foot and five hundred horse in Haddington Lord Grey returned to Berwick.[3]

It was time that Mary Stuart should leave a country in which her very cradle had been rocked by warfare, and her childhood passed amidst constant danger. At the invasion of Somerset she had been removed from the strong castle of Stirling to the remote obscure monastery of Inchmahome; and on his retreat she was transferred to the castle of Dumbarton, the place of her purposed embarkation. Even in the gay halls of the Louvre these remembrances of her childhood must have flitted at times before her like recollections of frightful dreams. France in the meantime had not been idle: to outwit England and secure Scotland for herself was both a pleasant and a profitable revenge; and in June the French fleet arrived in the Firth of Forth with the promised reinforcements, who were landed at Leith on the 16th. These consisted of six thousand troops, of whom half were French, and the other half chiefly Germans under the command of the Rhinegrave. On their arrival the governor joined them with five thousand men, upon which they invested the English garrison in Haddington, while a parliament was assembled in the abbey near the town. The great proposal brought before it was the marriage of the young Queen of Scots to the dauphin; and in obtaining a majority threats as well as bribes appear to have been employed on the occasion. "Some," says Knox, "were corrupted with budds [bribes], some deceived by flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent; for the French soldiers were the officers-of-arms in that parliament. The laird of Buccleugh, a bloody man, with many 'God's-wounds' swore, 'They that would not consent should do waur' [worse]." This hesitation was natural when the national independence was to be sacrificed, and when the only question at issue was the ascendency of France or England. The present danger, weighed against the future contingency, gave the advantage to the French proposal, and it was agreed

[1] State Papers; *Diurnal of Occurrents;* Lesley's *History of Scotland;* Buchanan.

[2] Carte's *History of England,* iii. p. 222.

[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents;* MS. Letter of Lord Grey in State Papers.

that Mary should be sent to the court of Henry II. as the affianced bride of his son and successor; while the king agreed to grant them further assistance in arms, troops, and money, and to educate their queen with paternal affection and care. To convey Mary Stuart in safety was now the only difficulty, as an English fleet had been stationed to intercept her on the way. Four French ships therefore set sail from Leith as if to return home; but, altering their course as soon as they had left the Firth, they sailed round Scotland, and cast anchor in the Clyde at Dumbarton, where their arrival had been anxiously awaited. Here the young queen embarked for her new home and kingdom, accompanied by her four Maries,[1] and attended by the Lord James, her natural brother, afterwards the regent Moray, at that time in his seventeenth year, and her governors, the Lords Erskine and Livingston. Mary set sail from Scotland on the 7th of August (1548), and after escaping the English fleet off St. Abb's Head and encountering rough weather she arrived at Brest on the 13th of August, from which she was conveyed in royal state to the palace of St. Germain. Having thus secured the prize the French king found it no longer necessary to maintain friendly appearances with England. As a peace at present subsisted between the two countries he had found it necessary to pretend that the armament had proceeded to Scotland without his permission, and had proclaimed its commanders and soldiers rebels when they were fairly out at sea. He now sent orders to Monsieur de Selves, his ambassador to England, to intimate to the protector and council that as he, the father of Mary's husband, now represented the King of Scotland, he was obliged to take that country under his protection, to consider it as his own realm, and comprehended in the peace between France and England, and desiring him to abstain from all hostilities against that realm and nation, in which case he would give orders for a like cessation on the part of Scotland.[2]

These intimations were regarded naturally enough as a defiance to fresh warfare between England and Scotland, more especially as the Scots, emboldened by French aid, required the English to evacuate every Scottish fort and place of which they held possession. The siege of Haddington was renewed by the French and Scottish armies united, but with little success, as they were baffled in every attack. To reinforce the garrison Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer were sent with fifteen hundred horse from Berwick; but they fell into an ambuscade laid for them by the French, and were all destroyed, with the exception of four hundred who were taken prisoners. Another effort, and one upon a greater scale, was necessary for the relief of the garrison in Haddington, and their brave commander, Sir John Wilford; but these Scottish wars had now become so unpopular in England that the protector was obliged to hire three thousand German Protestants to complete his defective levies. With an army that was thus raised to 22,000 men, of whom 7000 were cavalry, the Earl of Shrewsbury, accompanied by the Earl of Lennox, entered Scotland; but before it advanced an expedition was sent against Scotland by sea under the command of Lord Seymour, the High-admiral of England, and brother of the protector. Seymour's first attempt was upon the coast of Fife, where he landed twelve hundred men at St. Monance; but here they were met and routed by Lord James, the brother of Mary, who had now returned from France, and who even already was indicating those remarkable talents for peace and war which raised him to the government of the country. Another landing of the admiral's troops was afterwards made upon the coast of Angus; but here also they were defeated by Erskine of Dun, one of the most distinguished leaders of the Reformation, and Seymour was obliged with heavy loss and disgrace to return to England. All being in readiness for the invasion by land the Earl of Shrewsbury entered Scotland; but his success did not correspond with the greatness of his preparations. His entrance was in the beginning of September, when most of the soldiers had left the siege of Haddington to attend upon the work of the harvest, and those who remained broke up the siege as he approached and fell back for the protection of Edinburgh. The capital itself was saved, for D'Essé, the commander of the Scoto-French army, numbering 17,000 men, posted it so skilfully that Shrewsbury did not venture to attack it. He, however, reinforced Haddington, destroyed Dunbar and some other places, and left his three thousand German troops to strengthen the English garrisons, after which he recrossed the Borders.[3]

In the failure of these expeditions we can distinctly recognize the advantages which Scottish valour, hardihood, and perseverance derived from French military science, skill, and experience. But the same incompatibility of temper which on every previous occasion had disturbed the co-operation of these allies as fellow-soldiers, whether on a French or a Scottish soil, was now to break out into action

[1] Their names were Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, Mary Carmichael, and Mary Livingston.

[2] Buchanan; Knox; Lesley; *Diurnal of Occurrents;* Beague's *History of the Campaigns of* 1548 *and* 1549.

[3] Lesley; Carte; Calderwood; Buchanan.

and prepare the way for that union of the Scots and English which nature, necessity, and expediency had more or less suggested since the days of Malcolm Canmore. In Scotland the French soldiers had ever been exiles as well as allies; they scorned alike the sterility of the country and the ruggedness of the people; and while they were not slow in condemning the former as a howling wilderness, they were too apt to treat the latter as savages whom they had been sent to instruct and enlighten as well as to enrich and protect. But here in every case they found themselves confronted by a pride that even overtopped their vanity, and a hand that was as prompt and at least as heavy as their own; and thus even while the troops of the two nations marched under the same banner, it was with scowling looks of mutual hatred or mistrust, while every short interval in warfare was spent in keen recrimination and quarrel. At this time also the new alliance, by which France and Scotland were to be united under one crown, increased the arrogance of these foreigners by inducing them to regard Scotland as a dependent province in which they ought to be recognized as superiors and masters. An explosion of these hostile feelings was not long delayed. After their successful defence of Edinburgh the French troops quartered themselves upon the city, but against the will of the inhabitants, who were alarmed at their habits of military license and rapacity. On the street a citizen while carrying a culverin was set upon by a French soldier, who coveted the weapon and tried to wrest it from the other. The scuffle drew others on either side into the quarrel, but the French party had the worst and were chased from the Cross down Niddry Street after two of their number had been killed. In this affray the provost apprehended two Frenchmen and was leading them to prison, when sixty Frenchmen rushed from the lodging of M. D'Essé, their commander, with drawn swords, slew the provost and several others, and rescued the prisoners. The death of the chief magistrate, James Hamilton, laird of Stenhouse, who was captain of the castle as well as provost of the city, and the occupation of Edinburgh by these foreigners during two hours of the affray, in which they behaved like the captors of a conquered town, excited universal indignation; and not only the citizens but Arran and the nobles demanded that justice should be executed upon the offenders, threatening that otherwise they would inflict it themselves. The queen-mother, D'Osell, the French ambassador, and D'Essé found it difficult to allay the storm, and only succeeded by promising that the French of themselves and without aid should perform such a deed of war against the enemy as should fully requite the injury they had inflicted, and that if they refused then justice should be inflicted with the utmost rigour. This promise, so accordant with the spirit of the times, satisfied the complainers, who now waited with expectation to witness the performance.[1]

The exploit agreed upon was to be nothing less than the capture of Haddington, a dangerous neighbour to Edinburgh from the strength of its English garrison; and on the very evening after the affray the French commenced their march and reached the place a little after midnight. Their advance had been so secret and the discipline of the garrison so lax that the foremost of the French troops had reached the outworks, while the rest occupied the churchyard that was hard by. They carried the outwork that covered the entrance, and while one party advanced to force open the gate another was detached to attack the nearest English granaries. But their premature shouts of "Victory! victory!" woke the English, who responded with their wonted cry, "Bows and bills! bows and bills!" and rushed, half-naked and half-asleep, to the defence of the gate. Amidst the uproar a French deserter who had served the garrison as a spy, and who knew that the gallows awaited him if his countrymen should succeed, rushed to the gate, where two large pieces of ordnance had been planted, and fired them off in quick succession; the bullets shivered the gate, and ricochetted with such deadly effect among the assailants that more than a hundred were killed. The whole English artillery was now awake as well as the garrison, and the French, panic-struck with the failure of their first assault, could not be induced to renew it, and were led back to Edinburgh; while the loss and shame of their defeat was regarded with satisfaction by the inhabitants, who thought that the death of their provost was now sufficiently avenged.[2]

The rest of the events of this war may be briefly narrated. The Scots and French, although so unequally yoked, were more successful than such a union could have promised; but this success was owing more to the weakness of the English protector, the selfish divisions of his council, and the civil disturbances of the realm than the wisdom of their enemies. Fernihirst Castle was recovered from the English, they were driven out of Roxburgh, and the castle of Home which they had garrisoned was retaken. All communication between Dunbar

[1] Calderwood.

[2] Calderwood; Buchanan; Beague's *Campaigns of* 1548 *and* 1549; Knox.

and Haddington was completely cut off; and Wilford, in an attempt to reopen the communication for the purpose of obtaining supplies from England, was completely defeated and himself taken prisoner. D'Essé, in consequence of his unpopularity among the Scots, was recalled to France; but before his successor arrived he was anxious to signalize himself by some exploit that should grace his departure. The English, who had still the command at sea, had seized and were fortifying the little island of Inchkeith, situated midway between Leith and Fife; and this important position, which would have given them the command of the Firth, D'Essé was resolved to recover. That no encouragement also might be wanting the queen-mother and her ladies promised to witness the proceeding from the shore. Under this inspiration D'Essé and his troops landed upon the island, and in spite of a desperate resistance drove the English to their fortifications on the hill-top and compelled them to surrender. This exploit, which was not achieved without considerable loss, was the last of his military deeds in Scotland; and he resigned the command to De Thermes, who had been sent to supersede him, and who brought with him a reinforcement of a thousand infantry, a hundred men-at-arms, and two hundred light cavalry.[1]

The arrival of De Thermes, who was an able commander, accelerated the close of this vexatious war. Finding himself at the head of a considerable army, while the English garrisons were ill supplied and dispirited on account of the intestine troubles of their own country and the selfish dissensions of the protector and his council, he besieged and took Broughty Castle and also an adjoining fort, the garrisons of which were almost cut in pieces. On returning to Lothian he so disposed his forces as to prevent supplies from being thrown into Haddington; and at the approach of an army of English and Germans he first skilfully retreated before them and afterwards compelled them to retire. It was now evident to the English that Haddington could be retained no longer, as the country around it was laid waste, while the reinforcements that should have been sent to it were needed for the war in France. Under these circumstances the garrison was withdrawn, and at their departure on the 1st of October they set fire to the town. Lauder was the last place assailed by the Scoto-French army, and was so closely pressed that the garrison was on the point of surrendering when tidings arrived that peace had been concluded at Boulogne between France and England, in consequence of which the war in Scotland was now at an end. By this treaty, in which the Scots were included, the English agreed to evacuate Scotland, to give up the forts of Dunglass and Lauder, and to demolish the forts they had erected at Roxburgh and Eymouth; they also agreed to abstain from invading Scotland unless a new and sufficient offence was given by the latter. The peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 1st of April, 1550, and on the following month the French took their departure. These terms of pacification were favourable, indeed, for Scotland, but little gratitude was due to the French king who had obtained them; for in bargaining for its advantage he had regarded it as a province of his own rather than an independent kingdom, so that not even the name of the Scottish ambassador was mentioned in the treaty. In this manner a destructive war of nine years between the two kingdoms was terminated. As usual, also, no territorial or political advantage was gained on either side, and the cessation was one of mere weariness and exhaustion, in which the combatants would sit down to count the cost and prepare for a fresh contest. The argument of quarrel was the old one, the union of the two kingdoms into one, by which Britain, from being a divided power, would become a great nation; but the wisdom of the design was marred as well as mutilated by the folly of its prosecution. Of all people the Scots were the least liable to act upon compulsion, and the measure of which they heartily approved in the abstract they still continued to resist to the death, because it was tendered with arrogance and enforced with threats and violence. This national feeling was well expressed by the Earl of Huntly when a prisoner in England. On being asked by the protector why he opposed the English marriage he replied that "he had no objection to the match, but to the manner of wooing."[2]

It was not, however, upon these battlefields or in these sieges of forts and towns that the chief interest or future fortunes of Scotland at present rested. For these we must now turn to the prisons, and especially to the galleys of France, where the great regenerator of our country was chained among criminals and working at the oar. After the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews its defenders, in violation of the terms on which they had yielded, were sent, some into French prisons and others to the galleys. Being also regarded as the ostensible heads and representatives of the Reformation in Scotland,

[1] Buchanan; Calderwood; Beague.

[2] Lesley; Buchanan; *Diurnal of Occurrents.*

and bastard brother of the Earl of Arran, was not only involved in the declining popularity of the governor, but odious for his licentiousness, in which he fully equalled his predecessor Beaton. Like him, too, he resolved to signalize his zeal and restore the ascendency of his church by the arguments of fire and persecution. The victim he selected was Adam Wallace, a simple man of no great learning, but of a holy upright life, whom he caused to be apprehended at Winton Castle and brought to Edinburgh for trial.

The account of this trial is important as characteristic of the arrogance of the clergy and their supporters, a quality which, of all others, was the least fitted to recommend or advance their cause at such a period as the present. The governor, the Earl of Huntly, and other personages of rank sat as lay judges; but the chief power was vested in the bishops and clergy, who directed the accusations, and were to decide upon the guiltiness of the prisoner. The first charge against Wallace was that he took upon him to preach. This he denied, having never thought himself worthy of such a vocation; but he confessed that sometimes at table and sometimes in private meetings he had read the Scriptures and given exhortations to such as were pleased to hear him. "Knave," cried one of his judges, "what have you to do to meddle with the Scriptures?" "I think," he modestly replied, "it is the duty of every Christian to seek the will of God and the assurance of his salvation where it is to be found, and that is within the Old and New Testament." "What, then, shall we leave to the bishops and churchmen to do," cried another, "if every man shall be a babbler upon the Bible?" After rebuking this irreverend mention of the Word of God, Wallace replied, that though himself and all present, and other five thousand throughout the realm besides, should read the Bible and give religious exhortations, the bishops and clergy would still have more to do than they were able to accomplish: "For we leave to them," he added, "publicly to preach the evangel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood. And when we leave this to them, methinks we leave to them a heavy burden, and that we do them no wrong though we search for our own salvation where it is to be found, considering that they are but dumb dogs, and unsavoury salt that has altogether lost its season." "What prating is this?" cried the offended bishops. "Let his accusation be read."

It was not difficult to establish heavy charges against such a frank confessor. These, prefaced with the epithets of "False traitor, heretic!" were, that he had baptized his own child, that he denied the existence of purgatory, and that he had said that to pray to saints and for the dead is idolatry and a vain superstition. He declared that if bound to answer he would need an upright and indifferent judge. "Foolish man!" cried the Earl of Huntly, "will you desire another judge than the Governor of Scotland, and the bishops and clergy here assembled?" Wallace declared that the bishops were the avowed enemies of himself and his doctrines; and that as for the governor he was uncertain whether he could truly discern between the inventions of men and the true worshipping of God. "I desire God's word," he added, producing his Bible—"I desire God's word to be judge betwixt the bishops and me, and I am content that you all hear; and if by this book I shall be convicted of having taught, spoken, or done in matters of religion anything that repugns to God's will, I refuse not to die. But if I cannot be convicted—as I am assured by God's word I shall not—then I in God's name desire your assistance that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyranny." It was a hopeless appeal, and of this he was doubtless aware; so that he was delivering his dying testimony, not craving for mercy or seeking the means of escape. "What a babbling fool is this!" again exclaimed Huntly. "Thou shalt get no other judges than those that sit here." "The good will of God be done!" replied Wallace; "but be you assured, my lord, that with such measure as you mete to others, with the same measure it shall be meted to you again. I know that I shall die; but be ye assured that my blood shall be required of your hands."

He now commenced his answers to the charges, and the trial was both simple and brief. To the accusation that he had baptized his own child, he replied, that it was as lawful for him in the absence of a true minister to perform this rite as for Abraham to circumcise his son Ishmael and his family. As for purgatory, praying to the saints, and prayers for the dead, he declared that he had often read the Old and New Testaments, but could find neither mention nor assurance of them, and therefore he believed that they were mere inventions of men, devised for purposes of covetousness. "What sayest thou of the mass?" asked Huntly, thus baiting him at once with the chief question of trial. Wallace briefly replied, "I say, my lord, as my Master Jesus Christ says, 'That which is in greatest estimation before men, is abomination before God.'" At this all cried, "Heresy! heresy!" and the trial was ended. He was condemned to the flames, and the sentence was executed in the afternoon of the same day upon the Castle Hill.[1]

[1] Knox; Foxe's *Martyrology*.

THE TRIAL OF ADAM WALLACE FOR HERESY.

While Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, acted as Regent during her daughter's minority, the bishops of the Church of Rome were eager to persecute the Protestants. One of their victims was Adam Wallace, a man of noble character, whom they apprehended at Winton Castle, and brought to Edinburgh for trial. He was charged with having baptized his own child, denied the existence of purgatory, and maintained that to pray to saints and for the dead was idolatry and a vain superstition. *When asked to answer these charges he produced his Bible and said, "I desire God's Word to be judge betwixt the bishops and me."* It was a hopeless appeal, because the trial was a mere mockery of justice. In the end this man was condemned as a heretic, and burned at the stake upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.

W. H. MARGETSON

THE TRIAL FOR HERESY OF ADAM WALLACE IN EDINBURGH.

"I DESIRE GOD'S WORD TO BE JUDGE BETWIXT THE BISHOPS AND ME." (A.D. 1550.)

Vol. ii. p. 88.

But it was not merely against a hostile cause, and with open opponents, that the church had at this time to contend: its influence was weakened and its fall accelerated by a division among its own adherents. This was occasioned by what has been called the Pater-noster Controversy, the subject of which, as well as the manner in which it was debated, was calculated to bring the churchmen into ridicule and contempt. Hitherto the Lord's Prayer or Pater Noster had been addressed to God or to the saints indifferently; and this practice had for a long time been taught and recommended by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, the doctors of the University of St. Andrews. Unfortunately for this unanimity Richard Marshall, Prior of the Black Friars of Newcastle, had declared in his sermons preached in St. Andrews that this prayer ought to be addressed to God alone. The ecclesiastics of that city took the alarm; the soundness of their teaching was impugned, and a schism was on the eve of breaking forth, and they employed a Gray Friar called Tottis to defend their favourite doctrine. The friar accordingly occupied the pulpit on the 1st of November, 1551, being the first day of Allhallows, and selected for his text the following passage from the fifth chapter of Matthew, which had been read in the mass for that day: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." And now for its application to the subject in hand! From its authority he proceeded to prove that every petition in the Lord's Prayer might legitimately be offered to the saints. "For," said he, "if we meet an old man in the street we will say to him, 'Good day, father'—and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers. And because we grant also that they are in heaven, we may say to every one of them, 'Our Father which art in heaven.' Our Father God has made their names holy, and therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy; and so we may say to any of the saints, 'Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.' And for the same cause as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so praying for the kingdom of heaven we may say to them, and every one of them, 'Thy kingdom come.' And except their will had been the very will of God they had never come to that kingdom; and therefore, seeing their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, 'Thy will be done.'" Thus far all had gone smoothly; but when the preacher came to the fourth petition he was nonplussed: this singular mode of argumentation could not tide him over it, and he was compelled with much stammering and confusion to confess that it was not in the power of the saints to give us our daily bread; all they could do was to pray for us, that we might obtain our daily bread by their intercession. He finally covered his retreat by speaking of St. Paul's napkin, St. Peter's shadow, and Elijah's cloak, attributing the miracles they wrought to the sanctity of the wearers themselves rather than to the power of God.

Such was the style of preaching at this time in Scotland, such the mode in which saint-worship was defended. It was not wonderful that Protestantism should increase against teachers like these. The immediate effect was a schism throughout Scotland, while the question and watchword of each party was, "To whom do you say your Pater-noster?" As the prayer itself was in Latin the heat of contest induced many of the illiterate to obtain a translation of it into the vulgar tongue, and to perceive for themselves that it ought in no case to be addressed to the saints. The unlucky Friar Tottis also could not pass along the streets without being saluted by the craftsmen and prentices at the shop-doors with the derisive title of "Friar Pater-noster." To put the laity out of doubt and settle the controversy the heads of the university were called; but the divisions of opinion and the logical distinctions of these learned doctors only made the subject more perplexing. Some said that the prayer should be addressed to God *formaliter*, and to saints *materialiter;* others, *ultimatē* or *non-ultimatē*. Some decided that it should be said to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter;* others, that it should be said to God *primarie*, and to saints *secundarie;* others, that it should be said to God *capiendo strictē*, and to saints *capiendo largē*. But what could the common people learn, or even the better educated, from this casuistic jargon? And strange answers were sometimes given to inquiries on the subject. An old man, a servant of the subprior of St. Andrews, commonly called the subprior's Tom, was asked by his master one evening in a merry mood, to whom he said his Pater-noster? His reply was, "To God only." "But what should be said to the saints?" "Give them *aves* and *credos* enough, in the devil's name," cried Tom, "for that may suffice them well enough, although they spoil God of his right." This answer, which went abroad, was so satisfactory to the common people that many said, "He has given a wiser decision than all the doctors have done with their distinctions." More sharp and irreverent was the answer of a certain Friar Scott on being asked by an inquirer to whom he should say his Pater-noster? "Say it to the devil, knave!" cried the friar. As the university had been unable to settle the question it was adjourned to a pro-

vincial council assembled at Edinburgh for the purpose. At this solemn conclave it was alleged by the advocates for saint-worship in its utmost extent, that the University of Paris had concluded that the Lord's Prayer should be addressed to the saints; but this assertion they were unable to establish, it being in fact a falsehood. The bishops themselves were so divided upon the question, that after much altercation they were glad to be rid of the responsibility, and gave a commission to Wynrame, subprior of St. Andrews, whom they authorized in the name of the church to declare to the people how and after what manner they were to address the Lord's Prayer. The decision was the same as that of Wynrame's servant Tom, yet not so intelligibly expressed: it was, "That the Pater-noster ought to be said to God, yet so that the saints should be also invocated." By this answer the controversy was settled for the present; but the effects it had produced could not be arrested; and the spirit of inquiry was added to that of ridicule and contempt. At the same synodal meeting arrangements were made for publishing an English catechism, containing a short explanation of the commandments, creed, and Lord's Prayer, and the curates were enjoined to read a part of it every Sunday and holiday to the people when there was no sermon. The catechism was afterwards drawn up and printed, and being sold for the sum of twopence it was usually called the "Twopenny Faith."[1]

During these events, with which the progress of the Reformation in Scotland was so directly connected, another occurred by which the contest between the two creeds was to be ripened into an open and equal warfare. Mary of Guise, the queen-mother, during the commotions of the country since the death of her husband, had been neither an inattentive observer nor a passive agent. Inheriting a large share both of the talent and ambition by which her house was distinguished she had hitherto found little scope for the full exercise of these qualities, except through the agency of Cardinal Beaton, and afterwards that of the governor. But now a new field was opened where her highest aspirations might be fulfilled. Through the alliance of her daughter to the dauphin she could calculate upon the support of France; while the Earl of Arran, a weak and unpopular ruler, detested by the Protestants whom he had selfishly forsaken, and suspected by the Papists as a doubtful convert, might be easily displaced from the government. In this case her own succession to the regency would be easy as the fittest guardian of her daughter's interests and throne. Occupying this situation she would be able to advance the interests of her native country by reviving the French cause in Scotland, and to check the progress of the Reformation, which, as a devout Catholic, she abhorred. Encouraged in these aspirations by her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, she now announced her intention of paying a visit to the French court. The time was opportune, as it was one of general peace, while the desire of visiting her daughter was announced as the motive. Arran appears to have had his misgivings that this journey was for the purpose of displacing him from the government, and he endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way by renewing hostilities with England; but his proceedings to that effect were counteracted by the moderation of the English government. All was in readiness in the month of September (1550), and a small squadron of French ships under the command of Leon Strozzi, Prior of Capua, having arrived at Newhaven, Mary of Guise embarked with a numerous train. She was accompanied by De Thermes and the principal French officers, who, instead of departing to France on the establishment of the late peace, had remained in Scotland and studied the chief strategetical positions of a country in which their master had so deep a stake. With her, also, went some of the chief nobility of Scotland and the Bishops of Galloway and Caithness. On landing at Dieppe on the 19th of September Mary set out for Rouen, where she was received by the French king and his court with the highest distinction.[2]

Amidst the festivities that graced her arrival both at Rouen and Paris Mary was not forgetful of the purpose of her coming, and in the French king she found a willing coadjutor. Her arguments were supported by the Guises, all-prevalent in the councils of France, based as they were upon those religious considerations which at present formed the chief element of European politics. The French influence must be preserved in Scotland for the maintenance and defence of the ancient creed, now everywhere endangered, and this could only be effected by superseding Arran and having Mary placed in his room. In this case not only the progress of heresy would be arrested in Scotland, but the Reformation in England held in check; nay, even Ireland itself, discontented with the English yoke, might be encouraged to throw it off and make common cause with France and Scotland. Such, according to the English

[1] Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow ed.), vol. i. p. 273; Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 91.

[2] Lesley; Calderwood; State Papers.

ambassador at the French court, were the principal inducements held out to the French king by the Guises. Nor was Henry II. an inattentive or disinterested auditor. He had already shown that he considered Scotland to be as completely his own as if it had lapsed to him by royal succession, and he knew that his influence could not be supported there without the suppression of Protestantism. But for the succession of Mary to the regency it was necessary that the Earl of Arran should voluntarily resign it, and his own consent be obtained for the transference. The agency set to work for this purpose, and the price that was offered, showed the importance which was attached by the French king to a change that might otherwise have appeared so remote and so trivial. Panter, Bishop of Ross and ambassador at the court of France, Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, and Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, were sent to Scotland to persuade the governor to consent, and to offer him for that purpose the dukedom of Chastelherault in France, and the lucrative office of captain of the Scottish guards in France for his eldest son, with an annual pension for himself of twelve thousand crowns. Nor were those who were related to him, or had influence with him, overlooked. The Earl of Huntly, who was his son-in-law, was to receive the earldom of Moray; the youngest of the sons of the Earl of Rothes, whose mother was a Hamilton, was to be made an earl; Angus was to be confirmed in his earldom; and the son of Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, was to be created Earl of Morton. These tempting offers prevailed with Arran, backed as they were with the promise that he should not be called to account for the crown property spent during his office, and he consented to resign in favour of the queen-dowager. The Bishop of Ross, the principal of the negotiators, was rewarded for his success with the revenues of the rich abbey of Poictou in France. As it was important that the queen-mother in assuming the regency should encounter no opposition from England she had secured a party in the English council by affecting an inclination to favour the Reformation in Scotland; and Edward VI. still flattered himself, that in spite of the matrimonial contract with France the treaty might be ultimately dissolved, and the young Queen of Scots become his bride according to the original destination. The negotiations being thus successfully terminated Mary of Guise was anxious to return to Scotland, and for this purpose had proceeded to Dieppe; but in consequence of a fresh rupture between the French king and the emperor she was prevented from embarking through the blocking up of the port by a fleet which the latter had sent to intercept her. A safe-conduct, however, was readily granted by the English king, permitting her to land in his dominions and pass through them to Scotland, and accordingly she set sail on the 17th of September, 1551, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 22d of October.[1]

The reception which Mary received at the English court might have taught her the policy of identifying herself with the cause of the Reformation as the safest guarantee of her own rule and her daughter's succession. It is probable, however, that its only effect was to increase her antagonism and confirm her in carrying out the designs of her brothers. After she had proceeded to Hampton Court, and thence to London, she was received at Whitehall on the 4th of November with a magnificence and respectful ceremonial of which a minute detail may be found in the pages of Stow and Holinshed. In the interview between her and the King of England Edward introduced the subject of her daughter's matrimonial contract with the dauphin in a strain of gallantry and political wisdom that was worthy of the high character with which historians have adorned his memory. He urged her to use her good offices that the French engagement might be cancelled, and the original contract in his own favour confirmed; and he represented how effectual this union would be in uniting the two contending nations in a bond of close and perpetual alliance; he assured her also in a style half-chivalrous but wholly sincere and full of important meaning, that whosoever married her should not obtain her with his goodwill, but that he should be an enemy to him in all time coming. Upon this dangerous topic the queen excused herself as she best might. The chief fault lay, she alleged, with the Protector Somerset and his counsel, who had prosecuted the measure with fire and sword, by which the Scottish nobles had been obliged to seek the aid of France and send her daughter thither for safety. Having then recourse to his own chivalrous vein she added, that this was not the best way to win a lady and princess of heritage, whose hand ought rather to be sought by humane, courteous, and gentle behaviour, "not by rigorous, cruel, and extreme pursuit." If they had commenced by seeking her good-will, when they attempted other and extraordinary means, she would have shown herself more favourable in that matter. She promised, however, that as Edward himself had now proposed the renewal of the original contract she would advertise the King of France and her friends

[1] Letters of Sir John Mason, English ambassador in France, to the privy-council; Buchanan; Maitland's *History of Scotland*, ii. p. 884.

in that country of his purposes as soon as she returned to Scotland.[1] In this conciliatory manner, and without committing herself, she left the question of her daughter's marriage still an open one, and allowed her youthful entertainer to hope that it might even yet terminate in his favour. After having been treated with greater honours than were usually paid in England even to crowned heads Mary of Guise arrived in Scotland towards the close of December.

It was now to be seen whether a woman and a foreigner would be welcomed as ruler by a people whom their own kings had found so difficult to govern. But during Mary's protracted absence in France the conduct of the Earl of Arran had been such as to make any change be considered a relief. When he had been persuaded to resign office his politic brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was confined to bed with what appeared a mortal disease; and Arran, thus left to his own guidance, had yielded to the negotiators. The prelate, however, was cured in a miraculous manner;[2] and the first use he made of his recovery was to persuade the governor against laying down his authority. Arran, thus fortified by the advices of his only counsellor, resolved to confirm his tenure of office by showing a greater zeal than ever in behalf of religion, and the laws against heretics passed in the reign of James V. were re-enacted with additional severity. Among these additions, by which persons for whatever cause laid under the ban of the church were to be punished with heavier penalties than before, it was decreed that those under ecclesiastical censure for a whole year, but still unrelaxed, should forfeit their movables to the queen, even though they had reconciled themselves so far to the church as to have "partook of the body of God in the holy sacrament." An enactment was passed against sins now affirmed to be scandalously common—adultery, bigamy, blasphemous swearing, and indecent behaviour during public worship—by which over-zealous reformers could be involved in the odium and punishment of common malefactors. Even the liberty of the press was to be restrained and its abuses punished, as an important step in the designs of the governor. The great era of authorship had commenced and the tide of publication reached the remote shores of Scotland, where, in addition to the foreign works which were imported, a native produce was rising up chiefly in favour of the Reformation, while the power to read and understand them was of daily augmentation. The operations of this new power, which was already perplexing both crown and mitre, and the plan adopted for its coercion, were thus set forth in the statute:—"Forasmuch as there are divers printers in this realm that continually print books concerning the faith, ballads, songs, rhymes, blasphemies of churchmen as well as laics, with tragedies in Latin as well as in English, not seen and considered by the superiors, to the great scandal of this realm; it is therefore ordained by the lord-governor, with advice of the three estates, that no printer shall presume to print any book, &c., till it is revised by some wise person appointed by the ordinaries and a license be obtained from the queen and the lord-governor, under pain of confiscation of goods and being banished the realm."[3]

As Arran had thus revoked his voluntary cession of office the queen-dowager was obliged to wait until necessity or a change of mood should occasion his final abdication. In the meantime, as he was in danger of being called to account for his lavish expenditure of the royal treasures, he undertook a tour in the summer of 1552, ostensibly to hold justice ayres, but in reality to replenish his exhausted coffers and be ready to confront the hour of reckoning. This progress was northward as far as Inverness, and his proceedings indicated the purpose of his journey; for while such thieves as were poor were hanged without mercy, the rich malefactors were suffered to escape upon fine and composition. He also made similar progresses through the eastern and western parts of the kingdom, endeavouring to strengthen his cause by bestowing the honour of knighthood with a liberal hand; and among these were several of the Border barons, who though powerful were still untitled, and whose families afterwards became the most influential in the realm. But in these journeys he was attended by the queen-dowager, who employed the opportunity in acquiring a more complete knowledge of the state of the country and strengthening her party, and in both of these purposes she was so successful that in the following year (1553) she judged the time favourable for reminding the governor of his engagements. He still demurred, and it was not until 1554 that he gave his final and absolute consent to the demission. This, indeed, he could no longer delay, as Mary Stuart, now twelve years old and entitled to choose her own curators, had been induced to select as her guardians the

[1] Lesley's *History of Scotland*, pp. 239, 240.

[2] His physician was the famous empiric Sir John Cardon. The cure was effected by hanging the patient for several days by the heels and feeding him with young whelps. Such was the popular rumour, and it was gravely announced by Sir Thomas Randolph to Cecil.

[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland;* Maitland's *History of Scotland.*

King of France and her uncles the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, who devolved their authority upon her mother. Accordingly, in the parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the 12th of April the governor signed his abdication. He was now so bare of supporters that none adhered to him but his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Livingston, and yet few governors have been allowed to retire with so many advantages. He was confirmed in his dukedom of Chastelherault, the title of which he had previously used, and freed from the reckoning of the crown revenues that had been expended during his tenure of office; he was to retain the castle of Dumbarton in his own hands until the young queen came of age, and be recognized as the second person of the realm and also nearest heir to the crown, failing the queen herself. France had already commenced a deep design against the liberties of Scotland, which unjust or oppressive conduct at the outset, especially against the heir-presumptive to the crown, would have defeated by raising alarm and inquiry; and thus Arran was enabled to resign with dignity and depart with every advantage in his favour. Mary of Guise was then solemnly inaugurated in the regency of Scotland.[1]

During the course of her intrigues for office, which had thus so successfully terminated, Mary since her return from England had ingratiated herself with the Protestants, who were now recognized as an influential party in the state; and it was in no small degree owing to their support that she had succeeded to the regency. But now that her object was attained her next step must be their suppression, the purpose for which the office had been mainly sought, and to which she was bound by her alliance with France and her brothers. Events also had happened during the previous year by which her purposes of resistance to the Reformation were strengthened; these were the death of Edward VI. and the succession of his bigoted sister to the throne of England, in whom she was certain to find a zealous coadjutor; and by their joint efforts Britain, already become the stronghold of Protestantism, might yet be recovered to the ancient faith. But politic and carefully devised though the plan of the new regent might be, she marred its efficiency at the outset by too great eagerness. As soon as she was invested with the regency she began to surround herself with French counsellors, to the exclusion of the native nobility. Thus she appointed Villemore to the office of controller of the finances, and Bonot to be governor of the Orkney Islands. D'Osell she took for her principal adviser, and made M. de Rubay vice-chancellor and keeper of the great seal. By this last appointment the Earl of Huntly, one of the most powerful noblemen of Scotland and lord-chancellor, found his high office reduced to an empty title. By these offensive proceedings also she distinctly betrayed her purposes and put all parties alike upon their guard.

To find distant and hazardous employment for the discontented was now necessary for the queen-regent's measures, and of these malcontents the Earl of Huntly was the most dangerous. A pretext was soon found for removing him from the court in the disturbances of the Highland districts, which had now broken out with their wonted violence under John of Moidart, an outlawed chief of the clan Ronald, and other leaders of less note. Hitherto the suppression of such outbreaks in the Highlands had been intrusted to some powerful nobleman whose territories were nearest the scene of action; and as success in these enterprises had been usually rewarded by profitable grants of land from the rebellious districts, the commission had been always regarded as a royal boon. On this occasion Huntly was commissioned to suppress the rebels, as they were nearest to his own territories, and at the head of a mixed force of the Lowland feudal array and Highland allies he advanced as far as Abertarf. But here a mutiny broke out in his camp chiefly through the discontent of his allies of the clan Chattan, whose chief he had executed in 1550; and, deprived of their aid, the Lowland barons could not act in a country unfitted for the services of cavalry. The earl was therefore obliged to return without having effected anything, and the failure was gladly laid hold of by the regent and her French councillors as a sufficient ground of punishment. He was thrown into prison, and would have been proceeded against as a traitor had it not been for the interposition of the Earl of Cassilis and other noblemen, who read their own danger in these proceedings and were jealous for the dignity of their order. His punishment, however, was sufficiently severe. He was deprived of the administratorship of the earldoms of Moray and Mar and the government of Shetland and Orkney, and sentenced to be banished to France for five years; but this part of the sentence was afterwards remitted. As John of Moidart still continued in rebellion the Earl of Athole was sent against him, and was so successful that John and his family were brought prisoners to Edinburgh; but soon after the outlaw broke prison, returned to his fastnesses in the mountains, and renewed his depredations.[2]

[1] Buchanan; Lesley.

[2] Lesley; Maitland; Buchanan.

The measures of the queen-regent were now characterized by a suspicious lenity towards the Protestants. This was evinced in the statutes of a parliament assembled in 1555, by which, among other enactments, those popular festivals such as the election of Robin Hoods, Abbots of Unreason, and Queens of the May, which the reformers denounced as idolatrous and sinful, were prohibited under severe penalties. But still more remarkable was a decree of parliament in the summer of 1556, by which the Laird of Brunstone, Kirkaldy of Grange, Sir Henry Balnaves, and others who had either been actors or abettors in the death of Beaton, were recalled from banishment and restored to their estates and honours. It was not without an aim that she was propitiating a party whose influence she had already found so powerful; and her purpose she soon manifested by proposing the establishment of a standing army for the national defence. For this purpose the estates of the kingdom were to be surveyed and a tax according to their valuation imposed upon each for the maintenance of hired soldiers, who should give military service, instead of the usual feudal array. It was seen that this plan originated with her French advisers, and that its effect would be to reduce the kingdom into a military despotism, that it might more easily become a mere province of France. All classes were indignant at the proposal; and three hundred barons having assembled at Edinburgh to present their remonstrances against the measure, they deputed Sir James Sandilands of Calder and John Wemyss of Wemyss, two of their number and men of high character and authority, to carry their protest to the queen. The commission was executed boldly and faithfully. These barons complained of the indignity of hiring mercenaries for the defence of a people who had been accustomed to defend themselves, and who were still sufficient for their own defence, and the injustice done to the nobles and gentlemen whose good swords and faithful allegiance were the tenure by which their lands were occupied. Such a hireling army as the one proposed could never guard the country like those who had reputation, and property, and homes, and families, as well as their own lives to defend. The title of their monarch hitherto had been King of Scots, and this because he was the leader of the people in war and their judge in peace, rather than lord of the country and proprietor of the soil. Even the defence of the Border could not be maintained by such a mercenary force; on the contrary, as soon as it was stationed there the jealousy of wealthy England would be roused and a far greater army furnished to oppose and counteract it, by which not only the frontier would be broken through but the whole country overrun. Such were the principal objections of Wemyss and Sandilands, and they were sufficient to convince the queen-regent that no standing army could be raised or would be tolerated in Scotland. She frankly confessed her error and the proposal was abandoned.[1]

Other means were now to be adopted for strengthening France with Scottish aid, and this was the more necessary as that country was at war both with Spain and England. The English, indeed, in such a quarrel would have remained neutral had the choice been allowed them; but the infatuated attachment of their queen to her husband, Philip of Spain, dragged them unwillingly into a war in which France was on the point of being overmatched. It was natural that Henry II. should turn his eyes to Scotland, a country for which he had lately done so much, and which he now considered as part of his own dominions, and that the queen-regent should sympathize in his expectations. An invasion of the Scots into England would relieve her native sovereign by confining the English to the defence of their own country, and this diversion Mary was now bent on effecting. For this, also, her means appeared sufficient, as troops, arms, and money had been transmitted at several times to Scotland by the French king, in the hope that these would encourage the Scots to resume hostilities with England. To provoke the commencement of this new war the queen, by the advice of her foreign counsellors, sent a French detachment from Dunbar to Eyemouth to repair its fortifications, which had been destroyed by an agreement of the treaty of peace in 1551, judging that the neighbouring garrison of Berwick would take the alarm and interrupt the proceeding. This result accordingly happened; and after some bickering, in which blood was shed, as well as an incursion of the Scottish Borderers, in which Lord Hume, their commander, was defeated, the queen-regent proclaimed war against England, assembled an army at Kelso, and prepared to cross the Border. But here the old Scottish jealousy of foreign dictation awoke; the nobles refused to advance their banners into England, and this refusal was expressed through the new Duke of Chastelherault and the Earls of Huntly, Cassilis, and Argyle, who declared that they would not make war during the minority of their sovereign for the purpose of serving the interests of France. Peremptory and humiliating though the declaration was, she was obliged to comply, and even to recall D'Osell,

[1] Buchanan

whom she had sent forward with a French detachment to besiege Wark, and thereby provoke a national war. And yet this abortive attempt of the queen-regent was not without important benefit to France. After the great victory gained by the Spaniards and English at this time at St. Quentin, by which the French fortunes were brought to the lowest ebb, the English, disgusted with their Spanish allies and alarmed by the tidings of this Scottish invasion, mutinied against their foreign service and demanded to be led home for the defence of their own country. This was done; and the consequence was that Calais, the last trophy which the English possessed of their ancient victories in France, was left so unprotected that it afterwards fell an easy prey to the Duke of Guise, who took it after a very short resistance.[1]

The position of the queen-regent was now sufficiently perplexing. For her enemies she had the Duke of Chastelherault and the chiefs of the Roman Catholic party, while among her adherents were James, Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray, Kirkaldy of Grange, the brave and successful soldier, and Maitland of Lethington, afterwards to be known as the Machiavelli of Scotland. Little did she know that in these three young men of comparatively inferior rank and influence were lodged her own and her daughter's fate and the downfall of that religion which she was so earnest to maintain. The condition of France after the ruinous defeat of St. Quentin made Henry II. desirous to conclude the marriage between the Dauphin and Mary Stuart, and his wishes were seconded by Mary of Guise, who hoped that the alliance would confirm her own wavering authority. She accordingly presented a letter from the French king before the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 14th of December, 1557, urging the completion of the union, and that commissioners should be sent to France to aid in solemnizing it. Eight ambassadors were accordingly nominated to represent the three estates of Scotland. There were James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow; Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, and James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, for the church; George Lesley, Earl of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, and Lord Fleming for the nobles; and the provosts of Edinburgh and Montrose for the commons. Their instructions were drawn up with the most scrupulous attention to the national independence and rights; they were to obtain from the young queen and her husband a promise in the most ample form that Scotland should be preserved in all its ancient immunities and governed by its own laws; and that a commission should be granted for a regent to superintend it. After a stormy voyage in which two ships and several lives were lost the ambassadors arrived at the French court, where the conditions of the marriage were ratified in the most solemn manner. The dauphin was to bear the title of King of Scotland and quarter the arms of that country with his own. The eldest son of the marriage, or his representative, was to succeed to both the kingdoms of France and Scotland, and take the arms of both kingdoms under the same crown; but should there be daughters only, the eldest, or her issue, was to succeed to the crown of Scotland, and not to marry without the joint consent of the King of France and the three estates, and should have at her marriage the sum of three hundred thousand crowns of the sun, and every one of her sisters a like amount. Should the dauphin die King of France his queen-dowager was to enjoy a jointure of six thousand livres tournois, or a greater sum if she choosed it, and if it could be proved that any queen-dowager of France ever possessed such; but should the dauphin decease before he had succeeded to his father's throne his widow should be entitled to thirty thousand livres tournois from lands in Tourain and Poictou in as ample a manner as the late Queen-dowager of France. And should the dauphin die before her the Queen of Scots might either remain in France or return to Scotland, there to enjoy her jointure and remarry as her parliament should counsel her, and not be hindered from carrying with her the jewels, furniture, &c., which belong to the queens of France, and this whether she had children or not. On the other hand, the Scottish ambassadors promised to take an oath of fidelity, in the name of the three estates of Scotland, to the dauphin after his marriage to their queen; and to honour and obey him during the marriage and the children of the marriage in the same manner as their predecessors had honoured and obeyed the progenitors of the queen.[2]

These conditions were satisfactory to the national independence of the Scots, while the liberality of the provision in favour of their young queen was gratifying to their pride, as showing the value which the French court had attached to the royal alliance. But beneath this show of respect an infamous act of fraud had been transacted, unparalleled in the annals of national coalitions, fruitful though they are in instances of meanness and double-dealing. Nine days before the articles of the marriage treaty were signed three papers were presented for

[1] Lesley; Buchanan; Maitland.

[2] Lesley; Buchanan; Keith's *History of Scotland*, pp.13–21.

signature to the young, inexperienced queen, by which these guarantees for the liberty and independence of her country were converted into a mockery and a lie. By the first she resigned the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the French king and his heirs in the event of her dying without issue. By the second, in which the resistance of the Scots to such a transference was anticipated and prepared for, she assigned the possession of the kingdom of Scotland to the King of France after her decease without children until he should be reimbursed in the sum of a million pieces of eight, or of any greater sum he should be found to have expended in her entertainment and education during her abode in France. And by a third document, the most iniquitous of all, Mary was made to certify, that although both before her marriage and after it she should sign a declaration at the desire of her parliament concerning the lineal succession of her crown, yet she protests that her genuine meaning is only contained in the two preceding papers. These infamous agreements, presented by the King of France and her uncles the Guises, Mary Stuart, as yet only fifteen years old, subscribed with little if any hesitation.[1] It was no unlikely event that the young sickly dauphin would die childless; and in this case the same unscrupulous principles might prepare the way for the entrance of France into the sovereignty of Scotland; and should the latter country demur she could be saddled with a money claim far beyond her utmost means to liquidate. The inauspicious marriage was solemnized on the 24th of April, 1558, in the cathedral church of Notre Dame, with a magnificence unwonted in the matrimonial unions of Scottish sovereigns, the King and Queen of France, four cardinals, many princes of the blood, and the chief of the French nobility being present on the occasion.

Only four days after the marriage a note of discord was heard. The Scottish commissioners on taking the oath of allegiance to the king-dauphin according to agreement were also required to produce the ensigns of royalty and acknowledge the dauphin for their sovereign. To this they briefly replied that they had no instructions on the subject. They were then asked to subscribe an engagement to promote the business in parliament on their return to Scotland; but they answered that their instructions tied them up, so that they could not go beyond them. Finding that nothing could be done with such impracticable ambassadors they were suffered to depart, but not to reach home in safety: a mysterious mortality broke out among them, by which the Earls of Rothes and Cassilis, the Bishop of Orkney, Lord Fleming, and many of their attendants died within a few days of each other, although no epidemic was at that time in France; and in consequence of the unscrupulous modes by which the Guises were wont to remove obstacles in the path of their ambition, the prevalent idea was that they had been taken off by poison. The young prior of St. Andrews was also supposed to have been drugged in the same manner; for although the youth or vigour of his constitution enabled him to surmount the worst effects of the attack, he continued to labour under a dangerous weakness of stomach as long as he lived.[2]

From this marriage of the young Queen of Scots to the French dauphin, which was regarded by the Popish party in Scotland as their greatest triumph and promise of complete revival for their decaying cause, we must now briefly revert to the progress of the Reformation in Scotland and to the career of John Knox, in whom it was chiefly impersonated. On arriving in England in 1550 he was appointed one of the chaplains of the young king, Edward VI., while his powerful aid was welcomed by Cranmer, whom he assisted in the great work of formulating the creed and worship of the new Protestant church, which had been left in such an unsettled condition at the death of Edward VI. It was an important prelude to the subsequent alliance of the two nations by the bond of a common Protestantism, that John Knox, the Scottish reformer, should also have been one of the reformers of England; and that in the latter country he underwent the training by which he was fitted for the work that awaited him in his own. It was there, also, that he first exhibited that stern, honest, uncompromising spirit which distinguished him as a veritable reformer of religious abuses, when the timid Cranmer temporized and the court preachers stood aloof; so that even before the king and council at Westminster he dared to denounce from the pulpit the nobles high in power and office who were present, by whose selfishness and iniquities the cause of religion had been injured. To all and each of the forms, however, introduced into the English church he could not give his assent, and against some of them he not only protested, but expressed his substantial dissent by refusing a bishopric when the Duke of Northumberland had all but forced it upon him. Knox, indeed, was one of the first, if not absolutely himself the earliest, of the English puritans; and how much the religion of England has owed to the conservatory spirit of that

[1] Keith, p. 74; Maitland, ii. p. 901.

[2] Lesley; Buchanan.

party impartial history has testified. On the death of Edward VI. and the accession of his sister Mary, Knox was obliged to escape to Geneva, where he prosecuted his studies along with John Calvin until he was invited by a congregation of English Protestant refugees at Frankfort to become their minister. By the advice of Calvin he complied, and matters went on peacefully and successfully at Frankfort until a fresh party of exiles arrived from England, who introduced into the worship of the congregation the use of the service-book of Edward VI., to which Knox was conscientiously opposed; and when he resisted the innovation they endeavoured to silence him by charging him with treason against the emperor. The magistrates of Frankfort, who abhorred this treacherous proceeding but were too weak to protect him, advised him to leave the city, which he did in March, 1555, and returned to Geneva.

The state of affairs in Scotland now required his presence. Although the Reformation was steadily advancing religious teachers were few; and while some were contented to testify their zeal by opposition to the mere externals of Popery and a warfare against images, others thought it enough to cherish the doctrines of the Reformation in private without any outward profession. About September, 1555, Knox passed over from Geneva to Edinburgh, and held private meetings which were attended by the most influential of the Protestants; so that he was not long in finding that many even of the most devout and zealous of their number carried their compliance so far as to make no scruple of giving attendance at the mass and partaking of the sacraments in the papistical form. This tolerant mood, so dangerous to religious truth, especially when discountenanced or persecuted, alarmed the reformer, and in consequence of his remonstrances the subject was discussed one evening at the house of Erskine of Dun, where the laird, David Forrest, Robert Lockhart, and John Willock, all of them preachers or public teachers of the Reformation, and William Maitland of Lethington were assembled. They endeavoured to justify their compliance by the example of St. Paul, who had feigned to pay a vow when he went with others to the temple of Jerusalem. Knox showed that Paul's act had nothing to do with the question, as the payment of vows was sometimes the commandment of God, while the mass was idolatry. He greatly doubted also whether Paul's obedience proceeded from the Holy Spirit. "Evil it was for Paul," said the bold reformer, "to confirm these obstinate Jews in their superstition by his example; worse it was to him to expose himself, and the doctrine which before he had taught, to slander and mockery. While obeying their counsel he fell into the most desperate danger he ever sustained. God declared thereby that evil should not be done that good might come of it." These arguments were so conclusive that young Lethington could not help exclaiming, "I see perfectly that these shifts will serve for nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." The spurious charity of such compliances was thus exposed, and the practice of repairing to the mass abandoned.

While Knox was thus making the principles of the Reformation more fully understood by his countrymen, and preparing them for a total abandonment of Popery, he taught, preached, and administered the sacrament of the supper in several houses throughout the country, where he had for his congregations several of the principal barons, with their families and dependants, who assembled "as well for the doctrine as for the right use of the Lord's table, which before they had never practised." The clergy were alarmed, and a summons was issued for his appearance at the church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh on the 15th of May, to answer the accusations that were to be brought against him. As he was resolved to obey the summons and confront his judges, Erskine of Dun and several gentlemen, who knew the nature of such trials and their usual result, repaired to Edinburgh to support him. Alarmed at this, or from some informality in the summons, the court was not opened, and on the day appointed for trial Knox preached in Edinburgh to a larger audience than had ever previously assembled there for the purpose. His ministrations, which were continued daily, were so powerful and convincing that the Earl of Glencairn and the earl marischal, two of his auditors, hoped that his arguments would be equally effectual with the regent, and at their earnest solicitation he wrote to her an eloquent, well-studied epistle, which was afterwards published under the title of *The Letter to the Queen Dowager*. But this proud princess of the house of Guise, whose family were banded for the overthrow of Protestantism, was not likely to be moved by its arguments or appeals; and after reading the letter she handed it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, with the scornful remark, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil."

Hitherto the visit of Knox had been attended with such success that his permanent stay in Scotland was naturally anticipated. But even while the harvest was apparently ripening he equally astonished his friends and his enemies by once more withdrawing to the Continent. Attempts have sometimes been made to attribute this departure to craven fear or a selfish

dislike of toil, as if his disinterestedness could be bribed or his courage shaken! Moreover, had he been the aspiring ambitious demagogue which so many have supposed him, would he have thus retired to obscurity when the worst of the battle had been fought, and when the promise of success was about to be realized? His departure is rather to be explained by the notions he held upon the sacredness of the ministerial call and the closeness of the tie that bound the pastor to his flock. Fitted though he was beyond his compeers for the office of a public spiritual instructor, he had not dared to assume the office of a minister until he was called to it by the people themselves; and when the congregation of which he had the oversight was scattered he, under the authority of a similar call, became the minister of a congregation of English exiles at Frankfort. In consequence of persecution a handful of these had seceded with him to Geneva; and notwithstanding his visit to Scotland the tie that bound him to that little flock was as yet unloosed. It was not surprising, therefore, that when he received a letter from them at this time, "commanding him in God's name, as he that was their chosen pastor, to repair unto them for their comfort," he complied with their command as an imperative duty, let the allurements to stay in Scotland be what they might. He took leave of the several communities to which he had preached, exhorting them to prayer, reading the Scriptures, and mutual conference, until such time as God should give them greater liberty. He was entreated by several influential persons to remain; but his answer was, that if God blessed these small beginnings among them they should find him obedient whenever they pleased, adding, that "he must needs visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave." He took his departure in July, 1556. After he was gone the bishops again cited him before their tribunal; and for his non-appearance he was burned in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. It would have been well if they had dispensed with this spiteful pageant as it called forth his "Appellation" against their sentence, in which he ridiculed their malice and exposed their injustice with arguments which they could not refute.

The absence of Knox was soon felt by the Scottish Protestants, so that on the following year letters from the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Erskine, Lord Lorn, and the Prior of St. Andrews were addressed to him at Geneva, entreating his return to comfort themselves, their preachers, and adherents, now in need of his advice and encouragement. They declared to him also that they were all ready to hazard their lives and property in the good cause, and that the hostile priesthood were daily diminishing in estimation both with the queen and the nobility. On receiving this invitation he laid it before his own congregation, the clergy of Geneva, and John Calvin, who unanimously urged him to comply, "for that otherwise," they said, "he should be rebellious to God and unmerciful to his country." Thus authorized by the church as well as his own flock, he hastened to Dieppe; but before he could embark he received two letters from Scotland that compelled him to pause. The Scottish nobles had either cooled in their zeal or become afraid of committing themselves to any decisive step, and willed him to stay until he received further notice. In consequence of this he wrote to them in October (1557), and again in December, from Dieppe, indignantly and pathetically rebuking their faintheartedness, assuring them of the success of their sacred undertaking, and exhorting them to go onward boldly and fearlessly in the work they had begun. It was a rebuke to brave men turning under a sudden panic; it was a trumpet-call that stopped their flight and brought them back upon their pursuers. Ashamed of their misgivings, the Protestant nobles subscribed an engagement by which they bound themselves to devote their whole power, substance, and lives to the maintenance and establishment of the cause of the Reformation and the protection and support of its ministers. To this bond the names of the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and others were subscribed, while the association itself, from the designation used in the bond, assumed the name of "The Congregation." To institute regulations for its own government in spiritual affairs was its first step, and these were comprised under the following heads:—1. That in all parishes the *Book of Common Prayer* should be used on the Lord's Day in public worship, with lessons from the Old and New Testament conformable to the order of that book; also, that if the curates be qualified, to cause them to read the same; but if not, or if they refuse, that the best qualified of the parish should read them. 2. That doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be used in private houses, without great concourses of people, till God should move the national ruler to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers. As it was desirable that these proceedings should be legalized by civil authority a petition was transmitted from the Congregation to the queen by the hands of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, a venerable knight distinguished by his high virtues and character, containing the following

requests:—That they might be permitted to assemble for worship with the use of prayers in the vulgar tongue; that qualified persons should be allowed to expound to them the Scriptures, the right of reading which had already been granted to the laity; that the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper (the latter in both kinds) should be administered to them in the vulgar tongue; and finally, that the lives of the clergy should be reformed, so that they might no longer bring contempt upon religion and scandalize their ministry by those vices of which they were openly and notoriously guilty. What effect this petition produced upon the mind of the queen-regent has not been stated, but it may safely be surmised that it was otherwise than agreeable or assuring. The Congregation had now become an organized power in the realm, by which her authority might be held in check, her purposes thwarted, and her church everted. That resistance to this new dominion was decided on, instead of compromise or conciliation, was unmistakably manifested by the martyrdom of Walter Miln only three or four months after the petition was presented.[1]

This man, a priest and parish minister of Lunan in Angus, had at an early period embraced the doctrines of the Reformation in Germany, and on his return to Scotland had signalized his abandonment of Popery and its clerical vow of celibacy by marrying a wife, which act alone was sufficient to convict him of heresy. He had, however, escaped undisturbed until now, when he was apprehended, imprisoned, and urged, but in vain, to recant by promises of ecclesiastical preferment and threats of a violent death. He was brought to public trial at St. Andrews on the 20th of April (1558); and being more than fourscore years old, and so feeble that he could scarcely climb into the pulpit to answer his accusers, it was feared that his voice would be too weak to be heard; but to the surprise of all he made the church ring with the loudness of his tones and distinctness of his words. When the charge was about to be produced against him he was addressed as "Sir Walter Miln," this title being given to those priests who had not attained the academical rank of Masters of Art. "Call me Walter, not *Sir* Walter," he exclaimed; "I have been over long one of the pope's knights!" He was asked what he thought of the marriage of priests, and he declared it a blessed bond. On being accused of saying that there are not seven sacraments he replied, "Give me the Lord's supper and baptism and take you the rest and part them among you;" adding very sharply, "if there be seven why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?" The same boldness characterized his answers about the institution of the mass, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the office of a bishop, and the practice of pilgrimages, against all of which he testified with caustic severity, but not more than their abuses merited. He ended with, "I am accused of my life. I know I must die once; and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, 'What thou doest, do quickly.' You shall know that I will not recant the truth; for I am corn, I am not chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind nor burst with the flail, but will abide both." The brave old man was sentenced to the flames by the spiritual authority alone, for the city provost, to whom the office belonged as temporal judge, refused to countenance the proceeding. Even the archbishop's chamberlain would not take charge of the execution; and the prelates could not obtain for money either a tar-barrel to burn him or cord to tie him to the stake, so that the servants were obliged to cut the ropes from their master's pavilion to bind him. He ascended the pile triumphantly exclaiming, "Introibo ad altare Dei;" and after he had prayed he addressed the by-standers, praising God that he was honoured to be a martyr, and exhorting them to be no longer seduced by the delusions of their priesthood, but to trust in Jesus Christ and his mercy alone. With his death ended the power of the clergy to inflict capital punishment, so that he was the last of their victims in Scotland. Even in St. Andrews, the high place of their authority, the execution of Miln was so openly and universally condemned that the citizens erected a pile of stones or cairn upon the spot where he suffered; and as fast as the priests removed the heap it was built up again, although every man was denounced with cursing who should lay a stone to it. A more regular and decisive protest against Miln's unjust execution was required, and the Protestants were not remiss in presenting it. They appealed to the queen-regent, who was fain to answer in conciliatory terms and disclaim all approbation of the deed. The sentence, she declared, had been given without her knowledge, and the archbishop's officer had proceeded in the matter without any commission from the civil authority because Miln had at one time been a priest. They took her reply in good part, and resolved to seek redress at the ensuing parliament, which was to meet at the close of the year.[2]

Such, however, was the nature of the events

[1] Knox; Calderwood.

[2] Knox; Calderwood.

which occurred during the interval that this legal and pacific mode of settling the question was becoming every day more hopeless. Indignant at what they deemed idolatry and animated with the old Jewish spirit for its extirpation, the Protestants waged an unsparing war against image-worship and destroyed its emblems in several parts of the country. Among these was the image of St. Giles, the guardian saint of the city of Edinburgh, which by a formal process of execution was first drowned in the North Loch and afterwards given to the flames. These iconoclastic proceedings were a home-blow at the root of their religion which the friars could not bear, and, urged by their complaints, the bishops laid the case before the regent. They were as yet too numerous and influential to be refused; and however desirous of conciliating the Protestants, she was obliged to comply and summon four of the chief reforming preachers to appear for trial on the 19th of July. They came to Edinburgh accordingly, but not alone; for, apprehensive of the issue, a large concourse of their adherents had flocked to the capital to witness the course of justice, and, if need should be, to defend their pastors. This muster alarmed the clergy, and they obtained a proclamation commanding all to leave the town who had come hither without warrant or authority, and not to re-enter it for fifteen days. Many of the gentlemen of the west who had come to Edinburgh were indignant at the prohibition; and perceiving the danger of their ministers they resolved, in the fashion of their fathers, to appeal to the queen in person. They marched accordingly to the council-room, where Mary of Guise and the bishops were assembled; and there Chalmers of Gathgirth, their spokesman, addressed the queen with the following abrupt speech:—"Madam, you know that this is the malice of these jail-birds and of that bastard [the Archbishop of St. Andrews] that standeth by you. We vow to God we shall make a day of it! They oppress us and our tenants to feed their idle bellies. They trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be so." And with these words of ominous resolve every man put on his steel morion. It was time that the queen should be a peacemaker, and dexterously she fulfilled the office. "My joys, my hearts!" she exclaimed to the grim barons, "what aileth you? We mean no evil to you nor the preachers. The archbishop shall do you no wrong. You are all my loving subjects. I know nothing of this proclamation. The day appointed for your preachers shall be discharged, and we will hear the controversy between the bishops and you." After these short conciliatory assurances she turned to the prelates with a sharp decisive, "My lords, I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers;" and again addressed the laymen, who by this time were greatly moved with this Christian appeal, "My hearts, should you not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your mind; and should you not love your neighbours as yourselves?" With these soothing assurances and appeals the remonstrants were gently backed out of the apartment.

The day for the trial of the preachers was only postponed, not abandoned, and the 1st of September was appointed for their appearance, with the promise of pardon if they recanted. Either from an unfortunate oversight or to make the trial more impressive the day on which the ecclesiastical judges fixed was the festival of St. Giles, when the whole city of Edinburgh would be summoned to prayer and merry-making in honour of its patron saint. It was necessary in such a pageant to carry the colossal, time-honoured image of the saint through the principal streets; but it had already been tried and executed, and its ashes had gone to mingle with those of the heretics who had died for refusing to worship it. The bishops ordered the town-council to have a new image made at their own cost; but to this the magistrates replied that God had commanded in the Scripture that idols should be destroyed, but in no instance that they should be set up; and when they were threatened with excommunication for their contumacy they declared that they would appeal to the pope. The day arrived and an image must be had; accordingly one of the city saints was borrowed from the Gray Friars, a piece of money being left in pledge for its safe return. Having fastened it with nails upon a hand-barrow it was borne aloft upon the shoulders of the priests, and accompanied with a procession of trumpets and tabors, bagpipes and banners. But its prestige was gone; for it was not the veritable Saint Giles which they and their fathers had worshipped, but a mere marmoset likeness or little Saint Giles which was everywhere greeted with laughter. As long as the queen who graced the procession accompanied it the Protestants suppressed their anger, but as soon as she retired to dinner their feelings broke forth. "Down with the idol! down with it!" was the cry; the priests who bore it were pushed and shouldered in the hope that it would fall; but finding that it was nailed to the barrow, the more zealous of the multitude tore it down and battered it upon the stones until its head and hands flew off, the priests the while running in all directions in fear of a

similar fate. The queen-regent was indignant, and search was made for the rioters, but although half the city at least was included in the riot no individual actor could be apprehended.

Notwithstanding these extreme measures Mary of Guise was unwilling to break with the Protestants. They were still necessary for the support of her authority and the furtherance of her plans, among which one of the most important was to obtain the crown-matrimonial for the dauphin, by which the authority of France over Scotland would be confirmed and the Popish Church, as she hoped, re-established. It was on this account that she was not only tolerating but in some measure countenancing the party whom she was afterwards so ready to persecute and so desirous to destroy. Her suspicious lenity extended itself to the clergy, who now appeared willing not only to forget the affair of St. Giles but to exchange persecution for argument and meet the Protestants in fair and open disputation. The latter readily accepted the challenge, only stipulating that the authority of Scripture should be the standard of the controversy, and that those clergymen of their party who had been driven into exile should have a safe-conduct to repair to the meeting and return to their place of banishment. But these conditions the challengers refused. They knew that without their canon-law and decrees of councils their cause could not be maintained; they feared the superior scholarship of the reformers; and they were conscious that the course of argument would lay open the inconsistency between their lives and the doctrines they professed to maintain. Instead, therefore, of a controversy they now offered a compromise by which the petitions which the Protestants had addressed to the regent for liberty of conscience and worship were in part to be complied with. They were to be allowed to pray and administer baptism in the vulgar tongue—not openly, however, but in private assemblies; and in return for this toleration they were to reverence the mass, acknowledge the doctrine of purgatory, allow prayers to the saints and for the dead, and leave the clergy undisturbed in their rents, honours, and possessions. Such conditions, instead of conciliating, could only serve to aggravate, and the Protestants unanimously rejected them. They renewed their petitions to the queen-regent, and even backed them, as was asserted, with a donation of forty thousand pounds; while Mary received their application graciously, promising to favour their cause and its preachers until a uniform order could be established by parliament, provided that in the meantime they held no public assemblies in Leith or Edinburgh. With these assurances given to them in private the leaders of the Reformation were satisfied; and to give proof of their acquiescence they prohibited John Douglas, one of their ministers, from preaching publicly in the town of Leith until the promised permission should be granted.

When the time of holding parliament arrived, which was near the close of this year, the Protestants presented their petition to the queen that it might be laid before the three estates. Their demands were, that until such time as a general European council should be held for deciding the controversy between the old and the reformed churches, the authority granted to churchmen by former parliaments for the punishment of heretics should be suspended; that clergymen in the meantime might hold the place of accusers but should not sit as judges; and that, to prevent this liberty in religious opinion from degenerating into licentiousness, those who were accused of heresy should be carried before a temporal judge, permitted to speak for themselves, to object to witnesses, and to state their own belief; and that they should not be condemned unless proved by the Word of God to have erred from that faith which is necessary to salvation. This petition the queen graciously received but did not present to parliament, assuring the reformers in excuse that she had important measures at stake in which the concurrence of the clerical estate was needed; "but," she added, "how soon order can be taken with these things which now may be hindered by the churchmen ye shall know my good mind; and in the meantime whatever I may grant unto you shall gladly be granted." They believed her and retired. Having thus all parties for the time in her favour, the queen was enabled to secure the consent of parliament that the dauphin should have the title of King of Scotland and the crown-matrimonial during the life of his consort. But before the rising of parliament the Lords of the Congregation presented to it a solemn protest, which was read before the three estates. After stating the public corruptions in religion, with which they could not conscientiously join, and the annoyance and persecution which they were obliged to endure without redress in consequence of their refusal, their demands were summed up under the following heads:—

"1. We protest that seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation according to God's Word, that it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience as we must answer to God, unto such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true

ministers of Christ's church and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same whensoever the sacred authority pleaseth to give us audience.

"2. We protest that neither we nor yet any other that gladly list to join with us in the true faith that is grounded upon the invincible Word of God shall incur any danger in life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such rites as man without God's commandment or Word hath commanded.

"3. We protest that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed unto us, who most humbly do now seek all things to be reformed by order; but rather, whatsoever inconvenience shall follow for lack of order taken, that it may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.

"Lastly, we protest that these our requests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to no other end but to the reformation of abuses in religion, only most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to take us, faithful and obedient subjects, into protection against our adversaries, and to show unto us such indifference in our most just petitions as it becometh God's lieutenants to do to those that in his name call for defence against cruel oppressors and bloodthirsty tyrants."

Such was the temperate protest of the reformers and the moderation of their demands, which they desired to be inscribed in the parliamentary records; but this insertion was refused: it would have been a permanent testimony to the world and posterity by which their opponents would have been condemned. They were soothed for this refusal by the queen, who said to them in her foreign English: "We will remember what is protested, and we shall put good order after this to all things that now be in controversy." These assurances were so gratifying that the Lords of the Congregation not only were satisfied but willing to spend their lives in her behalf; and they wrote to Calvin describing her good-will to their cause, and entreating him to animate her by his admonitions and counsels in the work of reformation which she had already commenced. But that work, as events soon showed, could not be one of courtesy and compromise, or effected by debate and demonstration: it behoved to be a complete national revolution which nothing short of the great argument of nations could decide. The age was still an age of force and violence, in which society could only advance in phalanx and at the charge; and, to be permanently established and rightly prized, the Reformation of Scotland behoved to be won upon battlefields and at a heavy price. Even already, while all was so peaceful and promising, the trumpet was lifted up which was to sound for the onset.[1]

[1] Knox; Calderwood; Buchanan.

CHAPTER V.

REGENCY OF MARY OF GUISE—REFORMATION STRUGGLE (1558–1559).

Wisdom of the queen-regent's pacific policy—Her cautious proceedings overruled by her brothers—A synod assembled for the reform of religion—Petition to it from the Congregation—The petition rejected—Alteration of the queen-regent's conduct—Her fruitless attempts to arrest the progress of the Reformation—Unsatisfactory reforms decreed by the synod—The Protestant ministers summoned to trial—Gathering of the Congregation to protect them—Return of John Knox to Scotland—The queen-regent's double-dealing—Knox preaches in Perth—The war of the Reformation commences—Demolition of monasteries in Perth—The queen's threats of vengeance—Remonstrances sent to her and her French counsellors from the Congregation—Manifesto of the Congregation to the Popish clergy—The queen-regent advances against Perth—The reformers at Perth reinforced—The town opened to the queen by treaty—Her violation of the terms of it—Violent conduct of her French troops in Perth—Her justification of their excesses The reformers proceed to St. Andrews—Eagerness of John Knox to preach in its cathedral—His disregard of danger and the success of his sermon—Advance of the queen's army against St. Andrews—Its progress checked at Cupar by the army of the Congregation—A truce for the settlement of differences—The promised settlement withheld by the queen—Perth recovered by the Congregation—They destroy the Abbey of Scone—Progress of the Reformation in the principal towns—The Congregation occupy Edinburgh—They apply to England for aid—Their statements of grievances and proceedings—The queen-regent's counter-statements—The Congregation again propose a peaceful settlement—Negotiation opened for the purpose—The terms of the queen found inadmissible—She protracts the negotiation to gain time—Death of Henry II. of France—Its effects on the contending parties in Scotland—The queen advances against the Congregation in Edinburgh—A truce—The Lords of the Congregation retire to Stirling—Their compact among themselves and negotiation with England—Their statements of the hopefulness of their cause in answer to questions from England—Knox's apology to Elizabeth for his treatise against female sovereignty—Her umbrage at the publication—Unbending character of his apology—Elizabeth's difficulties in aiding the Scottish reformers—Resolutions at Stirling to suspend the queen-regent from office—Probability of Lord James becoming her successor—Aid in money sent to the Congregation from England—The queen-regent fortifies Leith—Her justification of the proceeding—The Lords of the Congregation require her to desist—Her refusal—Her demands upon the Congregation of entire submission.

The pacific policy of the queen-regent, had she been allowed to persist in it, might in the end have proved the most effectual of all obstacles to the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. It invested her church with a character of moderation and forbearance which it now most needed. It had already soothed the alarms of the Protestants and thrown them off their guard. And it had given her such a hold upon the Protestant leaders as would have best enabled her either to control or to divide them, as circumstances might make either process most expedient. But events had now occurred by which her pacific wishes were to be thwarted, and her politic plans overthrown. The death of Mary of England and the succession of Elizabeth had alarmed the Catholic powers of Europe with well-founded apprehensions that rich and powerful Britain would be lost to their cause; and to prevent such a consummation the great Catholic League, formed by the pope, the King of Spain and the emperor, and directed by the princes of the house of Guise for the destruction of Protestantism, judged it necessary to abandon half-measures and proceed to open and decisive action. As one essential part of their plan had been to hinder the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne upon the plea of illegitimacy and raise the young Queen of Scots in her place, the princes of Guise had already persuaded their niece to assume the title of Queen of England. Another portion of their gigantic designs was the utter extinction of the Reformation in Scotland, by which their niece, as the queen of three powerful kingdoms, should be the crowned patroness of the Catholic faith, with themselves for her leaders and directors. Their present aim, therefore, was the deposition of Elizabeth, and as this was chiefly to be effected by Scottish arms aided by French influence, they required their sister, the queen-regent, to join the Catholic League and co-operate in their designs. Too well she knew the character of the Scots and the limited extent of her own power, as well as the energy and strength of the Protestant party, to hope that this procedure would be effectual; but, overruled by her brothers whose towering spirits despised the obstacles at which she paused, she, unfortunately for herself, abandoned the pacific plan which sound wisdom and experience had suggested, and commenced a warfare in which her arms were to be defeated, her heart broken, and her life brought to an untimely close.

The new spirit by which she was inspired was not long in breaking forth. A synod was assembled at Edinburgh on the 2d of March, 1559, to

consult about the reformation of the church; and to this convocation all ecclesiastics had been invited who were in any way distinguished for talents, learning, or moral influence. The opportunity was laid hold of by the Lords of the Congregation, who presented a petition containing a set of articles for the queen's approbation to the following effect:—1. That public prayers should be delivered and the sacraments administered in the vulgar tongue. 2. That bishops be elected by consent of the gentlemen of the diocese and parish priests by that of the parishioners. 3. That all insufficient incumbents be discharged and replaced by others more able; and, 4. That all immoral ignorant churchmen should be excluded from administering the sacraments and performing ecclesiastical functions. These, with the exception of the second head, were nothing more than what had been previously demanded, and with which compliance had been all but positively promised. But the mere mention of them was now sufficient to throw the synod into a rage and call forth an angry debate, of which the result was the declaration that they would not allow the majesty of God to be violated by public prayers delivered in any other language than Latin—that they would not depart from the canon law in the election of bishops and pastors—and that they would abide by the decrees of the Council of Trent in reference to the other articles of the petition. And this refusal was not the worst, for the queen issued a proclamation for conformity in religion, commanding all to resort daily to mass and confession. To the chief Protestants she also showed the injunctions she had received from France, warned them of the danger of their position, and summoned four of the reforming ministers to appear before the parliament to be held at Stirling, to answer to the charges that were to be brought against them. The reformers were astounded at this change in her conduct, hitherto so gentle and conciliating; but when they ventured to intercede in behalf of their ministers, and that they should not be molested unless they could be convicted of preaching false doctrine, she fiercely replied, "In despite of you and your ministers both they shall be banished out of Scotland, although they preached as true as ever did St. Paul." Alarmed at these menaces, but desirous to avoid a rupture, the Congregation sent the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, the sheriff of Ayr, to reason with her and request the performance of her promises; but to this her brief conclusive answer was, "It becomes not subjects to burden their princes with promises further than it pleased them to keep."

The zeal of the queen had now burst all bounds, and her former prudence was swept away. To add to her displeasure the important town of Perth had publicly joined the Reformation; but when she sent to Lord Ruthven, the provost of Perth, commanding him to arrest its progress and suppress it, he answered that he could make the bodies of the citizens to come to her grace and prostrate themselves before her, until she was satisfied with their blood, but could not undertake to do anything against their consciences. She told him that he was too malapert to give such an answer, and that she would make both him and them to repent it. She desired Halyburton, provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven, one of the four ministers formerly summoned for trial, and who failed to appear on the day appointed; but the provost gave private warning to Methven, who in consequence withdrew from the town. She also sent trusty emissaries to Montrose, Perth, Dundee, and other towns where the Reformation was most prevalent, for the purpose of persuading the converts to return to the old faith, a mission, however, in which they were unsuccessful. While Protestantism was thus extending itself over the principal parts of Scotland, the synod was still continuing its sittings in Edinburgh; but the reforms which they introduced into the church to satisfy the people were not only trivial but in some cases worse than useless. They published their catechetical compend of theology, which the people irreverently termed, "The Twopenny Faith." They bestowed much attention and long debates upon tonsures, tippets, long gowns, and other clerical paraphernalia. And coming to the more vital portions in the reformation of their order they enacted that none should enjoy ecclesiastical office or benefice but a priest; that no churchman should rear his own children in his own house, but that every one should rear the children of others; that none should place his own son in his own benefice; and that if any priest should be convicted of living in open adultery he should for the first offence lose a third of his benefice; for the second the half, and for the third the whole.[1]

Although baffled in her attempts upon the principal towns the failure only increased the determination of the queen-regent; and she resolved to strike at the head of the Reformation by the arrest and punishment of its principal ministers. These were Paul Methven, John Christison, William Harlaw, and John Willock, who were summoned to appear for trial at Stirling on the 10th of May; and finding that all their attempts to persuade her to gentler mea-

[1] Calderwood, i. p. 438.

sures were unavailing, the gentlemen of the reformed districts resolved to accompany their ministers to the place of trial, not, however, to overawe the judges, but to countenance the accused. Those of Angus, Mearns, and the town of Dundee accordingly assembled, but without arms, and repaired with their preachers to Perth; while to prevent alarm Erskine of Dun went to the queen at Stirling to assure her that the muster was for no hostile purpose, but only to give support to the ministers upon their trial. But even their numbers, influence, and religious zeal were enough to discompose the queen; and at her request, coupled with the promise that milder measures should be adopted, Erskine wrote to the company assembled at Perth, advising them to remain in the town with the ministers instead of coming forward; advertising them also of the queen's gracious intentions and his hopes of a peaceful settlement of the whole affair. The advice was received with hesitation; should their preachers fail to appear on the day appointed not only they, but all who supported them, might be prosecuted as traitors. They were uncertain whether to remain or disperse.[1] There were two influences, however, at hand under which a continued doubt would be impossible, a speedy decision certain. The one was the precipitancy of the queen-regent, whose impatient brothers had condemned her temporizing policy, and who saw no difficulty in driving Scotland back to Rome by force and compulsion instead of waiting the effects of more gentle and tedious processes; the other was the arrival of John Knox, who was now with the Congregation at Perth, and by whose master-spirit their operations were henceforth to be directed.

Mention has already been made of the arrest laid upon his intended visit to Scotland through the scrupulous timidity of the Lords of the Congregation, and his indignant remonstrance on the occasion. His arguments persuaded them, so that they sent him another invitation more pressing than the first; and he arrived at the critical moment when wise counsel and decisive action were most needed. This he felt; and in writing from Dieppe to his mother-in-law in England, when he was about to set sail, he thus addressed her: "I am uncertain as yet what God shall further work in this country [Scotland], except that I see the battle shall be great, for Satan rageth even to the uttermost, and I am come, I praise my God, in the brunt of the battle. For my fellow-preachers have a day appointed to answer before the queen-regent, the 10th of this instant, where I intend, if God impede not, also to be present, by life, by death, or else by both to glorify his godly name, who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries."[2] In this spirit he arrived in his native country on the 2d of May (1559); and after lodging only two nights in Edinburgh, proceeded to Dundee, where he requested permission of the leaders of the Congregation to repair with them to Perth, that he might aid his brethren on the trial and give confession of his faith along with them. It is needless to add that his offer was gladly accepted; he now formed one of the assembly met at Perth; and until the issue should be known he occupied himself in preaching. Happily for the cause that had brought the "Congregation together," the decision was made not by them but the queen; and because the accused ministers failed to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, although their non-appearance was owing to her own express request signified through Erskine of Dun, she proceeded against them as rebels, ordering that they should be put to the horn and prohibiting all persons to receive, comfort, assist, or maintain them. Indignant at this double-dealing the Master of Maxwell, hitherto a supporter of the queen, declared that to the utmost of his power he would aid the Congregation and their preachers, let whatever unjust sentence be pronounced against them, and in consequence of this honest outburst, which it would not have been safe to punish, he was thrown into prison in the castle of Edinburgh under the pretext of a different offence. It was well for him that soon after he escaped over the wall by a cord and took refuge among the reformers. As for the high-minded, honourable, accomplished Laird of Dun, who had unwittingly been made the instrument of a fraud by which his brethren were deceived, no alternative remained for him but to abandon the service of a mistress by whom he had been duped and put to shame. He therefore returned to the Congregation and explained to them the whole course of the queen's treacherous proceedings, by which "the multitude was so inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the preacher [Knox himself] nor the commandment of the magistrate stay them from destroying of the places of idolatry."[3]

Nothing was wanting for the explosion but a match, or even a random spark in its absence. On the 11th of May, after the ministers had been denounced as rebels, John Knox ascended the pulpit and was "vehement against idolatry," of which the mass was either announced or understood to be the architype. The sermon was ended and the better part of the audience

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation*, i. p. 318.

[2] Calderwood, i. p. 440.

[3] Knox, i. p. 319.

had retired when a priest, either in idle bravado or from a zeal that spurned at consequences, would needs follow up the service by a celebration of the mass itself, and for this purpose opened a splendid tabernacle near the high altar in which the images of the saints were enshrined. This was too much for the by-standers, whose ears were still tingling and their hearts glowing with the fervid eloquence of the reformer; and one of them, a mere boy, cried out boldly, "This is intolerable that when God by his word has plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite." The priest chastised the boy with a severe blow, who in return snatched up a stone and threw it at the priest, whom it missed but demolished one of the images. This was enough; a volley of stones from the multitude knocked the shrine and its contents in pieces, and in a few moments every vestige of image-worship within the church was destroyed. Having left nothing further to be done there, the iconoclasts issued into the street, where they were joined, not by the "gentlemen or earnest professors," who were at dinner and ignorant of the affray, but by the "rascal multitude"—these pioneers of reform, who clear the ground by their congenial work of demolition. Their onslaught was directed against the monasteries of Black and Gray Friars, and although the gates of both buildings were strongly guarded they were soon burst open. "The first invasion," says Knox, "was upon the idolatry, and thereafter the common began to seek some spoil." And truly the monastery of the Gray Friars was so well furnished that its abundance in provisions was almost incredible, while the furniture was equal to that of the castle of any earl in Scotland. But even amidst this rich store thus opened to the uncontrolled mastership of the mob a just conscientious feeling was predominant; not a man was enriched, we are told, to the value of a groat; the friars were allowed to carry away as much of their property as they could, and the residue left behind was set apart for the support of the poor. The solid buildings themselves were now to encounter the popular storm, and within three days the monasteries already mentioned, and that of the Carthusian Friars, an edifice of great splendour and extent founded by James I., were so utterly destroyed that nothing was left standing but the walls. Such was the commencement of the war of the Reformation in Scotland, an event as necessary as it was inevitable, and which the politic finessing of the queen and the intemperate zeal of the mass-priest were equally effectual in producing.[1]

As soon as she learned what had happened at Perth the rage of the queen-regent was unbounded; she vowed to extirpate its inhabitants, men, women, and children; to give the town to the flames, and sow it with salt in token of perpetual desolation. Of these terrible threats the Protestants at Perth were aware; but, judging that they were the hasty ebullitions of female resentment, they retired to their homes, leaving John Knox to instruct the townsfolks in the principles of the Reformation, because, to use his own words, "they were young and rude in Christ." But the friends and advisers of the queen were resolved that her wrath should not pass away so quickly; and at their instigation she assembled the nobility, to whom she represented the late acts done at Perth as the commencement of an organized rebellion. Won by her representations, the greater part of the lords promised their aid in suppressing it, while the Hamiltons, the bishops, and the French party openly expressed their hopes of a speedy victory and signal revenge. Alarmed at these tokens the reformers returned to Perth and began to make preparations for the defence of the town; and that remonstrance might not be wanting a letter was addressed to the queen, subscribed by "the faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland." In this missive they declared that unless the cruelty of their enemies was stayed so that they might worship God in peace and according to the convictions of their own consciences they would be compelled to draw the sword in self-defence; and that in this cause they would notify the cause of their resistance not only to the King of France, their young queen and her husband, and the French court, but also to the princes and councils of every kingdom in Christendom. After expressing their determination to expose their bodies to a thousand deaths rather than their souls to eternal condemnation, they warned her against the counsels of the churchmen whom she followed in words which the subsequent history of Scotland most fully and fearfully verified: "If (as God forbid) you give ear to their pestilent counsel and so use against us this extremity pre-tended, it is to be feared that neither you nor yet your posterity shall at any time after this find that obedience and faithful service within this realm which at all times you have found in us." Letters at the same time were addressed to M. D'Osell and the principal French officers warning them of their duty to the king, their master, in maintaining friendly relations with the Scots, and reminding them of the kind services which France in its worst extremity had received in former times from Scotland. To these appeals the caveat was added that should they now

[1] Knox, i. p. 320; Calderwood, i. p. 441.

make war against them a feud would be kindled between the French and Scots that should remain longer "than their and our lives, to wit, even in all posterities to come." Strangely prophetic were these war manifestoes, the authorship of which it is not difficult to trace. As they were of the nature of formal proclamations by a party already in arms and prepared for resistance, it was necessary not only that the personages addressed but also the public at large should be aware of their contents, and therefore copies of them were widely distributed. That to the queen was laid upon her church cushion, where she found it on repairing to mass; but after looking at it she put it into her pocket in silence. The missives to the French officers were placed in their way by some of their own Huguenot soldiers, and D'Osell and the rest tore their beards to find themselves thus warned and defied. But warlike preparations for the destruction of Perth still went forward, while the Protestants within the town were few. They wrote, however, to their brethren, who gladly hastened to their rescue; and they addressed an appeal to the nobility of Scotland at large explaining the cause and justifying their purpose of resistance. As the churchmen also had been alert in suppressing their letters, exciting the queen and people against them, and urging the preparations for the coming conflict, it was judged necessary that they too should have the benefit of a distinct warning; and this accordingly was administered to them by the Congregation in a declaration addressed "To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings within Scotland." In this they were advised to desist from their tyrannous oppression and persecution of the Protestants and abate the rancour with which they were everywhere stirring up enemies against them, otherwise the same measure which they had dealt to others would be meted out to them in return. "That is," added the manifesto, "as ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry, so shall we with all force and power which God shall grant unto us execute just vengeance and punishment upon you. Yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till ye desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this we signify unto you in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose verity we possess, and evangel we will have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered so long as God will assist us to withstand your idolatry. Take this for advertisement and be not deceived."[1] Such was the tenor of the bold-spirited document.

In spite of these appeals, which were rather regarded as cartels of defiance, the troops of the queen-regent were set in motion for an attack upon Perth; but when they had arrived within ten miles of the town they were brought to a stand in consequence of learning that the Protestant gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the town of Dundee had come to the assistance of their brethren. Finding that Perth was so well prepared for resistance the queen had recourse to negotiation, and on the 24th of May sent the Earl of Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, and Lord Sempil to know the cause of this convocation, and whether they meant to hold the town against the laws and the queen's authority. The leaders of the opposite party replied that if the queen would suffer the religious change begun in Perth to proceed without molestation, not only the town but themselves and all that belonged to them should be at her disposal. At this unexpected answer Argyle and the prior, both of whom were Protestants, were surprised, declaring that the queen had represented the mustering at Perth to be for the purposes not of religion but downright rebellion. They were answered that this convention was solely for the purpose of aiding their persecuted brethren, and desired to intimate this to the queen and nobility; and also that all that was sought was a lawful trial of their ministers, as had been formerly intimated by their letters. On the following day John Knox had an interview with the three lords, whom he earnestly entreated to dissuade the queen from further persecution of the Protestants; to assure her that the religion which she thus sought to establish by fire and sword was not true Christianity but the invention of man; and offering to prove this in open controversy against all in Scotland, liberty of speech being granted and the Word of God admitted as judge. He also required them to tell her in his name that if she still persisted in her course her warfare would be not against man but God, and could only terminate in disaster and confusion. They delivered his message faithfully, and it was received with anger and scorn. The only answer she vouchsafed was a proclamation by the Lion Herald commanding all men to leave Perth under the penalty of treason, which he publicly announced on Sunday, the 28th of May, after he had delivered letters to the same effect to the leaders of the Congregation.[2]

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[1] Calderwood, i. p. 442–454; Knox, p. 324–337.

[2] Knox.

All was now in readiness to besiege Perth in form, and with the certainty of success, when unwelcome tidings compelled the queen to pause. Stirred by the animating appeals of Knox's letters, the gentlemen of the west had mustered their adherents for the relief of the town, and the regent was advertised that the Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the Sheriff of Ayr, and the Lairds of Craigie, Cesnock, Carnell, and Barr were advancing upon Perth with 2500 men. To stop the news of this arrival all the roads to the town were guarded by the queen's troops, and a treaty was opened with the Congregation while they were still ignorant of the coming aid. But they rejected the proposal of an unconditional surrender, and would submit to no terms short of immunity for the past, and that the town should not be occupied by a garrison of French soldiers. In the meantime Glencairn and his forces, after a rapid and skilful march, arrived in Perth, in consequence of which more lenient terms were offered to the besieged; and to make them more persuasive the queen sent them by the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews. The conditions of the treaty were that no person should be troubled or brought to answer for the late changes in religion and demolition of the edifices; that the religion begun was to be suffered to go onward; and that the queen, at her departure from Perth, was to leave it entirely free of garrisons of French soldiers. To these terms the Congregation agreed, although they doubted whether they would be faithfully observed by the French party and the queen. With the Earl of Glencairn John Willock, one of the chief ministers of the Reformation, had arrived in Perth; and after the treaty had been settled John Knox and he had an interview with Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, in which they accused these noblemen of unfaithfulness in having deserted their brethren when support and comfort were most needed. They denied the charge, and declared that they remained with the queen only to promote concord and establish peace between her and the Congregation upon reasonable terms. They promised, however, that should the queen prove unfaithful to the agreement, they would join their brethren and aid them to the utmost of their power. On the same day a new bond or covenant was drawn out, in which the Congregation pledged themselves to amity, union, and fellowship with one another; to concur and assist in doing all things required in Scripture that may be for the glory of God; and to put away all things that dishonour his name, so that He might be truly worshipped. It was also covenanted that should any trouble be intended against the Congregation, or any part or member of it, all should concur, assist, and convene together to the defence of that portion or individual against whatever power that should trouble it for the cause of religion, or any cause depending thereupon, under whatever colour or pretext it might be disguised. This formidable bond of union and mutual support was signed in the name of the whole body by its representatives, the Earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and Matthew Campbell of Pavingham. On the following day (29th May) the Congregation departed from Perth, leaving it open to the entrance of the queen; and before their departure Knox preached a sermon exhorting all men to constancy in the faith, and to gratitude for the peaceful and bloodless deliverance which in the present instance had been vouchsafed to them. But as this was only the beginning, not the end of the struggle, he exhorted them not to weary or faint in supporting those who should in like manner be persecuted; "for I am assured," he added, "that no part of this promise shall be longer kept than the queen and her Frenchmen have the upper hand."[1]

The bond that had been subscribed on the previous day was no needless precaution, nor was the warning now delivered an idle alarm. On the same day that the Protestants left the town, the queen entered it. She was accompanied by the Duke of Chastelherault (lately the Earl of Arran), by the Earl of Athol, and the Earl Marischal, and by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane. When the French troops entered the town it was in the style of conquerors: their hagbutters emptied their pieces in volleys, and by this reckless proceeding a young boy, ten or twelve years, was killed. A complaint was brought, and the body laid before the queen; but when she understood that the boy was the son of Patrick Murray, a noted adherent of the Reformation, she heartlessly observed, "What pity that it chanced on the son, and not on the father! But since it has so chanced we cannot fight against fortune." She had promised that no alteration should be made upon the religious arrangements in the town; but on the following Sunday the mass was restored, common tables being used instead of the altars which had been demolished. She deposed the magistrates of Perth, and appointed for provost, Charteris, laird of Kinfauns, a man notorious for his profligacy. She billeted her French soldiers upon

[1] Idem.; Calderwood.

the townspeople, so that every house was filled with them. These grievances both of a public and private nature compelled many of the citizens to retire with their families from the town. But the crowning offence was her purpose to leave a garrison in the town; and when reminded of her agreement to the contrary she coldly replied that she was not bound to keep a promise made to heretics; she also alleged that the stipulation was confined to French soldiers alone. To this it was objected that those who took French pay, whatever their country, were reckoned French soldiers; but she answered, as on a former occasion, "Princes must not be so strictly bound to keep their promises." "Myself," she added, alluding to the Protestants, "would make little conscience to take from all that sort their lives and inheritances, if I might do it with as honest an excuse." Accordingly, before her departure she garrisoned Perth with four hundred Scottish soldiers levied and paid by France. In this fraudful manner she broke every condition of the treaty; and, like every fraudful move in politics, the advantage was only temporary while the recoil was both heavy and permanent. Disgusted with her treachery and alarmed at her despotic conduct, those nobles who would have proved her best counsellors and defenders could no longer identify themselves with her cause; and, accordingly, the Earls of Argyle and Monteith, the Prior of St. Andrews, Lord Ruthven, and the laird of Tullibardin left Perth with their companies, and when ordered by the queen to return under pain of her highest displeasure, they sent for answer that they could no longer with safe consciences be partakers in her tyrannous proceedings.[1]

As the treaty was already broken and broken so utterly by the queen the work of the Reformation might be renewed, and its onward course continued. So felt the Congregation, who were ready to dare and hazard all, while the reckless proceedings of the queen which had inspired their resolution had also furnished them with leaders for the attempt. On leaving Perth the Earl of Argyle and the prior repaired to St. Andrews, having sent invitations to Erskine of Dun, the Laird of Pitarrow, the Provost of Dundee, and other friends of Protestantism, to join them at St. Andrews and assist them in the work of reformation in that town. They arrived accordingly, bringing with them John Knox, who during the interval had been preaching in Anstruther and Crail, and meant to preach in the cathedral of St. Andrews on the following Sunday. Alarmed at this prospect the archbishop mustered his friends and came to the town on Saturday at night with an hundred spearmen in his train, threatening that if Knox presented himself in the cathedral, or offered to enter the pulpit, he should be saluted with a volley of a dozen culverins, the greater part of which should light on his nose. This threat, with the bold unscrupulous character of the man and the armed array at his command, alarmed the lords; they were only accompanied by their domestics, and as yet uncertain of the inclination of the townsfolks to assist them, while the queen's army lay encamped at Falkland, only twelve miles off. They endeavoured, therefore, to dissuade Knox from his purpose of preaching on the morrow, but found him resolute in his intention. "God is witness," said the fearless reformer, "that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man; neither mind I at any time to present myself to that place, having either respect to my own private commodity or yet to the worldly hurt of any creature; but to delay to preach to-morrow (unless the body be violently withholden) I cannot of conscience." Lest this resolution might seem an unreasonable obstinacy he proceeded to state his reasons. It was in this town and church that God had first called him to the sacred office of preacher. It was to this town and to that office that his heart had constantly returned while he was a prisoner in the galleys; and even there, and at his worst extremity, he had expressed his assured confidence that he should again preach in St. Andrews. He was now beyond expectation brought back to the place where his ministry had commenced, and his hopes were to be realized; let them not, therefore, hinder their accomplishment. "And as for the fear of danger," he added, "let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me: I only crave audience, which, if it be denied me at this time I must seek farther where I may have it." Their misgivings were overborne by his straightforward high-principled boldness, and on the following day he preached in the cathedral. His sermon was upon the incident of the ejection of the buyers and sellers from the temple; and from this he illustrated the corruption which was now prevalent in the church and the necessity of a similar purification. Not only the magistrates but the people were convinced, and the work of reformation in St. Andrews was unanimously commenced by the removal of "all monuments of idolatry."[2]

After the high threats and warlike preparations of the archbishop it might have been

[1] Knox, i. p. 345.

[2] Knox, i. 347–350.

thought that on such an occasion he would have stepped forth as the champion of his church and guardian of his diocese and cathedral. Even had he died in the attempt one such case of martyrdom would have arrested the progress of the Reformation more effectually than a phalanx of ten thousand spearmen. But in the martyr spirit the Scottish prelates of the day were wofully deficient, and instead of silencing the preacher, or confronting the storm that followed, he posted off to the queen's leaguer at Falkland, and was the first to communicate the tidings. An advance of the French troops upon St. Andrews was determined; but as soon as this purpose was known, the Earl of Argyle and the prior marched to Cupar to meet the enemy midway, although they had only an hundred horse and a few footmen. But they were strong in the reforming zeal of the county of Fife, and armed bands repaired to them from every town and district, so that in a few hours they were at the head of an army of 3000 men. "God did so multiply our number," writes Knox, "that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds." In the meantime the queen and her French troops advanced, hoping to surprise the Earl of Argyle and the prior at St. Andrews, but were astonished on approaching Cupar Muir to find a well-appointed army of horse, foot, and artillery drawn up to receive them. Unwilling to attack this unexpected array, which was posted with great military skill upon a ground well fitted for defence, and unable to ascertain their numbers, as all the approaches were closely guarded, the queen once more had recourse to negotiation. It was honourable to the reformers that notwithstanding their former experience of her duplicity, and although they greatly outnumbered her troops, they were anxious for a peaceful settlement of the question; all they still demanded, although they were now the stronger, was, that they and their brethren might be freed from persecution and allowed to worship God in peace. In this spirit they readily consented to the proposal of a truce for eight days, in order that a final agreement might be settled of the matters now in controversy; until which time the French troops should now be quartered in Falkland; and that no soldiers of theirs should remain within the bounds of Fife, except the garrisons which had been placed in the coast towns previous to the raising of the last army. Upon this assurance the army of the Congregation was peaceably disbanded.

The promised settlement was now patiently awaited by the Protestant lords and barons lately in arms, who retired to St. Andrews in expectation of commissioners from the queen to treat with them upon the terms of a final agreement according to her own engagement. But days passed on, and no commissioners arrived; the period of truce was drawing to a close, and the prior and his brethren found that they had been duped. The queen, it was perceived, had sought the delay, that she might transport her troops and artillery across the Firth of Forth, and resume the war of persecution in Perthshire. The Lords of the Congregation accordingly resolved to pass over to the city of Perth; dislodge the garrison which the queen in violation of her former agreement had placed in it; and restore the magistracy which she had arbitrarily deposed in defiance of their popular election and the contract of her daughter's marriage, by which no Scottish laws nor immunities were to be altered. Having advertised the queen by letter of their intentions and invited their adherents to muster in the neighbourhood of Perth, the Earl of Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, and other chiefs of the Congregation joined them at the time appointed, and summoned the laird of Kinfauns, who was provost, to open the gates and make the town patent to all the queen's lieges. On their summons being answered with refusal and defiance the siege was commenced, although the queen endeavoured to delay their proceedings by sending messengers to their camp. The attack was so vigorously followed, that on the evening of the same day the garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, although their continued resistance would have been unavailing.

The town of Perth being thus recovered to the Reformation measures were to be adopted with Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, and commendator of the Abbey of Scone, who was obnoxious to the people of Dundee, because he had been the chief instigator in the execution of Walter Miln. As an armed force of the Protestants of Dundee was now at Perth, in the recovery of which they had effectually aided, they proceeded to the Abbey of Scone, where the bishop resided, which was only two miles distant. Alarmed at this unauthorized movement the chiefs of the Congregation sent the Provost of Dundee and his brother, and afterwards John Knox himself, to arrest their proceedings. Before they arrived the images of the abbey were demolished, and more would have done, but for the interposition of the Earl of Argyle and prior of St. Andrews, who arrived in time to prevent further mischief. These noblemen returned at night to Perth, and the bishop armed his servants, a useless precaution that led to quarrel on the following morning, during which, it was said, a citizen of Dundee, while looking through the door of the bishop's granary, was killed with a rapier-thrust by a

young man, a reputed son of the prelate. The Dundee citizens flew to arms and summoned their friends from Perth to their assistance; a rush was made by their united force upon the buildings, and the whole were in flames before the more temperate of the Congregation could arrive to stay the tumult. The latter were indignant at the deed; but the furious multitude were beyond their control, and the stately pile, founded by Alexander I., and associated with so many historical remembrances, was soon a mass of ruin. Knox himself had endeavoured, but in vain, to stop the incendiaries; but the voice of an old woman in the crowd seems to have persuaded him that the destruction of the building was the righteous doom of heaven. "Now I see and understand," she cried, "that God's judgments are just, and that no man is able to save where he will punish. Since my remembrance this place has been nothing else than a den of whoredom. It is incredible to believe how many wives have been adulterated and virgins deflowered by the filthy beasts who have been fostered in this den; but especially by that wicked man who is called the bishop. If all men knew as much as I they would praise God, and no man would be offended." Such was the requiem of that noble monastery, the time-honoured seat of Scottish coronations; and thus it passed away at a time when its services would be no longer required.

In consequence of the occupation of Perth by the Congregation the queen-regent had resolved to garrison Stirling and occupy the passages, by which the reformers in the north would be separated from those of the south. It was the report of this intended movement which drew the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews from Scone, when their presence was most needed for its preservation. On the same night they left Perth and marched with such expedition, that they entered Stirling before the French troops had been put in motion. Even previous to the arrival of these lords the "rascal multitude" had destroyed the monasteries in Stirling and its neighbourhood, so that little remained in that quarter to be done; and the same events occurred at Linlithgow, upon which Argyle and the prior next advanced. The force that accompanied them was small, most of the reformers in Perth having retired to their homes before these lords set out on the expedition; but such was the rapidity and decision of their advance, and the popular sympathy in their cause that the queen-regent, instead of making a stand in Edinburgh, evacuated the city and withdrew her troops to Dunbar. The Protestant lords soon entered and took possession of the capital, where, also, the work of Reformation had preceded them in the demolition of the monasteries of Black and Grey Friars, in which not even a door or window was left standing, so that nothing remained to be done at their arrival except to purify the churches of their Popish emblems and appoint ministers to preach in them. These important movements of the two young noblemen had been so prompt, that on the night of the 26th of June they had commenced their march from Perth into Stirlingshire, and on the 29th they were masters of Edinburgh.[1]

A civil war had now commenced in earnest, and injuries been inflicted which no compromise could heal; the religious fanes over a large extent of the country were smoking ruins, and the queen-regent a fugitive, while the insurgents occupied the metropolis, and for the time were in possession of the government. These were events to be explained to the world, and especially to Protestant England, whose aid might be needful in the further prosecution of the contest. This was done soon after the occupation of Edinburgh in several letters which are still preserved in the State Paper-office in London. One of these, addressed by Kirkaldy of Grange the elder to Sir Henry Percy, thus explains the conduct of his party: "The manner of their proceeding in reformation is this: they pull down all manner of friaries, and some abbeys which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them—in place thereof the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a penny-worth of that which pertains to the church; but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her grace will do so they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the whole revenues of the abbeys to the crown; if her grace will not be content with this they are determined to hear of no agreement." John Knox also wrote to the English knight in the same spirit. "Persuade yourself and assure others," he said, "that we mean neither sedition, neither yet rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ's

[1] Buchanan, xvi. 37; Knox; Calderwood.

religion and the liberty of this poor realm. If we can have the one with the other it will fare better with England; which, if we lack, although we mourn and smart England will not escape without worse trouble." These representations, followed by a personal interview between Kirkaldy and Sir Henry Percy, were so satisfactory that the Scottish reformers were assured of the co-operation of England in furthering their designs and bringing them to a happy termination.

While the leaders of the Congregation were thus busy at Edinburgh in justifying their proceedings and proclaiming their purposes, the queen-regent was equally busy at Dunbar. It was necessary to vilify the insurgents, and she did not spare them, representing them as rebels who, under the pretext of religion, sought the overthrow of all lawful rule. She also falsely stated the concessions she had already made to them, and the further privileges she had sought for them, for which purpose she had agreed to call a parliament at the commencement of the following year; "nevertheless," added her proclamation, "the Congregation being of mind to receive no reasonable offers, hath since by open deed declared that it is not religion or anything thereto pertaining that they seek, but only the subversion of our authority and usurpation of our crown." This last charge referred to the Prior of St. Andrews, whom she endeavoured to render odious to his own party by accusing him of aspiring to the throne notwithstanding his illegitimate birth. She also accused them of a seditious correspondence with England, and of having taken possession of the mint and the palace of Holyrood, which only royalty was privileged to occupy. In consequence of these alleged offences the proclamation issued by the queen-regent in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, warned the members of the Congregation and all others not inhabitants of the city, to quit it within six hours; and all persons to leave their company and adhere to the royal authority, otherwise they should be held and reputed as traitors. To clear themselves of these serious charges the Lords of the Congregation declared to her by letter that she had been misinformed; that no treason or rebellion was intended by their assembling; and that all they sought was to promote the glory of God, defend their preachers, and abolish idolatry; and that in all civil and political matters they should be as obedient as any subjects in the realm. "All this," they added, "should be more amply declared by some of us in your grace's presence if you were not accompanied with such as pursued our lives and sought our blood."

This proposal on the part of the Congregation for a peaceful settlement of the contest was not a mere empty profession of forbearance; and to show their sincerity they applied for a safe-conduct in favour of two of their brethren, the lairds of Pitarrow and Cunninghamhead, whom they commissioned to explain their full purpose to the queen. Although they were now the stronger and successful party, their demands through their commissioners were nothing more than those they had repeatedly proposed while they were still oppressed and helpless. They were liberty of conscience, preaching of true doctrine, and a right administration of the sacraments; the relaxation of their preachers from outlawry and permission to execute their duties unmolested until the controversies about religion should be settled, either by parliament or a general council lawfully convened. Their last demand was that the bands of French soldiers, who were stated to be an intolerable burden to the country and dangerous to the peace and safety of the inhabitants, should be sent back to France.[1] These terms the queen-regent received graciously, and to show her willingness to accede to them she requested only that higher commissioners should be sent to assure her of the peaceful purposes of the Congregation. They accordingly sent to her the Earl of Glencairn and the Lords Ruthven and Ochiltree with the same proposals; but again she demurred: she ought to have been sought in gentler manner and by those in whom she had placed higher confidence, but who had deserted her in her hour of need. What she now demanded was a private interview with the Earl of Argyle and Lord James, the Prior of St. Andrews, otherwise she could not but suspect that their aim was something very different from a reformation in religion. This was a repetition of the former report that the prior himself aimed at the crown, by which she had alarmed the Hamiltons and alienated several of the Congregation from their adherence. As it would have been unsafe to have committed these two noblemen to such an interview without full assurances of their safety, a new negotiation equally fruitless with the others was opened as to the place of meeting and those by whom it should be attended. These, indeed, were settled at last, and the proposed conference took place at Preston in East Lothian, where eight commissioners from either party met, each party being attended by a hundred men. But the proposals of the queen's commissioners were such as were certain to be rejected, for they were that wherever she resided for the time the reformed preachers should be silenced and

[1] Knox, i. 366.

the mass restored. These being granted, it was evident to the Congregation that no church could be established in the country but at her pleasure, and that wherever she was pleased to reside Protestantism would be overthrown. They wished to be advertised conclusively in return what countenance she would afford to the advance of the Reformation, and to be assured that her French troops should be dismissed, in which case they would furnish the means for their conveyance to France. As for their preachers, they were ready, her grace being present, to maintain their doctrines in public discussion against all who might impugn them. They were ready also to submit their cause to the decision of a lawful parliament if the bishops, being an interested party, were removed. Her answers to these demands were still ambiguous, and the negotiation drifted hither and thither without course or anchorage. But to promote this uncertainty had been throughout the purpose of the queen; every day of delay had been a victory to her party. From the 10th of May until the 12th of July the Protestants had been in arms, and after the expiration of forty days the usual dispersion of a feudal array had commenced, so that none were in the field but those whose independent resources came in aid of their religious zeal. All this diminution and dispersion was known to the crafty queen, who exclaimed triumphantly, "The Congregation has reigned these two months past; I myself will now reign other two."[1]

This resolution of the queen-regent must have been strengthened by a tragic event which at this period had occurred in France. Henry II. had held a tournament in which he was one of the most eager of the performers. Hitherto the sacred person of royalty had been ventured upon these trials with impunity, as no combatant was so vain of his personal prowess as to signalize it by the death of a king. But a mere accident was to effect a deed on which courtly chivalry would not have calculated, and in jousting with the Count de Montgomery a splinter of his antagonist's lance passed through the bars of the sovereign's helmet and inflicted a deep wound over his left eye, of which he expired on the 10th of July, 1559, after a lingering illness of twelve days. By this unexpected change Mary of Guise found her daughter suddenly raised to the throne of France, and her brothers in greater power than ever, so that she might calculate upon their effectual aid in the suppression of the Scottish Reformation. Knowing that the chiefs of the Congregation in Edinburgh were attended only by their own retinues, she left Dunbar and advanced towards the capital with such celerity that she was within two miles of the city before her arrival was known. To have left Edinburgh at such a crisis would have been such a heavy loss to their cause that the Lords of the Congregation resolved to remain, and for this purpose they took their stand at the Craigend Gate. This appearance of resistance made the regent pause, and a truce was concluded on the 24th of July between the two parties which was to last till the 10th of January. Its principal conditions were that no person should be constrained in matters of religion; that no military garrison, whether of French or Scottish troops, should be placed in Edinburgh; that no impediment should be given to the clergy in collecting their tithes, stipends, and other revenues; that the reformers should not destroy any church, monastery, or other place built for the use of the priests, or change them to any other use; and that the mint and the royal palace, with all its furniture, should be restored entire to the queen.[2]

After the conclusion of this treaty the Lords of the Congregation retired to Stirling. They knew that the truce could only be a time of preparation for fresh contest, and that during the interval every art would be employed to sow dissensions among them. To prepare against such devices they subscribed among themselves a solemn compact that none should repair to the queen or consult with her, or convey or send to her any letter or message, without consent of the rest; and that any message or writing received from her should be forthwith communicated to the others, and that no answer should be given to it without the common consent.[3] Their correspondence with England also, which they had commenced by the advice of Knox soon after the armed muster on Cupar Moor, was still continued. The questions asked by Sir William Cecil before the aid of England could be promised were the following:—What the Protestants of Scotland purposed? to what end they meant to direct their actions? how they would be able to effect their object? what apprehensions they entertained of any adverse power? and should aid be granted from England what amity it would produce between the two realms? The answers of the reformers to these questions were equally express. Their only purpose, they said, was to advance true religion, to bridle the fury of those who had hitherto shed the blood of their brethren, to maintain to the utmost the liberty of their country and resist the tyranny and thraldom of strangers. As for

[1] Knox, i. 369, 370.

[2] Knox, i. 376; Buchanan, xvi. 38.

[3] Knox, i. 382.

their ability to effect these purposes the means were still unknown to them; but they hoped that God, who had begun the work through their instrumentality, would bring it to a successful close. On the important question of what amity would be produced between the two countries should England aid the Scottish Reformation their answer was full and explicit. If Elizabeth and her counsellors could but point out how a friendly relationship might be effected they would give their consent and assistance, and not only persevere in the alliance to the end of their lives but bequeath it as a charge to their posterity, so that the friendly union between the kingdoms might remain inviolate for ever. It was evident that all these changes could not be accomplished with the good-will and consent of the queen-regent and her advisers; and the trying question remained as to what alterations they contemplated in the government. No change, they declared, had at first been intended; the thought had only afterwards been compelled upon them by the extreme necessity of their enterprise. It was now evident that France, the queen-regent, and the priests intended nothing less than the suppression of the gospel and the ruin of the kingdom, on which account they were resolved to seek the "next remedy"—a phrase by which the deposition of Mary of Guise from the regency might be surmised by all who were conversant with Scottish history.

With these explanations, which were written by John Knox, the reformer found it necessary to address an apologetic letter upon his work entitled, *A Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.* In common with many theorists both of ancient and modern times he did not carry his courtesy towards the sex so far as to believe that a woman might lawfully hold the government of a kingdom; and before his arrival in Scotland he had published anonymously this famous *Blast*, in which he endeavoured to prove from Scripture, from the writings of ancient philosophers, from the Christian fathers, and from the dictates of reason and common sense, that no woman should be raised to the sovereignty. With all this, however, there was a proviso by which he could reconcile himself to the anomaly and be the contented obedient subject of a queen. God might see fit in his marvellous working to comfort the afflicted and suppress his enemies by such weak instrumentality as a woman's, and to such a rule he would be obedient, although "both nature and God's most perfect ordinance repugn to that regiment." "More plainly to speak," he added, coming to the point, "if Queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy maketh that lawful to her which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be." This explanation, which he had written before his last departure from Dieppe, he had desired Cecil to present to his sovereign, in whose ears the *Blast* had grated so horribly that she would not permit its author to set foot in her dominions; but Cecil knew his mistress too well and was too much of a courtier to present an apology which she would have looked upon as a repetition of the offence. On this account Knox's repeated request to be allowed to visit England had not been complied with. At the present juncture, when it was necessary that he and his party should be brought into closer relationship with Elizabeth, he penned a fresh apology, which he earnestly desired his friend Cecil to present to the queen. But this apology, which probably was also withheld, softened nothing, explained away nothing, denied nothing; it merely reiterated his proposition with the qualification by which it was guarded, and willed her to be "thankful to God who had made that lawful to her which nature and law denied to all women." He also reminded her that when in England he had done more for her deliverance than any that now accused him; that instead of being opposed to her royal accession he had longed for it, and that he now returned thanks to God that it had been effected. Scholar though he was, and profoundly conversant with the ways of men, as well as aware of Elizabeth's commanding talents, he could not comprehend that depth of pride and sensitiveness of female vanity which formed so large a portion of her character, and to which the adulation of her courtiers was giving a daily increase.[1]

The perplexity of the crafty Cecil between the wounded arrogance of his mistress and the conscientious unyielding spirit of the Scottish reformer, when their reconciliation was most needful, could scarcely equal the difficulties experienced by Elizabeth herself. That her subjects should be taught that she reigned merely by divine sufferance and as long as she promoted the interests of a certain portion of the now divided church of Christendom, and not by right, reason, and hereditary succession, was not only offensive to her pride but restrictive of her despotic tendencies and dangerous to the tenure of her authority, so liable to be questioned and so obstinately opposed to the very close of her long reign. She had also contemplated and already commenced those Romanistic

[1] Knox; Calderwood.

innovations upon the Protestantism of England which the practices of Knox and his brethren in Scotland, as well as the opposition of the Puritans in her own realm, would retard and might eventually overthrow. As the daughter of Henry VIII., whose spirit she inherited, she must be as absolute in religion as in matters of state; the dictator as well as titular head of the church; but by aiding the Protestantism of Scotland she would be building up with one hand what she was throwing down and labouring to destroy with the other. Could a peaceful amity or final union of the two countries be matured under such a religious antagonism as that which her support of the Scottish reformers would create? And besides these considerations she knew that her interference in Scotland would provoke a war with France—an event which, though finally inevitable, it was her interest for the present to delay. But against these considerations was the insult which she had received from Mary Stuart, who on her marriage had assumed the title and arms of Queen of England, the ambitious projects of the Catholic League and the princes of Guise for the conquest of the British island and its restoration to Rome, and the fact that the war for that purpose was to be commenced in Scotland and not upon a foreign field. These considerations turned the scale and decided her in the support of the Scottish Reformation. Even then, however, her wonted caution continued to predominate. That she might avoid giving offence to France and Spain her support was to be given not openly but secretly and indirectly; and when the Lords of the Congregation applied for money to support the war her remittances were of stinted amount; while she advised them through her minister Cecil to confiscate the property of the church, and apply "good things to good uses." It was only when the danger became more imminent to herself that her sympathies for the good cause in Scotland became more ample and availing.

While the Lords of the Congregation were masters of Edinburgh the extent of their ambition had been to check the despotic measures of the queen-regent and establish liberty of conscience. But when they were compelled to retire to Stirling as fugitives and rebels, and apply to England for aid against their own government, the case was altered; moderate measures could avail them no longer, and the deposition of Mary from the regency was contemplated not only as necessary for their own safety but a just punishment of her oppressive administration. The question of who should be her successor could not be settled so easily. Their first thought had been of the Duke of Chastelherault, who, as nearest heir to the crown after the young queen, was judged the fittest guardian of the throne; but, independently of the recollections of his inefficient rule when governor, his past changes and counterchanges of creed were little qualified to recommend him to popular acceptance. He had also sunk into a state of neutrality and abandoned himself to a life of indolence. His son, the young Earl of Arran, was of a more active and aspiring spirit; he had also just escaped the danger of a French prison and scaffold, with which he had been threatened for his avowed sympathy with the cause of the Reformation, and had arrived in Scotland ready to promote the cause to the utmost in spite of his father's remissness. But he soon showed that he lacked the experience, talent, and firmness which were necessary for the leadership at such a crisis. There was a third person, however, more influential than either, upon whom the hopes of the Protestants both of England and Scotland were fixed, and whose ascendency in Scottish affairs would be certain, whoever might be appointed to the regency: this was James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, more commonly known in the history of the period by the title of Lord James. This remarkable man, who occupies so conspicuous a part in the most important era of Scottish history, was the natural son of James V. by Margaret Erskine, daughter of John, fourth Lord Erskine, and was born about A.D. 1533. As the king was wont to provide for his illegitimate sons by appointing them to the best livings in the church and enriching himself with the revenues during their minority, James Stuart, when only in his third year, was nominated prior of St. Andrews, and educated for the clerical office. To this, however, his active adventurous spirit was wholly averse; and the principles of the Reformation, which he adopted, concentrated his great intellectual powers, and fitted him for that greatest of national revolutions in which he was the chief actor, and which he was destined to bring to a successful termination. At the early age of seventeen he had distinguished himself as a soldier of high promise; his subsequent political negotiations with the courts of France and England had matured his native sagacity and enlarged his experience; and with such talents for peace and war as he now exhibited, nothing but the accident of birth prevented him from being one of the ablest sovereigns who had ever filled the Scottish throne. But that illegitimacy which debarred him from the throne did not preclude him and his race from the disasters which were from first to last the inheritance of the doomed house of Stuart. At present, enjoying the full confidence both of his own party and the court of England, the Protestants of

Scotland felt themselves at no loss for a leader, upon whomsoever the mere insignia of office might be bestowed.

While the Congregation had contemplated the deposition of the regent, without having fixed on a successor, the party was represented for all political purposes by a council through which their proceedings were regulated, and their correspondence with the English court conducted. And that correspondence, which on their side was mainly devolved upon John Knox, was not only sufficiently voluminous but highly effectual. He described their condition at Stirling as perilous in the extreme. They had only five hundred soldiers, and even these they were unable to pay, so that the lords, in spite of their zeal, must disperse or submit to the queen. On the other hand, France was busy, partly by plentiful largesses, partly by threats, in alienating their friends and strengthening their enemies. These urgent appeals were answered by a gratuity of three thousand pounds, which Elizabeth ordered Sir Ralph Sadler to distribute among them with discretion and secrecy. Soon afterwards an additional two thousand pounds were sent; and by these aids, small though they were, the military resources of the Congregation were so much improved that they contemplated a war with the regent and her French troops without dismay. To this, indeed, events were rapidly drawing on by the reinforcements which were arriving from France, and the encouragements which were given to the queen-regent by the French court to commence active measures and allow no compromise.

The first hostile proceeding of the queen was to fortify Leith and garrison it with her French troops. As this was in direct violation of the treaty the Lords of the Congregation addressed to her a remonstrance from Hamilton on the 29th of September, complaining of this breach of the agreement, and requiring that the work at the fortification should be stopped, and the town delivered from the foreign soldiers who possessed it; threatening that otherwise they would complain to the whole nobility and people of the realm of this invasion upon their ancient laws and liberties, and seek for redress. Understanding, however, that the defences of Leith were still carried on, the lords appointed a muster of their forces to be held at Stirling on the 15th of October for a hostile march to Edinburgh. At the same time they sent letters to different parts of the kingdom, announcing the impending danger of a foreign yoke; how the French troops were augmenting daily; and that they brought with them their wives and children, which was a plain declaration of their intention to effect a conquest of Scotland. The queen on her part was not idle, but endeavoured by letters, messages, and proclamations to justify her proceedings and throw the whole blame upon the Congregation. The defection of so many great personages and their correspondence with England, she said, had obliged her to have recourse to the law of nature. "And like as a small bird being pursued will provide some nest, so her grace could do no less in cases of pursuit, but provide some sure retreat for herself and her company; and to that effect chose the town of Leith, because it was her dearest daughter's property, and no other person could claim title or entrance thereto; and also because, in times before, it had been fortified." She in turn reproached them with the seizure and occupation of the Castle of Broughty. They answered that this they had not done until the fortifications at Leith were commenced; and that they had then occupied the castle as a measure of precaution, and for the defence of Dundee and Perth, of which her French soldiers had intended to take possession.[1]

On the 16th of October the troops of the Congregation marched from Stirling to Edinburgh, having with them the Duke of Chastelherault, who, after the arrival of his son from France, had been won over to their party. On their arrival they sent a bold summons to the queen-regent reminding her of their request previously sent from Hamilton; and desiring her once more to desist from fortifying Leith, and to make the town patent not only to its inhabitants but to all their sovereign lieges of Scotland; certifying that if she refused, and thereby declared her evil mind against the welfare and liberty of the realm, they would move and declare the cause to the whole nobility and community, and in conformity with their solemn oath for the maintenance of the common welfare would provide a remedy. And that remedy it was not difficult to guess; it could be nothing less than her own deposition from office. She received the messenger with threats and returned no answer. Hitherto she had kept Chastelherault from joining the Congregation by the report that Lord James Stuart, its leader, only sought by a pretended zeal for reformation to make himself king; but now that the duke had made common cause with the insurgents, she endeavoured to make him odious to the nation by reporting that he sought the crown for himself and his son, the Earl of Arran, and that this alone was the cause of his reawakened attachment to Protestantism. This was a charge too grave to be overlooked by one who had changed so often that his steadfast adherence to any party was doubtful, and

[1] Calderwood, i. 523.

accordingly, to recover the confidence of the Protestants, the duke denied the charge by public proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh on the 19th of October. He declared that neither he nor his son had any such ambitious aim, but only the advancement of religion and the preservation of the national independence, and that these calumnies were nothing but the inventions of the queen-regent and her adherents.

The last effort of Mary of Guise to negotiate with the Congregation left no further ground of agreement or compromise except that of total submission, and as such it was the royal proclamation by which a civil war is usually preceded. Her messenger on this occasion was Robert Forman, the lyon-king-at-arms, who announced his commission to the lords on the 21st of October. The Duke of Chastelherault was to be reminded of his promises which he had violated, that neither he nor his son should join the Congregation. The queen's occupation of Leith was to be justified as a measure of self-preservation which had been forced upon her, more especially when the army of the Protestants was now in possession of Edinburgh. It was through their continued rebellion also that the French soldiers were still retained in Scotland instead of being sent home long ago, as they would have been, according to the commandment of their king. Even yet, however, if they were inclined to offer reasonable conditions and submit to lawful authority their terms should be willingly received and the public peace restored. Finally the duke, the nobles, and the whole Congregation were ordered to disband and retire from the capital under pain of treason. Having declared his message the lyon-king was desired to remain until the close of a meeting which was to be held on the same day, when he would be furnished with their answer.

CHAPTER VI.

MARY OF GUISE—REFORMATION ESTABLISHED (1559-1561).

Assembly of the heads of the Congregation at Edinburgh—Deposition of the queen-regent proposed—Arguments adduced in favour of the proposal—Her suspension from the regency decreed—Preparations for the siege of Leith—Difficulties of the Congregation—Their unsuccessful attempts on Leith—They retire to Stirling—They are reanimated by the preaching of Knox—Aid sought by the Congregation from England—Proceedings of the queen-regent and her French troops in Edinburgh—They transfer the war to Fifeshire—Skirmishes and alternate successes of the two parties—An English fleet arrives to aid the Congregation—Elizabeth's justification of the proceeding—The Congregation negotiates for the aid of an English army—Terms on which the aid was granted—The English army arrives in Scotland—The Scotch and English troops lay siege to Leith—Resolute resistance of the French—Defeat of the besiegers—The queen-regent's exultation—The siege continued—The queen-regent's last illness in the castle of Edinburgh—Her parting interview with the Lords of the Congregation—Her death and character—Effects of her death on the war in Scotland—Peace desired by all parties—Negotiations opened between France and England—Peace concluded—Its terms in favour of Scotland—The question of religion left untouched—The French troops leave Scotland—Solemn thanksgiving in Edinburgh—Ministers appointed for parishes and districts—Meeting of parliament—Importance attached to its proceedings—Difficulty from the absence of a representative of the sovereign—Provision made for it—Proposals of Knox for the application of the church property—His proposals ridiculed and rejected—Petition for religious reform—Specification of the evils to be removed—Necessary severity in the style of the petition—A Confession of Faith drawn up by the reformers—It is read in parliament and ratified—Laws enacted against Popery—A Book of Discipline drawn up for the government of the reformed church—Its cold reception from several parties—Causes of this dislike—The Book of Discipline ratified—A council of regency chosen—Marriage of the Earl of Arran to Queen Elizabeth proposed by this parliament—An embassy sent to England with the overture—Elizabeth rejects it—The parliament dissolved—Sir James Sandilands sent to Mary to announce its proceedings—His unfavourable reception—Mary's remonstrances against Elizabeth's conduct in Scottish affairs—Death of Francis II.—Lord James sent to France to invite Mary's return to Scotland—Charges given to him at his departure—Mary invited to Scotland by the Catholic party—Their dangerous proposals to her—Consistent conduct of Lord James in his embassy—Demands of the French ambassador upon the Scottish government—The demands rejected—Demolition of monasteries renewed—Propriety of the measure—Causes of Mary's delay in returning to her kingdom—A safe-conduct from Elizabeth refused—Mary's complaint to the English ambassador on the subject—She sets sail and arrives in Scotland.

The meeting of nobility, barons, and burgesses, assembled at Edinburgh on the 21st of October, was no sudden measure, or for the discussion of an ordinary question. It was to deliberate on the propriety of the queen's deposition from the regency. The great question, pro-

pounded by Lord Ruthven, who opened the proceedings, was, Whether she who was but regent and not their sovereign, who had so contemptuously refused the petitions of the nobility, the native counsellors of the realm, should still be permitted to hold so despotic a rule? It was not a question of yesterday, but had been of long deliberation; and every member was not only ready with a decision, but with arguments to justify or enforce it. The opinion of the clergy, of whom John Willock and John Knox were present, was first sought, and Willock, who had been minister of Edinburgh since the departure of the Congregation to Stirling, was the first to answer. Two centuries later such a subject of public controversy would have called up the examples of Greece and Rome, and been settled by ancient history and classical authority; and a century later still it would have depended upon the matured sciences of political jurisprudence and European expediency. But the present was a religious age, and its chief source of historical as well as theological wisdom was the Bible. Willock justified his proposal to depose the regent from the four following positions:—1. That magistrates, although ordained of God, and deriving from him their power and authority, have yet that power bounded and limited by the word of God. 2. That the duties of magistrates and their subjects are reciprocal, so that God by his word has prescribed the office of the one as well as the other. 3. That although God has appointed magistrates to be his lieutenants on earth, and aggrandized them with his own title, calling them "Gods," yet he has never so irrevocably established any of them, but that for a just cause they might be deposed. 4. That in the deposition of princes and those in authority God did not always use his direct power, but sometimes other means which his wisdom selected and his justice approved; as in the cases of Asa removing his own mother from the throne, Jehu destroying Joram and the whole posterity of Ahab, and other such instances where God had displaced the rulers whom he had previously set up. From these premises, which he largely illustrated, the conclusion was easy. The queen-regent having refused to fulfil her chief duties, which were to administer justice to them impartially, to preserve their liberties from being invaded by strangers, and to suffer them to have God's word freely and openly preached among them; and being moreover an open and obstinate idolatress, a maintainer of all superstition and despiser of the counsels and petitions of the nobility, he could see no reason why they, the born counsellors, the nobility and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her of all her authority. Knox agreed in this conclusion, but with the following limitations:—1. That the guilt and misgovernment of the queen-regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience that was due to their sovereigns. 2. That if they deposed her from personal dislike rather than from public and patriotic motives they should not escape the righteous punishment of God, however merited her deposition may have been; and 3. That no sentence should be pronounced against her, but that upon her repentance, and return to proper counsel, she might be replaced in the office of which she had been justly deprived. The votes of the assembly being taken all were unanimous for the suspension of the queen-regent from her authority, and an act drawn up to this effect, was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the following day. The Lords of the Congregation then dismissed the lyon-king-at-arms with their answer to the queen-regent. "We have suspended your commission," they said to her, "and all administration of policy which your grace may pretend thereby; being most assuredly persuaded that your proceedings are directly contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's will, which we ever esteem to be for the weal, and not for the hurt, of this our commonwealth." They finally warned her and all her French soldiers to depart from Leith within twenty-four hours.

It was necessary to second these bold decisions by prompt and resolute action. All French and Scottish soldiers were accordingly commanded to leave the town of Leith, and preparations were made for its capture, the scaling-ladders for the purpose being made in the High Church of St. Giles, that resounded with hammering even in the midst of divine service. These interruptions so annoyed the preachers that they feared the work could not prosper which had commenced with such manifest contempt of the reverence due to religious ordinances. Their army, indeed, amounted to twelve thousand men, but its materials were such as might well justify the gloomy predictions and severe rebukes of the ministers. Those whose time of service had expired were already returning to their homes. There were traitors in their camp who sent intelligence to the queen of their proceedings and sowed dissensions among the officers. The hired soldiers had mutinied at Linlithgow because their arrears were not paid up, and had on that occasion proclaimed that they would serve any man to suppress the Congregation and set up the mass again; and now when the war had commenced in earnest they again broke out into mutiny, so that the impoverished lords were obliged to bring their family plate to the mint to satisfy the present demands. Even then, too, it was found that

this scanty store could not be converted into money, as those who had charge of the mint had fled, carrying the coining instruments with them. But the distress of the reforming leaders must have reached its climax when a subsidy from England of four thousand crowns was intercepted on the way by the Earl of Bothwell, a pretended friend of the Congregation, who lay in wait for the convoy, attacked and wounded its leader, and carried off the treasure.

The first assault of such an army on Leith was attended with defeat and disgrace. Halyburton, the provost of Dundee, an officer of skill and courage, accompanied by a band of his townsmen and a few volunteers, marched towards Leith on the 31st of October, and planted their artillery on a hill which commanded the town. The Lords of the Congregation were in the meantime absent at sermon; their mounted attendants had accompanied them; and the French garrison, learning that the battery was only defended by infantry, sallied out from Leith upon the men of Dundee, who after a short resistance fled back to Edinburgh. Some of the French gave chase, pursued the fugitives to the foot of Leith Wynd and the midst of the Canongate, and were suffered to retire in safety after they had insulted the city and killed several aged and infirm persons who could make no resistance, while their companions in the meantime had taken possession of the cannon and conveyed it into Leith. The queen, who sat upon the ramparts, welcomed the return of her soldiers, laughed at the spoil of pots and pans, kirtles and petticoats, and other feminine and household gear which they had brought from Edinburgh. Her jests on the occasion were felt more bitterly by the defeated than the wounds inflicted by her men-at-arms, and greatly increased her unpopularity. Emboldened by their success, the French again sallied out on the 5th of November to intercept a store of provisions that was carried into Edinburgh. They came down upon the city with such boldness and secrecy that they had almost got possession of the gates, and were only driven back by a resolute onset of the Lord James and the Earl of Arran. These lords, however, continuing the pursuit too far, got entangled in a narrow way near Restalrig, having a wall on one side and a morass on the other; the French rallied and returned to the attack, and Arran and Lord James, after extricating their troops with difficulty, were beaten back to the capital.

The loss of the Congregation in these affairs scarcely amounted to threescore men, but still they were dispiriting defeats, and this the more because they signalized the commencement of the war with royalty arrayed against them. The reforming zeal of Edinburgh had been also cooled by these disasters, and was impatient for the departure of an army that was so little able to make its promises good. Under these circumstances the Lords of the Congregation resolved to break up the siege of Leith and retreat to Stirling. They had lately been joined by Maitland of Lethington, the queen's secretary, who earnestly dissuaded them from breaking up their encampment, while the Earl of Arran and Lord James offered to remain and prosecute the enterprise if only a reasonable number would abide with them; but the general faintheartedness overruled their dissuasions, and at midnight of the same day in which they had sustained their last defeat they made a hurried retreat from Edinburgh and arrived in Stirling on the following day. On the 7th of November, which was Wednesday, John Knox preached to his dispirited auditory. While in Edinburgh he had commenced an exposition of the 80th Psalm, in which he had intimated his conviction that disaster and defeat were at hand, and impressed upon his hearers the duty of prayer. He now resumed the subject, but with the language of encouragement and hope. Twice, he said, the combined Israelites, trusting in their own strength, had been defeated by the tribe of Benjamin; but after they had fasted and prayed, after they had humbled themselves before God and cast themselves upon his strength instead of their own, they received from Him a favourable answer and the promise of victory. The like, he added, "may be amongst us, albeit suddenly we do not espy it. It resteth that we turn to the Eternal, our God, who beateth down to death to the intent he may raise up again, to leave behind the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance, to the praise of His own name. If we do this unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusion, and fear shall be turned to joy, honour, and boldness, than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites after that twice with ignominy they had been repulsed and driven back. Yea, whatever shall become of us and our mortal carcases, I doubt not but this cause, in despite of Satan, shall prevail in this realm of Scotland; for as it is the eternal rule of the eternal God, so shall it finally prevail, howsoever for a time it be impugned. It may be that God shall plague some for that they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly respects they seem to favour it; yea, God may take some of his dearest children away before their eyes see greater troubles. But neither shall the one nor the other so hinder but in the end it shall triumph."

These prophet-like assurances and words of

eloquent fervour were not uttered in vain; they pervaded the whole assembly with such a new spirit that a universal activity took the place of despondency and listlessness. It was resolved to resume the war upon a larger scale, and not to pause until it was successful. As the aid of Elizabeth was more necessary than ever Maitland of Lethington, already known as a skilful diplomatist, was sent to the English court to represent the condition of the Congregation and solicit fresh supplies; and in addition to these expected public aids Knox appealed by letters to his friends in England, urging them to make private collections for that Scottish religious movement which was so closely identified with their own. Want of money, not of men or courage, was still, as it had ever been, the great defect of Scotland; and hitherto the campaign had been chiefly supported by the leaders of the Congregation out of their own scanty revenues, which were now nearly exhausted. One striking instance of princely liberality was that of Lord James, who had spent thirteen thousand crowns of the sun (a very large fortune according to Scottish rating) since the 10th of May alone, independent of the stores of provisions for the army which he had furnished gratuitously from his own estates. Another important measure now adopted was the division of the Congregation into two parties, the one under the Duke of Chastelherault, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Boyd, and Lord Ochiltree, to have their headquarters at Glasgow; while the other, under the Lord James, the Earls of Arran and Rothes, and the Master of Lindsay, were to be stationed in Fife, the two parties to act with each other by mutual communication. A convention was also to be held at Stirling on the 16th of December to concert the plan of a wider and more decisive action.

In the meantime the proceedings of the queen-regent and her supporters were little calculated to reconcile the nation to their cause. They entered Edinburgh as soon as the Congregation had left it, but the conduct of the French troops was such as made the citizens regret the change. The invaders were quartered in their houses, while scarcely a man or woman could appear in the streets without the risk of violence or insult. To obtain possession of the castle was now the aim of the queen to complete her hold of the capital, and she summoned Lord Erskine, its governor, to surrender. But hitherto this nobleman had observed a strict neutrality between both parties or acted the part of an arbitrator, so that while he refused to resign his charge at the call of the Congregation, he had fired upon the French on the 5th of November when they fought their way into the town. He now rejected the queen's summons, declaring that he had received his charge from the parliament of Scotland, and that nothing but its order would authorize him to give it up. Finding that they could not carry the castle by assault, and advertised of the meeting appointed for the Lords of the Congregation at Stirling, the French troops advanced to that town, but found that the noblemen had dispersed themselves to their former quarters in Glasgow and Fifeshire. It was now against the latter county that their hostility was chiefly directed, as the principal source and chief seat of the Reformation; and they resolved to bridle it effectually by fortifying the town, castle, and abbey of St. Andrews.

The events of the war thus transferred to Fifeshire, although insignificant in themselves, were attended with important consequences. Proud of her partial successes, the queen-regent had written to France for more troops for the final suppression of the Reformation in Scotland and restoration of the Catholic faith. On the other hand the appeal of the reformers to Elizabeth for more effectual support had been graciously answered, and an English armament was already on its way to assist them. As the turning of the scale thus depended upon the fleet that should first arrive upon the scene of action the two parties, amidst their skirmishing in Fife, were looking anxiously seaward for the promised reinforcements, while each was unaware of the other's expectations. The French troops commenced their proceedings with their wonted rapidity by fortifying Burntisland and capturing Kinghorn; and from the latter place they sent out parties to waste the lands of the Protestant gentlemen, but these discharged their commission so indiscriminately that friends and enemies were plundered alike in their wholesale marauding. Among their deeds of wanton havoc they also destroyed with gunpowder the house of Kirkaldy of Grange, not only one of the bravest but the most courteous of those who were in arms against them, and whom this insult provoked beyond forbearance. He accordingly sent a defiance to D'Osell and the French officers, reminding them how often he had spared the lives of their countrymen, but warning them to look for no such favour in time to come. As for D'Osell, he said, whom he knew to be but a coward, he had little hope to find him in a skirmish, but still he trusted to pay him in full either in Scotland or France. These successes of their enemies obliged the Lords of the Congregation to retire inland to Cupar; and thither they were followed by John Knox, who by one of his remarkable sermons roused them from despondency and in-

spired them with fresh courage. He spoke of the danger of the disciples when they rowed at midnight on the Sea of Galilee amidst the terrors of the storm and beheld Jesus coming to them upon the mountain-waves; and he exhorted them to ply the oar without fainting against wind and tide. "For I am as assuredly persuaded," he said, "that God shall deliver us from this extreme trouble, as I am assured that this is the gospel of Jesus Christ which I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come. Abide a little: the boat shall be saved, and Peter, who hath left the boat, shall not drown, I am assured, albeit I cannot assure you by reason of this present rage. God grant that you may acknowledge His hand after that your eyes have seen His deliverance!" The effect of these exhortations was seen in bolder and more decisive action. Although the French troops alone mustered four thousand strong, without reckoning their Scottish adherents, while Lord James and the Earl of Arran could not assemble above five hundred horse and a hundred foot, these noblemen advanced to Dysart and encountered the enemy with such incessant skirmishes as inflicted heavy loss upon them and hindered their advance. While the French were thus confined to the coast and compelled to act on the defensive, their provisions ran short, and to add to their difficulties two transport ships which had been sent to them with supplies were captured by the Congregation and carried into Dundee.

At last, on the 23d of January, 1560, when the snow lay deep upon the highways and the French, burning with impatience and straitened for want of provisions, had resolved to attempt a march upon St. Andrews, their sight was gratified by the appearance of a fleet bearing up the firth and making for their landing-place. They knew that the Marquess D'Elbeuf had already set sail from Calais, and not doubting that these were his ships, they welcomed them with a salvo of artillery; but the smoke had scarcely dispersed when the strangers hoisted English colours, and captured two victuallers employed to bring provisions to the French camp from the south side of the Forth. It was the fleet of England and not that of D'Elbeuf, which had been driven back by adverse winds into port after losing 1500 men by shipwreck. Instead of advancing upon the capital of Fife, although they had arrived within six miles of St. Andrews, the French found that they must make a hurried retreat to their fortifications at Leith. This opportune arrival of the English fleet, consisting of fourteen ships-of-war, under the command of Admiral Winter, had been the successful result of Maitland's embassy from the Congregation to the Queen of England; but true to that cautious policy which formed the characteristic of her reign, Winter was ordered not to provoke hostilities unless he was previously assailed. As soon as he had arrived the queen-regent sent to him to inquire the cause of his coming, to which he replied that he had gone to sea on the look-out for pirates, and had entered the Forth to wait for them. The regent also ordered De Sevre, her ambassador at the English court, to remonstrate with Elizabeth on the violation of the peace between France and England and require her to withdraw her fleet; but to this demand Elizabeth, while she intimated her desire to continue in peace with France, expressed her jealousy of the troops of French soldiers that were continually arriving in Scotland. To the charge that she was aiding those in Scotland who were rebels to their own sovereign she declared that these men, instead of being rebels, were the faithful subjects of their sovereign, in defence of whose rights they had ventured to offend her husband, the King of France. It was against the influence of the queen-regent and her French counsellors and that of the Guises, she said, that they had risen to preserve their national independence; and for this, instead of deserving blame, they had merited the approval of Mary Stuart, their queen, and of the world at large.

After these decisive answers the English fleet was reinforced by new arrivals, so that it held possession of the Forth and could effectually prevent the arrival of reinforcements from France. It was also resolved to aid the Congregation by land, and for this purpose Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Lindsay, the Master of Maxwell, Henry Balnaves, and the Laird of Pitarrow were invited by the Duke of Norfolk, the queen's lieutenant-general for the north, to a conference at Berwick. These delegates of the Congregation arrived at Berwick by sea in the middle of February (1560), and the agreement concluded between them and the Queen of England's commissioners were of great importance to the cause of Scottish Protestantism. A common interest, and that, too, in the highest and most important of all concerns, was at last to unite two nations so formed for union but so long kept asunder; and this was happily stated by the Scottish lords in their preamble to the contract of Berwick. "We have well considered," they said, "and be fully persuaded, in what danger, desolation, and misery the long inimity with the kingdom of England hath brought our country heretofore; how wealthy and flourishing it shall become if these two kingdoms, as they be joined in one island

by creation of the world, so may be knit in a constant and assured friendship. These considerations, grounded upon a most infallible truth, ought no less to have moved our progenitors and forefathers than us. But the present danger hanging over our heads, by the unjust dealing of those of whom we have always best deserved, have caused us to weigh them more earnestly than they did." The contract now made was to preserve Scotland from being conquered and enslaved by France, and was to last during the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the French king and a year after. Elizabeth was to take the realm, with the Duke of Chastelherault and his party, under her protection, and to aid in the total expulsion of the French from Scotland, for which purpose she was to reinforce them by troops of horse and foot, with artillery and warlike munitions, as well as to prevent the entrance of French troops into Scotland by her ships at sea; the Congregation in the meantime recognizing Mary Stuart for their sovereign and preserving the rights of the crown inviolate. The duke, now the recognized head of the Congregation, and his adherents engaged on their part to join their forces with those of England, and to suffer no further union of their country with France than that which already existed. They were also to consider the enemies of England as their own; and should that country be attacked by France, they engaged to assist it with two thousand horse and a thousand foot. These articles being concluded and hostages given by the Congregation for their performance, the English auxiliary army, consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, under the command of Lord Grey, entered Scotland on the 2d of April, and was joined by that of the Protestants amounting to nearly 8000 men. On their arrival the queen-regent retired for safety to the castle of Edinburgh, where she was courteously received by its commander, Lord Erskine.

The united army now advanced to Restalrig on the 6th of April, being Palm Sunday, on which the French sallied out of Leith to occupy a hill in the neighbourhood where they feared the English would encamp; but after a hard conflict of five hours they were driven back into the town by the Scottish cavalry. Leith was now invested both by land and sea, and the English ships of Winter dismounted a battery which the French had placed on St. Anthony's steeple. But, however courageous the army of the two nations might be, especially while fighting side by side, and with friendly rivalry to animate them, it was soon evident that in discipline and experience they were no match for their enemies; and after their first trivial successes the English laid aside their armour and betook themselves to dice and cards. Aware of this negligence five hundred French harquebussiers and fifty horse suddenly issued out of Leith into the English encampment, which they threw into confusion, and after killing two hundred and forty men and spiking three cannon made good their retreat into Leith with very little loss. This event made the careless besiegers more wary, and the advances upon the town were conducted with a stricter regard to the common principles of military science. At this time also the powerful and rich Earl of Huntly, who had been waiting to ascertain which of the parties would prove the strongest, gave in his adherence to the Congregation and entered their camp at the head of sixty horse. The defection of so influential a nobleman and the loss it would inflict upon her cause so sensibly affected the queen-regent, that she exclaimed, "The malediction of God light on those who counselled me to persecute the preachers and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this realm! It was said to me that the English army could not lie in Scotland ten days; but now they have lain almost a month already." The time for peaceful negotiation had expired, and the strife could only terminate with the submission of the weaker. A new covenant was now drawn up on the 27th of April, by which the lords not only engaged to unite their whole power for the entire expulsion of the French, but to advance the cause of the reformed religion; that they would hold every one opposed to these undertakings as their common enemy and unite for his suppression; and that for the maintenance of their mutual concord each member, in the event of any quarrel or misunderstanding with the others, should submit the question to the decision of the general council, or such arbitrators as the council might appoint.

In the meantime the siege of Leith went on with greater vigour than ever; the united army of Scots and English drew their circumvallations closer, and their artillery made several breaches upon the south-west wall; but the skill of the French sufficed to close every gap as soon as it was made, and baffle every attempt to storm the ramparts. At last it was resolved to make a decisive attack upon the town, in which the besieged were already suffering from famine, and on the 7th of May before daybreak the English assailed it in four different quarters at the same instant. Their first onset was successful; their advanced parties drove the French from the walls after a desperate struggle, and nothing was wanting but to fix the scaling-ladders. But here treachery had been at work;

the ladders on being applied were found too short, and those who had gained the walls were attacked by the whole French army. In this *melee*, by which tower and rampart were at last cleared of their assailants, none were more desperate than those abandoned Scottish women who had given up their country as well as themselves to their foreign paramours; they rushed to the walls among the foremost, supplied the soldiers with loaded hagbuts as fast as they could be discharged, and threw stones, beams of timber, and even grates filled with burning fuel upon the heads of those below. This attack, which so miserably failed at the moment of success, disheartened both the Scots and English, while the queen-regent, who had watched the whole proceeding from the front wall of the castle of Edinburgh, and saw at last the French standards waving in triumph over the ramparts of Leith, laughed aloud in her gladness, and exclaimed, "Now will I go to mass and praise God for that which my eyes have seen." Her exultation was expressed in a form still more offensive to the Protestants, when she saw the French exposing the naked bodies of their enemies upon the walls of Leith, where they were allowed for several days to lie festering in the heat of the sun. "Yonder," she cried, "is the fairest tapestry I ever saw; I would that the whole fields betwixt this place and Leith were covered with the same stuff!" Alas! it was the unnatural hilarity of one whose days, whose very hours were numbered.

Thus far the siege of Leith had been conducted disastrously, notwithstanding the weakness of the town and the unfinished state of its fortifications; the English alone since the 5th of April had lost 4000 men, and it is to be presumed that the loss of the Scots had at least equalled that of their allies. It was hoped by the queen-regent and her party that the siege would be raised, the English army recalled, and the forces of the Congregation dispersed; but, instead of thus yielding to despondency, the operations against Leith were resumed with greater vigour than before. This was chiefly owing to the firmness and sagacity of Elizabeth, who was aware of the important consequences at stake, and who, if slow in adopting a resolution, was seldom inclined to abandon it, and to whom the expulsion of the French from the island was almost of as much importance as it was to the Scots themselves. The English army was therefore ordered through her council to remain in their encampment before Leith until further notice, while the Duke of Norfolk directed Lord Grey to continue the siege, assuring him that he should not want reinforcements as long as Englishmen were to be found between the Trent and the Tweed. He declared also that, if circumstances required it, he would himself come to Scotland and take the command of the army in person, while in token of his sincerity he ordered his own tent to be set up in the camp, and soon after sent a supply of 2000 fresh troops. Encouraged by these assurances the siege was vigorously prosecuted, and although the war was confined to trifling sallies and skirmishes it was evident that the French garrison could not long continue their resistance. Their provisions had so greatly failed that they were already eating their horses, while no aid from France could reach them through the close blockade that hemmed them in both by land and sea.

But the chief symptom that the war would speedily terminate was given by the health of the queen-regent. At her retirement into the castle of Edinburgh she was suffering under a complication of disorders, which the state of public affairs and the progress of the siege had only tended to aggravate. She felt that she was dying, and the approach of death was accompanied with those gentler feelings and more just appreciations both of the present and the future which so often come in his train, especially when the visit is made to the death-bed of royalty. The overweening ambition of her brothers, the selfish purposes of her advisers, her own devotedness to a doomed cause, and the unworthy arts she had employed in its support, were all stript of their coverings and shown in their native character; and she felt that for these motives, on which she could no longer look with unmingled complacency, she had alienated from her the wise and the good, filled the land with dissension and strife, and planted the throne of her daughter with thorns. She endeavoured even yet to remedy the evil; but the attempt was nothing more than a death-throe; it was to compose the troubles of the kingdom by a single parting interview with the Lords of the Congregation. She invited for that purpose the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the Earl Marischal, and Lord James; but still mistrusting her and fearing that some "Guisian practice" might lurk under the invitation, the friends of these noblemen advised that they should repair to her separately and not all together—a scrupulousness which, however, was not adopted. On being admitted to her presence she lamented to them the folly of her proceedings that had compelled them to seek alien support rather than that of their own sovereign, and acknowledged her repentance that it had ever come to such extremity. She threw, however, the chief share of the blame upon the counsellors whose advices she had followed, and especially the Earl of

Huntly, who had dissuaded her from the conference which they had sought with her at Preston, where all their differences might have been peacefully adjusted. The lords were melted to tears by her contrite language and gentle, affectionate behaviour, and earnestly urged her to send for some godly learned man who might instruct and comfort her in her extremity. The gentle Willock was sent for, and his chief theme of discourse to the dying queen was the efficacy and power of the death of Christ in opposition to the futility of the mass; and to this she assented so far as to acknowledge that there was no salvation but in and through the death of the Redeemer. Of her opinions of the mass no record has been given, and it is probable that on this subject she maintained a cautious reserve. Such was the end of Mary of Guise on the 10th of June. Had she been but left to her own guidance, and the affections of the nation which her earlier proceedings in the regency had secured, the war of the Reformation might have been a peaceful compromise, or at least a gentler controversy. But the spirit of the nation was little fitted for such a mode of settlement, while the queen on her part was not permitted to try it. Her earliest advisers, D'Osell and Rubie, provoked the national pride by new laws, imposts, and taxations, and her brothers roused the national independence to arms by aiming at the subjugation of the kingdom. And even at last, when the events of the war had gone against her, she had more violent counsellors still in Martiques, La Brosse, and the Bishop of Amiens, whom nothing would satisfy but a war of extinction and the entire conversion of Scotland into a French province. It was under such guidance that Mary of Guise, worthy of a better fate, ruled without honour and died amidst strife and defeat. Even over her cold remains the contention which she had awoke was continued, and the rites of burial were refused to them because these would have been mixed with the observances of a religion against which the people were warring to the death. The body was therefore wrapped in a covering of lead and kept in the castle of Edinburgh till the 19th of October, when it was transported to the city of Rheims and interred in the church of the convent of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames, of which the queen's sister Renée de Lorraine was abbess.

The death of Mary of Guise supplied an excuse for concluding a war which all parties had found unprofitable, and of which they were all equally weary. France had already discovered that the scheme of the Guises to unite France, England, and Scotland under one monarchy, with Popery for their exclusive creed, was extravagant and hopeless; while England, still occupied with troubles of its own, was willing to be at peace with France, now that the designs of the latter upon Scotland had been frustrated. Even at the seat of hostilities there was an equal longing for an amicable arrangement. The French garrison in Leith, while they felt that enough had been done for honour, were hopeless of supplies and on the point of starvation, so that it was more desirable to march out on favourable terms than to abide by the ramparts and die of hunger. Of their assailants the English were weary of the stinted sustenance which the wasted country supplied, and impatient for their own land of fat beeves and fertile cornfields; while the Scots, more tolerant though they were of such privations, were for the most part a feudal militia who served without pay, and were unaccustomed to the hardships and delays of a siege. The expense of further hostilities would not only be a heavy drain upon the English exchequer, but upon the Scottish lords, whose resources had been already exhausted by the maintenance of hired soldiers in addition to their own retainers. The important stake at issue also, which was to rid Scotland of the French, in the present mood of all parties might be quietly and easily effected. Even before the death of the queen-regent ambassadors had been sent from France to treat of peace; and these having met with the English commissioners upon the Borders, the negotiations were amicably conducted and brought to a happy conclusion. The great grievance of England and the chief pretext for the interference of Elizabeth in the Scottish contest had arisen from the assumption by the young King and Queen of France of the title and arms of King and Queen of England as well as those of France and Scotland. This obnoxious part of their designations, however, they not only agreed to abandon, but to make such compensations as Elizabeth demanded for the injury. How to deal in behalf of the Scots was a still more trying difficulty, as the French considered the Lords of the Congregation and their party as rebels, and unworthy of being admitted to composition or treaty. They therefore insisted, that the treaty of Berwick by which Elizabeth had engaged to make common cause with the Congregation should be abandoned; but to this the English commissioners would not consent. By the dexterity of Cecil, however, the difficulty was surmounted, and the demands of the Scottish Protestants were granted without the necessity of recognizing the Congregation and its past deeds of revolt and resistance. An act of oblivion was therefore passed for all wrongs committed or injuries sustained between the 6th of March, 1558, and the 1st of August, 1560, and all parties in the land were to be included

in the pacification at present established. The French troops were to be conveyed to their own country, and none to be afterwards sent to Scotland; and at the same time the English army and fleet were to be withdrawn, and the Scottish troops of either side disbanded. The fortifications erected by the French at Leith and Dunbar were to be destroyed, while a garrison of sixty French soldiers were to be allowed to remain at Inchkeith, and as many at Dunbar, that the queen might not appear to be wholly dispossessed of her kingdom. Neither the king nor queen was to order peace or war in Scotland without the advice and consent of the three estates according to the old established laws of the kingdom. For the administration of government during her majesty's absence twenty-four persons were to be chosen by the three estates, out of which number the queen was to select seven and the estates five, and in their hands was to be vested the entire administration. In the offices of the crown such as chancellor, keeper of the seals, treasurer, controller, &c., no strangers were to be employed by the king and queen, but only natives of the realm. No bishops, abbots, or other ecclesiastical persons were to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their property, and reparation was to be made to them by the estates for whatever harm in their persons and goods they had already sustained. The Duke of Chastelherault, the Earl of Arran, and all other Scottish gentlemen were to be reinstated in the lands, goods, estates, and benefices which they held in France at the commencement of these troubles, and Lord David, the duke's second son, now a prisoner in France, was to be set free and permitted to return to Scotland.

Such were the principal articles in this important treaty, commonly called in our histories the Treaty of Leith, which had reference to Scottish affairs. It was an act of oblivion for all that had passed, as well as prevention for the future of all private or public strife upon questions of religion. But here the conditions stopped short. The question of what religion, or what *form* of religion, should thenceforth be recognized by the state as the national church, although the paramount subject of the contest, was still left open. And indeed it could not well be otherwise. Had the English commissioners interfered it must have been in behalf of that form and order established by their own queen and parliament. But Knox had already regarded it as only a half-way reformation, and was the uncompromising advocate of that severe system into which no forms or ceremonies should enter that were not expressly enjoined by the authority of Scripture. As for the French commissioners, who regarded both parties as heretics alike, and who were as indisposed as they were unfitted to mediate between them, they doubtless rejoiced in a silence which gave room to open the controversy anew when circumstances might be more favourable to their cause. This singular accordance of the negotiating powers was thus expressed in the seventeenth article of the treaty, and is too important to be abbreviated: "Whereas on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland there have been presented certain articles concerning religion and certain other points, in which the lords deputies would by no means meddle as being of such importance, that they judged them proper to be remitted to the king and queen: therefore the said nobles of Scotland have engaged, that in the ensuing convention of estates some persons of quality shall be chosen for to repair to their majesties and remonstrate to them the state of their affairs, particularly those last mentioned, and such others as could not be decided by the lords' deputies; and to understand their intention and pleasure concerning what remonstrances shall be made to them on the part of the kingdom of Scotland; and these gentlemen shall carry along with them, to the king and queen, the confirmation and ratification made by the estates of the several articles which are presently granted by the lords deputies; at which time they shall get delivered to them the confirmation and ratification done by their majesties, and even sooner, if the estates shall transmit their own ratification before that time."[1]

This treaty so favourable to the Protestants of Scotland being settled, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 8th of July (1560), and on the 16th the French army, now reduced to 4000, was embarked in English ships to be conveyed to France, while the English troops also returned homeward, being accompanied some miles on their way by the chief noblemen of the Congregation. On the 19th of July all the nobles and the greater part of the Congregation then in Edinburgh were assembled in St. Giles's Church for a solemn public thanksgiving on account of the peace; and the minister on this occasion, who was probably John Knox, in a prayer which the great reformer has preserved in his history expressed the gratitude of the Scottish Protestants for the deliverance vouchsafed to them, acknowledged the aid so bountifully accorded by England, and prayed that the league now formed between the two kingdoms might never be broken or interrupted. The next step was to establish their ministers in permanent charges, and accordingly John Knox was appointed for Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman for

[1] Keith, p. 142; Knox, ii. p. 82.

St. Andrews, Adam Heriot for Aberdeen, John Row for Perth, Paul Methven for Jedburgh, William Christison for Dundee, David Ferguson for Dunfermline, and David Lindsay for Leith. To this scanty supply of ministers were added the following superintendents, whose charge was to extend over a whole district: John Spottiswood for Lothian, John Wynrame for Fife, John Willock for Glasgow and the west, the Laird of Dun for Angus and Mearns, and John Carsewell for Argyle and the Isles. These were the founders of the national reformation and fathers of the Church of Scotland, and as such their names continue to be of frequent occurrence in the public incidents of this period.

The great event of national expectation now to take place was the meeting of parliament, which was assembled on the 10th of July, and then adjourned to the 1st of August, on which day it was opened with more than usual solemnity. For many years its meetings had been suspended, while the interval had been filled with events of more than ordinary importance. And highest of all was the great question at issue respecting the national religion, which was now awaiting the legislative decision, and on the result of which such important consequences were dependent. Several of the lords both spiritual and temporal refused to attend; but still there was a greater resort of members than had usually been collected, and this was chiefly owing to the attendance of the lesser barons, among whom the Reformation had found its best supporters, and who were now eager to vindicate in the senate the cause which they had upheld in the field. On this occasion they had repaired to Edinburgh and obtained a recognition of their right to sit as members, by which about an hundred votes were added to the Protestant cause. Even at the commencement, however, a startling difficulty occurred; no representative of their sovereign was present, and no commission had arrived from the queen or her husband, and it was alleged that on these accounts the assembly was illegal. This objection, however, was answered by the fact that a stipulation in the treaty had provided for the difficulty; it was, that a parliament should be held in the month of August, and that the same should be as lawful in all respects as if it were ordained by their majesties themselves.[1] Notwithstanding the explicitness of this permission a whole week was spent in debate before it was decided that the parliament should continue its sittings. Maitland of Lethington was chosen speaker or "harangue-maker;" and in electing the Lords of the Articles little regard was paid to the prelacy, some who were chosen being merely laymen and known for their attachment to the Reformation. Still several of the most distinguished bishops, abbots, and priors occupied their places, although they took no share in the proceedings that followed. While the interests of Protestantism were thus secured in parliament the pulpit was not idle; and during the sittings John Knox was delivering a course of lectures on the prophecies of Haggai. "The doctrine," he says, "was proper for the time;" and when we find that the theme of the prophet was the building of the second temple, and that he reproved, exhorted, and encouraged his countrymen in the undertaking, we can easily perceive why the Scottish reformer on such a text was "special and vehement." Even already he was urging that the wealth which had hitherto belonged to the church should be considered as a sacred and public fund to be devoted to the maintenance of true religion, the establishment of a great system of national education, and the support of the poor. But much of this wealth had already been clutched by those strong-handed nobles who were least willing to refund, while the church lands and revenues that still remained untouched were marked out for confiscation and embezzlement. In the spirit with which his admonitions were received he must have felt that the hardest of the fight was still to come. "We must now forget ourselves and bear the barrow to build the house of God," said Maitland with a sneer at the preacher, and the taunt found too many to applaud it.

As this was the first meeting of a parliament favourable to the Reformation, a petition from the "barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and other true subjects of the realm professing the Lord Jesus" was presented at an early stage of the proceedings. The petitioners alluded to the demands they had made to the late queen-regent for the

[1] This stipulation forms the fourth article in the "Accord betwixt the French King and Queen of Scots and the Nobility of Scotland," and is as follows: "Concerning the petition relating to the assembling of the states, the lords deputies have agreed, consented, and appointed, that the states of the kingdom may assemble in order to hold a parliament on the tenth day of July, now running; and that on the said day the parliament shall be adjourned and continued according to custom from the said tenth day of July until the first day of August next: Provide that before the states shall enter upon any business all hostilities, both by English and Scottish men, be at an end, that so the votes of the meeting may be unconstrained, and none of them be overawed by soldiers or any other persons whatsoever. And during the interval of adjournment the lords deputies shall order a despatch to the king and queen to advertise them of this concession, and supplicate them most humbly that they would be pleased to agree to that which they have herein accorded. And this assembly shall be as valid in all respects as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of the king and queen: provided always that no matter whatsoever shall be treated of before the foresaid first day of August."

reformation of abuses in religion, and the disdain with which their petitions had been rejected. "Seeing that the same necessity yet remaineth that then moved us," they added, "and moreover, that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands such order as God thereby may be glorified, the commonwealth quieted, and the policy thereof established, we cannot cease to crave of your honours the redress of such enormities as manifestly are and of long time have been committed by the placeholders of the ministry and others of the clergy within this realm." Then followed a list of the enormities, which were classed under three several heads. The first concerned errors in doctrine, in which were particularized transubstantiation, justification by works, indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, and praying to departed saints; and they prayed that these errors might be condemned by the parliament and a punishment appointed for those who persisted in maintaining them. The second head referred to the abuses of ecclesiastical discipline in the administration of the sacraments and the notoriously corrupt lives of the clergy, and both for the one and the other they craved the parliament to find a remedy. The third and most unpalatable of all their demands had reference to the patrimony of the church, so long usurped by the popedom and alienated from its original purposes, "whereby the true ministry of the Word of God long time hath altogether been neglected, godly learning despised, the schools not provided, and the poor not only defrauded of their portion but also most tyrannously oppressed;" and of this also they desired a remedy. These accumulated charges against the clergy were sharp and bitter, but all and each of them the petitioners offered to make good by fast and conclusive proof. "And now," they said, "hath God beyond all expectation of man made yourselves, who sometime were suppliants with us for reformation, judges, as it were, in the cause of God; at least he hath subdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to suppress the verity, as heretofore they have done. We, therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, crave of your honours that either they may be compelled to answer to our former accusations, and unto such others as justly we have to lay to their charges, or else, that all affection laid aside, ye pronounce them such by censure of this parliament, and cause them to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused; especially that they may be decerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge, or cure within the church of God, and so from henceforth never to enjoy vote in parliament."

Such was the petition of the reformed party in Scotland, in which the errors of the church and the vices of the clergy were denounced with a severity of language which is startling to modern ears. But when it is remembered that as yet all parties and creeds were strangers to toleration, that the language itself was in accordance with the straightforward simplicity of the period, and that those who used it had long writhed under the evils of which they complained, the charges of uncharitableness so often brought against it are both frivolous and unreasonable. Neither the time nor the occasion was favourable to circumlocutions, and John Knox was no euphuist. The charges also they offered to substantiate in open trial, and abide by the issue. But the parliament was little willing to respond to their demand. To a reform of doctrine and discipline, indeed, they could not object; but when the question concerned the appropriation of the church lands and revenues there were too many hungry expectants opposed to its introduction. It was, perhaps, with a view of diverting attention from this subject that the applicants were required to draw up a Confession of Faith for the ratification of parliament; and this most difficult and most important of all undertakings was accomplished in four short days. But the subject had been too familiar to their minds either to require long research or doubtful deliberation; it had formed their inner life and daily theme for years, so that the task was more like a work of transcription than one of original study. What they had so long and so often preached it was not difficult for them to express, and their writing of four days was but an abstract of a lifelong meditation. As a summary of Christian doctrine it is so comprehensive and yet so clear and explicit that it may well invite comparison with the most elaborate creeds which the Reformation has produced.

On being finished the Confession of Faith was first read before the Lords of the Articles, and the prelates as well as their adherents of the laity were solemnly charged in the name of God to state their objections to the doctrines if they had any to offer. Several of the reformed clergy were also present and standing upon the floor in readiness to answer the objectors. But none appeared; the dignitaries of the church were silent. A day was appointed for public discussion in parliament, and at the time appointed the Confession was read before them article by article, and the opinion of every man required. Still the bishops were silent, while the votes of the three estates in favour of the Confession were all but unanimous. Even of the temporal lords only two at most dissented with the sluggish declaration, "We will believe as our

fathers believed." The silence of the prelates on such an occasion was sarcastically and justly rebuked in a speech of the Earl Marischal. "It is long," he said, "since I have had some favour to the truth and a suspicion of the papistical religion, but I praise my God this day has fully resolved me in the one and the other. For seeing that my lords bishops, who for their learning can, and for the zeal that they should bear to the verity would, as I suppose, oppose anything that directly oppugns to the truth of God —seeing, I say, my lords bishops here present speak nothing to the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. And yet more—I must note, as it were by way of protestation, that if any persons ecclesiastical shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, that they have no place nor credit, considering that they having so long advisement and full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found in lawful, free, and quiet parliament to oppose themselves to that which we profess." The venerable Lord Lindsay, who had contended for the Reformation at every step and suffered in all its reverses, expressed his joy that he had been spared in his old age to witness this happy consummation of the trial, and declared that, like aged Simeon, he was ready to say, "Nunc dimittis."

After the Confession had been ratified the parliament abolished the popish modes of celebrating the Lord's supper and administering the sacrament of baptism, by a formal act on the 24th of August. These sacraments, it was declared, notwithstanding the reformation already made, were still celebrated in the old idolatrous fashion by the clergy of the pope's church in quiet and secret places, "regarding thereby neither God nor his Word." It was therefore enacted that no person in any time coming should administer any of these sacraments secretly, or that they should be administered in any other way or by other persons than those which were recognized by the Reformation now established. Not only those who said mass but those who heard it or were present at it were to be punished by the magistrates of the district with confiscation of all their goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. Another act passed on the same day was the abolition of the jurisdiction of the pope. It was decreed that he should have no jurisdiction nor authority in the realm in all time coming; that no Scottish subject by suit or supplication should recognize his pretended rights under penalty of proscription, banishment, and deprivation of all right to hold honour, office, or dignity within the realm; and that all who aided, abetted, and maintained them in their trespass should be visited with the like penalties. Also, no bishop or prelate of the realm was to use any jurisdiction in time to come by the authority of the pope, under the pains aforesaid.[1] Besides these principal acts for the reformation of religion others were made disabling the Archbishop of St. Andrews and other prelates from granting leases of their church lands, and authorizing the landholders to seize upon their tenths and retain them in their own hands until the parliament should decide to whom the tenths should be paid. In accordance with an article in the treaty of peace by which all bishops, abbots, and other churchmen who had suffered in their persons or goods during the late changes were to have redress from the first parliament, a proclamation had twice been made to that effect; but as no churchman had lodged a complaint, the Lords of the Articles considered that the obligation had been fulfilled.[2]

The next important step in the Reformation was an ecclesiastical polity for the government of the church, and accordingly John Knox, Wynrame, sub-prior of St. Andrews, Spottiswood, and others who had drawn up the Confession, were commissioned by the parliament to compose a Book of Discipline. They complied; and their "book" on being finished was presented to the nobility, who lingered and demurred over its perusal. It required of them something more than an assent to abstract doctrines. A church to be established must be reverenced, obeyed, and endowed, while against these obvious requirements the pride and selfishness of the nobles were in fierce hostility. Hence the reception which the Book of Discipline encountered, in contrast to the unanimity that welcomed the Confession of Faith. The account which Knox has given us is most intelligible to every reformer whether in religion or politics. "Some approved it, and willed the same to have been set forth by law. Others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly advantage somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious to them. Everything that repugned to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockery 'devout imaginations.' The cause we have before declared: some were licentious; some had greedily gripped to the possessions of the kirk; and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat." He then describes a large class of the recusants by a homely but striking individual instance. "The chief great man that had pro-

[1] Knox, ii. 123. [2] Keith, p. 151.

fessed Christ Jesus and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline was the Lord Erskine; and no wonder, for besides that he has a very Jesebel to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the kirk had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he unjustly now possesses." Expressing his surprise at that which modern experience would contemplate as a natural consequence, the reformer naïvely adds:—"Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance hear the threatenings of God against thieves and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked; and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any things of that which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they who had the greatest rents of the church." As in the present state of matters, however, an absolute refusal would have been impolitic, the Book of Discipline was subscribed by a great part of the nobility, the majority of whom were afterwards distinguished by the fierceness with which they opposed, or the dexterity with which they eluded the church's demands for obedience, restitution, or sustentation. They subscribed the declaration that the book was good and conformable in all points to the Word of God, and promised to maintain its authority to the utmost of their power.

Among the last of the proceedings of this parliament was the selection of twenty-four members, from which seven were to be chosen by the queen and five by the three estates, to form a council of regency according to a condition of the late treaty. Where the majority of the parliament were of the reformed faith it was natural that the greater part of the twenty-four should be of the same persuasion. Still, however, the opposite party was not overlooked, and enough to form an influential opposition were elected from among the adherents of popery. The list of names consisted of the Duke of Chastelherault and the Earl of Arran; the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athole, Menteith, and Rothes; the Earl Marischal, Lord James, the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvie, St. John, and the Master of Maxwell; and the Lairds of Lundy, Pitarrow, Doun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrig, and Lethington. Until the commission of the king and queen had arrived from France, by which the regency should be appointed, it was decreed that six of the former council should sit permanently in Edinburgh for the administration of justice, and in the event of any great affair of public importance being introduced that not less than sixteen of the above-mentioned twenty-four should give their presence and assistance.

But one of the most important measures of this parliament before it was prorogued was to draw their union still closer with the Queen of England, so that they might be effectually defended against any ulterior measures which France might adopt against the liberties of Scotland and the establishment of the Reformation. The plan which they adopted, however, was little likely to succeed, for it was nothing less than the proposal of a marriage between the Earl of Arran and the Virgin Queen. As we have already seen, this young nobleman had from his earliest boyhood been the subject of such proposals, at one time on the part of Cardinal Beaton and at another of Henry VIII., so that his chances had vibrated alternately between the heiresses of the thrones of England and Scotland. Encouraged by such auspices the order of parliament for negotiating this union was signed not only by many of the nobility but also of the prelates, with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the uncle of Arran, at their head; and the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and young Maitland of Lethington, were commissioned to England as bearers of the proposal. It is needless further to follow out the history of this suit matrimonial; it was but one of many such episodes in the life of Queen Elizabeth, and like them also it terminated. Her majesty expressed her hearty good-will towards Scotland, declared her disinclination to marriage for the present, and wished the Earl of Arran, whom she esteemed as a "noble gentleman of great worthiness," to accept such marriage as might be made to him "for his own weal and surety." In conclusion she thanked the nobility of Scotland for their solicitude on her behalf, and advised them, as their best means of safety, to live in concord and amity among themselves.[1] In this manner the Scottish commissioners were answered and the subject dismissed. It has been thought that this proposal was coupled with the offer of an immediate cession of the crown of Scotland to Elizabeth on the event of the marriage, but of this there is no evidence. The parliament in which so many important affairs had been settled was dissolved on the 27th of August.

By an article of the late treaty the nobility of Scotland had engaged that persons of sufficient rank should be sent to France to represent the state of affairs to the king and queen, and obtain their ratification of the resolutions passed in parliament. Accordingly, at the close of its sittings Sir James Sandilands of Calder was

[1] Keith, p. 154.

sent with the report of its proceedings. His years, wisdom, and reputation, the high rank he held as grand-master of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem within Scotland, and his alliance with the Congregation recommended him to the general choice as the fittest ambassador and representative of this earliest of Protestant parliaments. But the priestly nature of his office and his abandonment of the church with which it was connected were little likely to recommend him to such a Popish court as that of France. And even more obnoxious still was the message he carried; for it was to announce these parliamentary proceedings as the voice of the nation at large, and therefore valid and binding, independently of the sanctions of royalty. No gentle answer was to be expected from the king and queen, more especially as the Guises were still all-prevalent at the court of France. Accordingly these princes sharply rebuked Sir James that he, a commander of a holy military order, should be a bearer of the messages of rebels in favour of an accursed heresy which the Council of Trent had condemned. As for the queen, who was wholly under the guidance of her uncles, she refused to recognize the validity or confirm the acts of this parliament, by which the religion of the realm had been subverted, the old tie with France dissolved, and a new political alliance established between her kingdom of Scotland and heretical England. But conscious of the necessity of their proceedings, without which all their past struggles would have been useless and the late treaty itself a nullity, and confident in the voice and strength of the nation by which their enactments had been suggested and confirmed, the parliament and the Scottish Protestants at large were not to be dismayed by her refusal. This refusal, indeed, they had probably anticipated when they sent a knight-hospitaller as their messenger.

The altercation which the queen and the Guises would not condescend to carry on with Sir James Sandilands was maintained at greater length with Throckmorton, the English ambassador, to whom the Cardinal of Lorraine explained the reasons of their aversion to the treaty. The King and Queen of Scotland had nothing but the empty name of sovereignty, while Elizabeth, his mistress, enjoyed the reality. Let her then either make the Scots good subjects or cease to countenance and protect them. They had made a league with the English queen without the consent of their own sovereign; and what kind of dealing was this on the part of subjects? Similar to these were the objections of Mary Stuart herself, who, in an interview with Throckmorton, already began to show that political finessing which was afterwards found so ill matched with the solid wisdom and political sagacity of her opponents. She could not comprehend why her subjects in Scotland should dare to assemble without her authority or enact laws without her sanction. "I will have them assemble by my authority," she said, "and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of and keep none of them." Continuing her strain of indignation she added, "They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the king and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress: I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." This allusion to great personages referred to the ambassadors who had been sent to negotiate a matrimonial union between the Earl of Arran and the English queen. Throckmorton replied, that as great prior of the Hospitallers of Scotland the rank of Sandilands was equal to that of any Scottish earl, and that if she consented to the treaty the Scottish parliament meant to send to her a still greater legation. "Then the king and I," she said, "must begin with them." In like manner she eluded every direct proposal of ratification, and the able English statesman gained nothing, except such a knowledge of her character as his court might afterwards turn to a profitable account.

The refusal of Mary to ratify the treaty and recognize the convention of the three estates as a lawful parliament was a subject of triumph to the Popish party in Scotland. They expected that a new army would be sent from France at the ensuing spring, and in this hope the leaders of the French faction began to make preparations to assist the invaders by collecting troops and shipping, and sending emissaries through the country to prepare their adherents for a fresh trial. The Protestants were alarmed at these proceedings, more especially as they feared that Elizabeth, who had complained of the heavy expenses of the former expedition, would not now be so ready in sending an army to their assistance. Their chief encouragement was from their preachers, who assured them that the good work of the Reformation now in hand would be perfected, and exhorted them in God's name to go on, as the cause was not theirs but his own. While matters were in this uncertain state an event occurred which took all parties by surprise and gave a new direction to the current; this was the death of Francis II., the husband of the Queen of Scots, who died on the 4th of December in the seventeenth year of his age. His death was sudden and unexpected, being occasioned by the bursting of an imposthume in his

right ear. Even from the imbecility of his character his reign was important, as the Guises under his name, and with his sanction, had prosecuted their favourite aim of overthrowing the Reformation and restoring the Catholic faith in all its splendour and authority. For this purpose they had carried on a merciless prosecution of the French Protestants, and were planning a still wider and more effectual destruction, when their career was suddenly arrested by the demise of their compliant sovereign.

To Scotland this event was of high national importance. It loosened the tie that bound it to France, and which was felt as a union of bondage. It gave its Protestantism free scope of action, unchecked by French interference except in the form of hostile and foreign antagonism. And it would restore to them their young sovereign, to rule them in person instead of issuing her orders from an alien throne. While the Romish party were dismayed by the tidings the Scottish Protestants hoped that she might be accessible to the arguments of their preachers and won over to their cause. A convention of the nobles was held at Edinburgh on the 15th of January (1561), and Lord James was commissioned to repair to France and persuade Mary to return to her own people. This duty he willingly undertook, notwithstanding the hostility which the princes of Lorraine entertained against him, as he had been already assured of the favour of the young queen, who had promised him the highest promotion in the church or the state according to his own choice of occupation. Before he set out upon his mission he was forewarned of the dangers to which he might be exposed in France from the Guises and their adherents, but more especially of the risk he might encounter from the young queen's blandishments; and he was told that if he yielded so far as to allow her the indulgence of the mass in Scotland, either publicly or privately, he would betray the cause of God and expose the Reformation to the utmost of all perils. He replied that as to her having mass in public he never would consent; "but," he added, "if she will have it secretly in her own chamber how can this be prevented?"[1] This was a stretch of toleration not yet generally understood, and for which the reformed party were not prepared. They contented themselves for the present with reiterating their advice, and he departed, taking London in his way. The English council entertained the same misgivings about his journey which had been held by the reformed in Scotland; on the one hand, they feared that the unscrupulous Guises might remove him by assassination, while his fidelity on the other might be tempted by the offer of a cardinal's hat, which had already been contemplated as the price of his apostasy.[2] But the devotedness of Lord James to the cause of religion and the best interests of his country made him indifferent alike to bribes and threatenings; and his short stay at the English court was spent in assuring Elizabeth and her ministers of his fidelity to Protestantism and providing for the dangers with which the Reformation was threatened in both countries alike. To seat a devoted adherent of the pope and a niece and agent of the Guises upon the throne of Scotland, if contemplated as an inevitable duty, was also dreaded as a most perilous experiment. After a short stay in England Lord James passed over to France, and on the 15th of April arrived at the town of Diziers, where the Scottish queen resided.

While the reformers of Scotland had been thus active in inviting their young sovereign the Popish party had been equally alert, and on the death of Francis II. they held a secret convention of their own at the head of which were the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross, and the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Crawford, and Sutherland. For their envoy they chose John Lesley, official of Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, whom they commissioned to acquaint the queen with the state of parties in Scotland and convey to her their offers of homage and assistance. But the chief object of his mission was to prepossess Mary against Lord James and the alliance of her subjects with those of England. He arrived only a single day before the other, and had the first audience of the queen, whom he besought to be on her guard against the crafty speeches of her brother. Lord James, he said, would probably advise her to bring no French troops with her into Scotland, but with the sinister purpose that she might be wholly dependent upon himself and his party, and that all affairs might be under his own management. This influence he would use to crush the old religion, and that, not because he cared for the new, but that he might the more effectually place the crown of Scotland upon his own head. He therefore entreated her either to cause the Lord James to be detained in France until she had arrived in Scotland, and there settled her affairs, or to land in some port in the north of Scotland, especially at Aberdeen, where her friends would join her with an army 20,000 strong, with whom she might march to Edinburgh and defeat all

[1] Knox, ii. p. 142.

[2] Letter of Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth in French correspondence; MS. in State Paper Office.

the projects of her enemies.[1] To these proposals, which were both dishonest and dangerous, the queen answered in general terms, bidding Lesley assure the prelates and noblemen of her intention to return home, but without expressing her approbation of their counsel, which would have brought her into Scotland as an invader. Her repugnance to these violent counsels threw her more completely upon her brother, in whom she appears to have placed unreserved confidence, and to whom she promised the earldom of Moray, with the chief direction of public affairs. Having concerted with him the means of her return to Scotland and intrusted him with the government of the country till her arrival (a commission, however, which she almost immediately after revoked), Lord James took his departure. His conduct in the discharge of the duties of this mission has been misrepresented by a class of writers whose ingenuity has equalled their malignity. His desire to protect the country alike from the spiritual thraldom of Rome and the political dominion of France, and his convictions of the absolute necessity of a close alliance with England against these common enemies under whom both kingdoms might otherwise have been forced to succumb, have been branded as venal, selfish, and treacherous. They can see no sympathy in his intercourse with his sister and sovereign; no sincerity in his zeal for the Protestant interests; no truth in his professions of devotedness to the national independence and resolutions to maintain it at whatever hazard; and, interpreted by their perverse standard, his communications to the English ambassador at Paris have been represented as the revelations of a traitor and his correspondence with Elizabeth as the mean subserviency of a hireling. And the state papers of the period have been industriously searched in support of these allegations, and extracts perverted into evidences of his guilt. But the cloud which has hung for three centuries over this darkened portion of our history is gradually dispersing, and the characters that loomed whether too brightly or obscurely through such a medium are assuming their proper character and bearing. John Knox is no longer seen as the semi-illiterate bigot whom the schoolmen of a former day united to vilify, nor Mary as the guileless and guiltless sufferer whom they were equally earnest to applaud. The time is at hand when the character and deeds of the Earl of Moray will also meet with a similar appreciation, and his heroic disinterestedness be acknowledged and commemorated.

On his way home Lord James visited the English court and had several conferences with Elizabeth. This step was probably occasioned by the conduct of Mary, who had recalled his commission of interim governor of Scotland and fixed an earlier day for her return than he had expected. It was evident from these circumstances that his sovereign had already lost her confidence in him and was directed by foreign influence. He arrived in Scotland in May, where he found a French ambassador, De Noailles, who had come during his absence with certain demands and was waiting for an answer. These demands were that the alliance betwixt Scotland and England should be broken, that the league between Scotland and France should be renewed, and that the bishops and churchmen should be restored to their former charges and allowed to draw their revenues.[2] The answer was delayed till the meeting of parliament in May, and before it assembled Lord James arrived bringing letters from the queen to the lords, recommending them to live in peace, and make no change in the treaty of Edinburgh or innovation in the state of religion now established until her arrival. In conformity with this direction the ambassador received a decided negative to each of his demands. He was told that France had not deserved a renewal of the league after the persecution it had inflicted upon the country under the pretext of amity and marriage; and that they could not break their alliance with England, by which they had been freed from the tyranny of France, or at least of the Guises and their faction. To the last demand, that the prelates and churchmen should be replaced, they answered that they knew them neither as pastors of the church nor yet the lawful owners of its patrimony, but as "wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle-bellies;" and therefore, "as Scotland had forsaken the pope and papistry, so could they not be debtors to his former vassals." Having thus answered the ambassador's demand, the work of reformation connected with the demolition of religious buildings was resumed; and on this occasion it was an act not of sudden popular outbreak but of deliberate, organized destruction sanctioned by an enactment of the privy-council for the destruction of "all places and monuments of idolatry." The process in the west was superintended by the Earls of Arran, Glencairn, and Argyle, and its commencement was with the monastery of Paisley, which was entirely destroyed by fire except the nave of the church and its aisles; while the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the administrator of the abbey, narrowly escaped being involved

[1] Lesley "*De rebus gestis Scotorum*," &c.

[2] Knox, ii. 156.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS BIDS ADIEU TO FRANCE.

At a convention of the Scottish nobles held at Edinburgh on the 15th January, 1561, it was agreed to ask their young Queen, Mary Stuart, to repair to her own country from France. Her husband, Francis II., had just died, and the youthful widow and sovereign was loath to trust herself to what she considered the lawless insecurity of her own barbarous country, after having reigned supreme in the most splendid court of Europe. Still, she obeyed the summons, and embarked at Calais in the summer of 1562, attended by several French nobles. As the ship left the coast before a favouring wind, the sad Queen sent a wistful gaze across the waters, and at last, when the land faded out of sight, her parting words were: "Farewell, France, beloved France, I shall never see thee more!"

ED. HAMMAN. 17

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS BIDS ADIEU TO FRANCE.

"FAREWELL FRANCE, BELOVED FRANCE, I SHALL NEVER SEE THEE MORE." (A.D. 1561.)

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in its fate. The monastery of Failford, in the parish of Tarbolton, Ayrshire, was so utterly destroyed that only a few fragments of its ruins remain; and in the same county the abbeys of Kilwinning and Crossraguel, although more leniently treated, were yet so effectually dismantled as to be no longer fitted for their original purposes.[1] While these operations were going on in the west a similar process under Lord James was extended over the north, to the great dislike of the Earl of Huntly, who ruled as a king over his extensive districts, which were now invaded, and who, though he had joined the reformers, was still at heart a Papist, and full of hope that the old religion would be restored on the arrival of the queen. However we may regret this rough process of demolition, we must remember that it only anticipated by a few years the inevitable work of time. These monasteries were already without the means of support and would soon have been without inmates, and unless Popery had been replaced in its old power and grandeur neither antiquarian zeal nor the funds of the impoverished kingdom would have arrested the effect of the elements upon the crumbling roofs and decaying walls. It was better, too, that these buildings, which were the strongholds and surest defences of Popery, should no longer remain to animate the hopes of the defeated and serve as rallying points for a fresh resistance. By their destruction the power of the ambitious priesthood was broken, and instead of contending for the superiority all they could now do was to struggle for toleration and sufferance. By this summary process the war of the Reformation was so completely ended that even the arrival of a Popish sovereign would be insufficient to revive it.

In the meantime that expected arrival was delayed by several circumstances. Mary, the queen of the most splendid court of Europe, must have remembered the contrast of her native home, its barbarism, its poverty, and wild lawless insecurity. She was also aware that her religion was proscribed by her subjects not only as heresy but treason, and that the performance of its most essential rite was punishable with death. But even more influential, perhaps, than these obstacles was the circumstance that she, a young, beautiful widow and sovereign, was now the great prize of competition for the unmarried kings of Europe. Those of Denmark and Sweden and the Prince of Spain were suitors for her hand; and while each endeavoured to outbid the other in his proffers her woman's vanity must have been gratified by the recollection that these potentates had been the suitors of her rival, Elizabeth, and that their homage, or at least a show of it, she was still desirous to retain. In returning to Scotland, also, it would be necessary that Mary should obtain a safe-conduct from Elizabeth; but whether this might be granted, or if granted, faithfully observed, was also matter of question. This was soon placed beyond doubt by the conduct of the English queen, who on application not only sharply refused to grant a passport but ordered some ships of war to be prepared for sea, under the pretext of clearing it of pirates. Indignant at this refusal, Mary resolved to brave the hazard. On the day of her leaving Paris (21st of July) she thus addressed Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the court of France:—"If my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the queen your mistress' unkindness might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable as I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end she may then do her pleasure and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live: in this matter God's will be fulfilled!"[2]

After these mournfully prophetic words, which were doomed to be realized at a later period of her life, Mary, attended by the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prior, general of the French galleys, and several French nobles, proceeded to Calais and embarked with a fair wind on the 14th of August. Her wistful gaze was fixed on France as long as the coast was visible; and when night arrived she caused her couch to be spread upon the deck, that she might see the land at sunrise if it still continued visible. At last when it faded away her parting exclamation was, "Farewell France, beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" The English cruisers happened to cross her track, but she escaped them in a fog, although they captured one of her ships, in which was the Earl of Eglinton, but afterwards let it pass as if the interruption had been a mistake. What they might have done had the queen been on board is a subject on which we may entertain grave suspicion. On the 19th her fleet anchored in the port of Leith, while crowds of her subjects stood on shore to welcome her arrival.

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 166–168.

[2] Keith, p. 176.

CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY (1561–1563).

Landing of Mary at Leith—Her reception by the citizens of Edinburgh—Her first mass in Holyrood—It is interrupted by the Protestants—Her right to have private mass recognized—Her ingratiating reception of the nobles—Sermon of Knox against the toleration of her mass—He is summoned before the queen—Her charges against him and his answers—His refutation of passive obedience and non-resistance—His statement of occasions in which subjects might resist their sovereigns—The queen's astonishment at these doctrines—Her determination to protect and cherish the Church of Rome—Knox's opinion of the queen's character—Mary's public entrance into Edinburgh—Pageants on the occasion—Mary impairs her popularity by her zeal for the mass—Elizabeth's jealousy of Mary—Interchange of messages between the queens—Their mutual demands of each other—These demands left unsettled—Mary's concessions to the Protestants negatived by her open adherence to Popery—Lord James suppresses the criminals on the Borders—The third General Assembly held—Selfishness of the nobles of the Reformation—The right of the church to hold General Assemblies questioned—The royal ratification of the Book of Discipline withheld—Demand for the regular support of the clergy—The scanty and precarious revenue assigned to them—Complaints of Knox on the injustice of this proceeding—Causes of the parsimony—Lord James created Earl of Moray—Overtures for a personal interview between Mary and Elizabeth—Insincere character of the proposal—Arrangements made for the interview—The purpose abandoned—Strange conduct of the Earl of Arran—His inconsistent revelations of a conspiracy against the queen—He becomes insane—The Earl of Moray again suppresses the lawless Borderers—Mary makes a journey to the north—Treasonable designs of the Earl of Huntly—He raises troops against the queen—His defeat and death at Corrichie—Punishments inflicted on his family—Knox's warning to the Scottish nobles from the fate of the Earl of Huntly.

The arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland, although she returned as a sovereign, was scarcely with better auspices than those which had signalized her departure as a fugitive. The day was one of remarkable gloom even for that dark and stormy climate; a fog so thick obscured the shore that the houses of Leith were scarcely visible from the ships; while the suddenness of her arrival, which was not expected until several days later, prevented that concourse of the nobility from the country who otherwise would have been in waiting to welcome her return. Even the palace of Holyrood, which was not as yet prepared for her reception, had to be hastily put in order while the queen was detained several hours at Leith by the dark and inclement weather. These circumstances, so trivial in themselves, were afterwards well remembered among the other bodements with which the reign of Queen Mary was so rife. There was no lack of cordiality, however, to make amends for these deficiencies. As soon as her arrival was signalized by the cannon of the French galleys all persons without distinction of parties hurried to the shore; the queen was received with royal honours by the Earl of Argyle, Lord James, Lord Erskine, and the citizens of Edinburgh; and when she repaired to her capital in the evening the streets of the city and the tops of the neighbouring hills were lighted with bonfires, which were kept blazing the whole night. A party of the citizens also, to the number of five or six hundred, with rebecs, viols, and singing, serenaded under her window with a concert which she applauded so highly as to desire that it should be continued some nights after. It was the best welcome which, under such circumstances, the country could afford; and Mary, whose early recollections of Scotland must have returned with all their vividness, could understand its sincerity and worth.[1] But it was not so with her French attendants, whose standard of royal grandeur was the Louvre; and Brantome, the French court historian, who was one of these foreign visitors, was shocked at the ragged, diminutive Scottish ponies which were prepared to carry the royal train to Edinburgh, and the northern melodies with which the queen was greeted on her return to her paternal dwelling.

Three days only had elapsed when the Frenchmen were to behold something more startling than anything they had ever witnessed near their own court. The 23d of August was Sunday, but would the queen on that day have the hardihood to set up the mass in the chapel of Holyrood? Or if she did, would it be right, and lawful, and safe for her Protestant subjects to permit it? Their answer was a determined negative, and they repaired to the palace to stop the preparations which had already commenced. The foremost of these remonstrants was the Master of Lindsay, afterwards Lord Lindsay of the Byres, one of the

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 267–270.

fiercest and stoutest soldiers of the Reformation, who, at the head of the Fifeshire men of the Congregation, thronged the court before the palace and raised the wild outcry, "The idolatrous priest ought to die the death!" An affray would have followed and blood been shed had not Lord James stood at the door of the chapel, ostensibly to prevent the entrance of any Scotsman to these forbidden rites, but in reality to protect those within from an invasion of the crowd; and after mass was over the trembling priest was committed to the care of the priors of Coldingham and Holyrood, both of them at that time adherents of the Congregation, who conveyed him safely to his lodging. Although the crowd dispersed when the ceremony was ended they returned again in the afternoon with unabated zeal, and to announce in plain terms that they would not suffer the land, so lately purged from idolatry, to be again polluted with its presence. On the other hand the queen's three uncles, the Duke D'Aumale, the grand prior, and the Marquis D'Elbœuf, the French nobles who had escorted her to Scotland, and the foreign servants of the queen, declared that if they were deprived of the rites of their religion they would return to France without further delay. These declarations and the remonstrances with which they were seconded abated the popular resentment, and two days after a royal proclamation was issued by which tranquillity was restored. It charged the lieges to avoid all commotion until a meeting of the three estates should be assembled, with whose proceedings, it was hoped, all should be contented; and in the meantime that none should attempt any alteration or innovation upon the state of religion in the land such as her majesty found it at her arrival, under pain of death. On the other hand none were to molest any of the queen's servants, or any persons whatever who had arrived from France with her, either within or without the palace, under the same penalty.[1]

In the meantime the concourse of the nobility to the capital to welcome their sovereign had commenced; and it was soon perceived that those lords of the Congregation who had first waited upon the queen began to cool in their religious ardour. The charms of Mary, her winning and ingratiating language, and above all her equivocal declarations upon the rights of conscience and the injustice of compulsion and persecution in matters of religion—declarations which the reformers interpreted in their own favour—induced them to tolerate her mass for the present, in the hope that she might be afterwards won from it to their cause; and they thought that if she could be but persuaded to hear their preachers, the power of truth would prevail. To one of the last of those who had most recently come under the shadow of the royal presence the following sarcastic address was uttered by Campbell of Kinyeancleugh: "I perceive, my lord, that the fire-edge is not yet off you. But I fear you will become as calm as the rest when the holy water of the court is sprinkled upon you. For I have been here now five days. At first I heard every man, when he came, say, 'Let us hang the priest!' but after they had been twice or thrice in the abbey all their fervency was cooled. I think there be some enchantment in the court, whereby men are bewitched." A still keener observer of these relenting tendencies was John Knox, who distrusted the professions of the queen and recognized in this court-mass the most dangerous of all allurements to apostasy. He resolved to oppose it from his strong vantage-ground, the pulpit; and accordingly on the following Sabbath he thundered a terrible sermon against idolatry and described the woes and judgments which had fallen upon those nations that had partaken in its guilt. And taking notice of the general apology that only one mass, and that, too in the palace and on the queen's behalf, was tolerated for the present, he uttered a memorable sentence which long after rung in the ears of Scotchmen, and the echoes of which have not yet died away. "One mass," he exclaimed, "is more fearful to me than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm of purpose to suppress the whole religion. For in our God," he added, "there is strength to resist and confound multitudes if we unfeignedly depend upon him, whereof heretofore we have had experience; but when we join hands with idolatry there is no doubt but that both God's amicable presence and comfortable defence leaveth us, and what shall then become of us? Alas! I fear that experience shall teach us to the great grief of many."

It was in allusion to this tremendous power of the pulpit, and him who occupied it, that Sir Thomas Randolph, writing at this time to Cecil, says, "I assure you the voice of one man is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets blustering in our ears." A similar apprehension seems to have been entertained by the queen and her advisers. But might not this voice be silenced or softened by the same conciliatory blandishments which Mary had used so effectually with the nobles? The experiment was worth a trial, and the reformer was invited to Holyrood. On coming before the royal presence Knox found no one with the queen except the Lord James, his assured friend

[1] Knox, ii. p. 271.

as well as her majesty's principal counsellor, and two ladies of her attendance, who stood at the farther end of the apartment. The queen commenced sharply with a charge of his offences as if to make her subsequent clemency the better felt. He had raised rebellion, she said, against her mother's authority and her own; he had written a book against her right to rule; and he had occasioned great sedition and slaughter in England while he resided there. To these accusations he answered briefly and distinctly. To the charge of having stirred up rebellion in Scotland he said, "If to teach the truth of God in sincerity; if to rebuke idolatry, and to will a people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subjects against their princes, then can I not be excused; for it has pleased God of his mercy to make me one amongst many to disclose unto this realm the vanity of the papistical religion and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that Roman antichrist. But, madam, if the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping be the chief causes that must move men from their heart to obey their just princes—as it is most certain that they are—wherein can I be reprehended?" Of his book, the *Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, he acknowledged himself the author. The theory he had advanced was an opinion of his own, which he had given forth to the world, and until it was refuted he must continue to entertain it. This, however, he only did in common with the learned men of every age who had resigned themselves to necessity and lived quietly amidst that community, the faults of which they found themselves unable to remove. Thus Plato had acted, although he wrote the *Commonwealth*, in which the existing governments were in so many cases condemned. The charge of having occasioned sedition and bloodshed in England he easily refuted by the fact, that neither in Berwick, Newcastle, nor London had there been battle, sedition, or mutiny while he resided there.

The queen then returned to the principal ground of his offence, and with one of the chief anti-reformation arguments of the day. "But yet," said she, "you have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow; and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commands subjects to obey their princes?" The reformer was now in his true element. "Madam," he replied, "as right religion took neither origin nor authority from worldly princes, but from the eternal God alone, so are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetites of their princes." What would have become of the true religion, he asked, if all the Israelites in Egypt had been of the creed of their king Pharaoh, or if the men of the apostolic period had followed that of the Roman emperors? He instanced also the particular cases of Daniel and of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who, though the subjects of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, refused to worship their gods, notwithstanding the royal command and the threats of martyrdom for its infringement. "Yea," said the queen sharply, "but none of these men raised the sword against their princes." "Yet, madam, you cannot deny," replied Knox, "that they resisted: for those that obey not the commandments that are given in some sort resist." "But yet," said the queen, "they resisted not by the sword." "God, madam, had not given them the power," was the answer. The argument was thus driven to the edge of peril, and Mary's question was quick and emphatic: "Think you that subjects having power may resist their princes?" Knox was now to announce a new revelation in politics that sounded strangely to royal ears, and which even the victims of despotism whom it was to emancipate could not as yet comprehend. "If their princes, madam, exceed their bounds," said this terrible propounder of the new gospel of liberty, "and do against that for which they should be obeyed, it is no doubt that they may be resisted even by power. For there is neither greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to kings or princes than God has commanded to be given unto father and mother. But so it is, madam, that the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in the which he would slay his own children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapons from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison till his frenzy be overpast, think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong? Or think ye, madam, that God will be offended with them that have stayed their father to commit wickedness? It is even so, madam, with princes who would murder the children of God that are subject to them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and therefore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison till they are brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agrees with the will of God."

The queen was silent, thunderstruck: were these the principles to be confronted, and the men she must overcome before the favourite scheme of her uncles could be realized? In these words she heard the tolling of the death-bell that was to usher her to the scaffold of Fotheringay, and her grandson to the scaffold at Whitehall; and although she could not guess

as yet their full meaning, their sounds were of fearful significance. Her countenance was changed, and her silence lasted more than a quarter of an hour, so that she was only roused by the question of Lord James, "What has offended you, madam?" Still not recovered from her amazement she exclaimed to her stern monitor, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me—that they shall do what they list, and not what I command—and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me!" "God forbid," cried Knox, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleaseth them! But my travail is, that both princes and subjects obey God." He then proceeded to unfold to her wherein the real strength and authority of princes lay. "Think not, madam, that wrong is done to you when you are willed to be subject to God; for it is he that subjects people under princes and causes obedience to be given to them; yea, God craves of kings that they be as it were foster-fathers to his church, and commands queens to be nurses to his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God, and unto his troubled church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory." Recovered but not convinced, the queen replied, "Yea, but ye are not the kirk that I will nourish. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for I think it is the true kirk of God." The reformer indignantly answered, "Your will, madam, is no reason; neither does your thought make that Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ." The queen appealed to the contrary testimony of her own conscience upon the subject, to her reading, and to the instructions of her spiritual teachers; but finding in the course of this strange disputation of her own seeking that Knox was too hard for her, she expressed her wish that those learned men were present, by whom he would be sufficiently answered. This, he truly told her, was an opportunity for which he had longed, which he had often publicly invited, but never found, and he expressed his wish that the most learned Papist of Europe, and one in whom she had greatest confidence, were brought before him for a trial of the controversy, with herself to be present as judge. She told him pettishly that he might get that opportunity sooner than he believed. "Assuredly," he replied, "if ever I get that in my lifetime I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papists cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papists will never come in your audience to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know that they are never able to sustain any argument, except fire and sword, and their own laws be judge." Throughout the whole of this debate the queen showed wonderful talent and dexterity, and might have had the better of the argument against a more unpractised debater, or one less acquainted with the subject. Knox, however, not only penetrated her sophistry, but detested the character that inspired it, and saw abundant cause for alarm and apprehension. At the close of this interview he said to her at his departure, "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was within the commonwealth of Israel." The most extravagant hopes had been founded by the Protestants upon this interview of Mary with the eloquent expounder of their creed: they assured themselves that at least she would listen to his preaching, and thus lay herself open to conviction. But their hopes were overthrown by his reply to their first question, what he thought of the queen? "If there be not in her," he said, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an obdurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me." She had also announced her fixed resolution to maintain the cause of Rome notwithstanding the Reformation of religion which had already been established in her kingdom, and by what kind of arguments that cause would be maintained it was not difficult to surmise.[1]

On the 1st of September the Duke D'Aumale, the queen's uncle, returned to France with the French galleys, and on the following day Mary made her public and formal entry into the city of Edinburgh. She first proceeded to the castle, and after having dined at twelve o'clock she descended with her train from the Castle Hill into the town, where every preparation had been made to regale her with a splendid welcome. Amidst the thunder of the castle artillery on her departure she was met on the Castle Hill by a troop of fifty young gentlemen dressed, painted, and visarded in the fashion of Moors, to whom succeeded sixteen of "the most honest men of the town" habited in velvet gowns and bonnets, who took their stations within the moving canopy under which she rode. There were not wanting the due amount of triumphal arches, scaffolds, masqueraders, dragons, and allegorical devices; and wherever the queen moved there were pageants to allure her eye, and shouting crowds to welcome her coming, while at the Cross the fountains ran with wine, and the emptied glasses were thrown into the air. Even religion itself was thrust into this strange medley, as it would have been done at

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 277–287.

a royal entrance in any city of Europe, and the queen was obliged to endure the occasional singing of Psalms from children drawn in a chariot, and a speech from one of their number recommending the suppression of the mass. But the most offensive part of the exhibition was at the Butter Tron, when the queen with her train and the nobles had arrived at it. A wooden arch rose before them painted of various colours, at which were certain children singing "in the most heavenly wise;" and as the queen passed under it the roof, which was painted like a cloud, opened; a child habited like an angel descended from it and presented to her the keys of the town, with a Bible and Psalm-book covered with fine purple velvet. Knox tells us that when she received the Bible she frowned and handed it to Arthur Erskine, the captain of her guard, "the most pestilent Papist within the realm." This was enough to abate the value of the rich city "propine," consisting of a cupboard of silver worth two thousand merks. If we are also to believe the testimony of Sir Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, exhibitions still more offensive were in readiness, and were only withheld by the authority of the Earl of Huntly: these were certain pageants representing the horrible judgments of God upon idolatry, and the destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, while a priest was to be burnt (in effigy be it marked) in a parody upon the elevation of the host. These exhibitions, so revolting to right religious feeling as well as an unsophisticated taste, were odious to Knox, who has branded them as the attempts of fools to counterfeit the fashions of France.[1] As an offset to this popular exhibition of the reforming principles of Edinburgh, the queen made a royal progress on the 11th of the same month to Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews, receiving everywhere a welcome reception, but impairing everywhere her popularity by carrying with her the private observance of the mass, which was regarded in these towns as a visitation of the pestilence. By this obstinacy or intemperate zeal, which announced her resolute attachment to the ancient creed, she put the Protestants more effectually on their guard and confirmed them in their hostility. On the 29th she returned to Holyrood.

Besides the Protestants there was another formidable enemy whom Mary had reason to fear. This was the Queen of England, who dreaded her cousin both as a sovereign and as a woman. Elizabeth well knew that a revolution might at any time dethrone her and exalt Mary in her place. She was equally aware that in reputation for personal beauty, a matter as important with Elizabeth as political revolutions, the claims of Mary greatly transcended her own. Had a national war been as easily managed as a tilt between two knights-errant these differences might have quickly ripened into a military debate between the two kingdoms; but there were interests at stake with both parties that compelled a show of amity between these contending Queens of Beauty. Mary, therefore, notwithstanding the alleged attempts of her rival to intercept her at sea, had soon after her arrival in Scotland sent Maitland as her ambassador to Elizabeth with many assurances of friendship, and a present of jewels, among which was a diamond cut in the shape of a heart, in token of her sincere affection; and Elizabeth had sent Sir Thomas Randolph to Mary to congratulate her on her safe arrival in Scotland, and charged with similar gifts and protestations. But Maitland had a harder task to discharge than a mere delivery of royal compliments. Mary still continued to withhold the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, an essential article of which was that she should desist to bear the arms and use the titles of the kingdom of England; and these were now the chief demand presented to the Scottish ambassador. The claims of Mary to the English throne, next to those of Elizabeth, were indefeasible; but the Queen of England too well knew how much she would impair her own authority and strengthen the cause of Popery by recognizing Mary as her successor. She seems also to have been uncertain whether she might not marry and have children of her own to succeed her; for while her vows were often repeated that she would die a virgin queen, the encouragements which she held out to a succession of suitors gave the lie to her protestations. Such a contingency had been contemplated even by Lord James, and he had but a short time before ventured to suggest a solution of the difficulty in a letter to Elizabeth herself. "What inconvenience were it," he asks, "if your majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as the issue of your body, to provide that to the queen my sovereign her own place were reserved in the succession to the crown of England, which your majesty will pardon me if I take to be next by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather, and in the meantime this isle to be united in a perpetual friendship?"[2] But even this modified concession was too much for

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, pp. 67, 68; Raumer's *Contributions from British Museum*, &c., pp. 11, 12; Knox's *History* (Wod. ed.), ii. pp. 287, 288.

[2] State Paper Office—Letter of Lord James to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, August 6, 1561.

Elizabeth, who would no more tolerate a shadow of succession behind her throne than a shade in the limning of her portrait. This Maitland was compelled to perceive in his audience with the English queen. To the demand that his mistress should ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh he required that commissioners might be appointed to review it. He proposed also that the Queen of Scotland should not use the titles or arms of England while Elizabeth or any issue from her was alive; but at the same time that Elizabeth should bind herself and her posterity to do nothing in prejudice of Mary's succession to the crown of England. Elizabeth was indignant at a proposal which she would not have tolerated from the most favoured of her own subjects. She insisted that Mary should ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh previous to all other considerations, and declared that it was an unprecedented act for a sovereign to declare his or her successor during their own lifetime. Maitland alluded, and well he might, to the injuries formerly done to the royal family succession in Scotland by the kings and parliaments of England, on account of which his precautions in behalf of the rights of his mistress were both just and necessary. As for the ratification of the treaty, he represented that his sovereign was still inexperienced in the affairs of her kingdom, and that she had not yet chosen a privy-council whom she might consult in the management of public affairs. Thus matters remained for the present. Nothing was settled, nothing conceded, and the subjects of grievance between the two queens were left as open as before.

Mary was now beginning to experience the difficulties of her position as the sovereign of a kingdom divided between two antagonistic creeds; and while a neutral course would have offended both parties, her attempts to favour each alternately conciliated neither. She adopted for her chief advisers the Lord James and Maitland of Lethington, and appointed a council of twelve members, of whom seven were reformers, at which preference the Catholic peers and bishops were indignant; but on the other hand she alarmed the Protestants by displacing the newly-elected provost and magistrates of Edinburgh and appointing others by her own authority. The cause of the deposition was a proclamation made by the first board of these magistrates at their election charging all adulterers, fornicators, and drunkards to depart from the town. This, indeed, was the "ancient and laudable custom;" but to these evil-doers had of late been added all mass-mongers and obstinate Papists that corrupted the people, such as priests, friars, and others of that sort, while the penalties denounced for refusal were branding on the cheek and the degradation of being drawn through the town in a cart.[1] But the great stumbling-block of the reformers, the queen's mass, still remained; and as if this had not been enough, it was resolved to hold it with greater splendour and publicity than ever on the 1st of November, being Hallowmass or All Saints' Day. The reformed clergy deprecated the attempt and warned the nobles of their duty to resist it, on which the latter called a private meeting to discuss the question, "Whether subjects might suppress the idolatry of their princes." The clergy present reasoned in the affirmative, while the lords and barons maintained the impropriety of depriving her of her religious rites; and when neither party could convince the other it was resolved to apply for advice from Geneva, Lethington undertaking to write the letter—but only for the purpose of delaying it. Randolph was astonished at a state of society so unlike that of any country he had visited, and on the 11th of November he thus expresses himself by letter to Cecil:—"It is now called in question whether the queen, being an idolatress, may be obeyed in all civil and political actions. I think marvel of the wisdom of God that gave this unruly, stout, and cumbersome people no more substance or power than they have, for then they would run wild."[2]

As the disorders of the Scottish borders now required the usual remedy the Lord James was invested with the rank of lieutenant and commissioned to suppress them; but while his enemies envied him for this honourable appointment, the reformers suspected that it had been given for the same purpose as that with which Saul sent forth David against the Philistines—in the hope that he would perish by their hands. If there was any such sinister purpose it was defeated by the prudence, activity, and good fortune of Lord James, who, levying a military force which the Border marauders could not resist, pursued them to their strongholds, demolished their peels, and after hanging twenty of the worst offenders and sending fifty in chains to Edinburgh, proceeded in concert with the English wardens to restore peace and good order upon the marches. After this successful progress he returned with additional reputation to the capital.

In the month of December the period had arrived for holding the third meeting of the General Assembly of the reformed church. Hitherto that church had been successful against its open and avowed enemies, but a more dan-

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 69; Knox's *History*, ii. p. 289.
[2] Knox, ii. p. 291; Letter of Randolph to Cecil, Sept. 21st, 1561.

gerous warfare was now to be maintained against its pretended friends and adherents. It was now to be seen that several of the more powerful nobles who joined the Reformation had been influenced by selfish motives, and after having enriched themselves with the plunder of the church wished that here the movement should stop short, as their only chance to escape a demand for restitution. Another considerable party were men of noble families who had embraced the clerical profession and obtained some of its best benefices, but who at the Reformation had joined the prevailing party, and thus, under the titles of bishops, abbots, priors, commendators, continued to draw the revenues of their livings which they would otherwise have forfeited. In this and other such ways the demands of Knox and his brethren that the reformed clergy should be sustained from a moderate portion of the church property had been eluded until their poverty had become intolerable. The holding, therefore, of a general assembly, especially for the avowed purpose of demanding a redress of these evils, was most unwelcome to the gaining party, who employed every device to thwart or impede it; and to this root of bitterness the greater part of those contentions may be traced by which the career of the national church was afterwards so fatally signalized.

The first symptom of contention that showed itself was the jealousy of the court party, who drew themselves apart from the clergy and the more sincere part of the assembly under the pretext that consultation was not held with them, that their advice was not regarded, and that the ministers held private meetings of their own for the purpose of influencing the public deliberations. This the ministers denied, and they alleged that the fault was with the lords, who refused to associate with their brethren according to the order of the Book of Discipline, which book most of them had subscribed with their own hands. Some denied that they ever knew such a thing as the Book of Discipline. It was also questioned by the recusants whether it was at all expedient to hold such conventions as general assemblies; and this vital question, that threatened the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical polity, became the subject of a keen debate. It was alleged by the court faction that a ground of suspicion was given to princes when their subjects assembled themselves and kept conventions without their knowledge. To this it was answered that without the knowledge of the sovereign the church did nothing; that the queen understood that within the realm there was a reformed church which had its order and appointed times of meeting, and that therefore she was aware of its proceedings. "Yea," replied Lethington, "the queen knew and knows it well enough, but the question is, whether she allows such conventions?" He was answered (and the speaker was probably Knox himself), "If the liberty of the church should stand upon the queen's allowance or disallowance, we are assured not only to lack assemblies but also to lack the public preaching of the evangel." This assertion was derided and denied. "Well," continued the speaker, "time will try the truth; but to my former words this will I add: Take from us the freedom of assemblies and take from us the evangel, for without assemblies how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept?" The objectors were obliged to give up their argument as untenable; and they were desired to request the queen, when any suspected subject should be discussed in their assemblies, to send such persons as she should appoint to hear whatsoever was propounded and argued.

The next proposal of the assembly was that the Book of Discipline should be ratified by the queen. This demand was met with a sneer and the question, How many of those who subscribed that book will be subject to it? Lethington tauntingly declared that the subscription of many had been a mere *in fide parentum*, as when children are baptized. "Though you think that scoff proper," said Knox, "yet as it is most untrue so it is most improper. That book was read in public audience, and by the space of several days the heads thereof were reasoned, as all who here sit know well enough and you yourself cannot deny; so that no man was required to subscribe that which he understood not." The proposal of presenting it for ratification by royal authority was rejected. "Let God require the lack which this poor common-wealth shall have of the things therein contained from the hands of such as stop the same!" cried Knox at the refusal.

Having no hope for the present of seeing the Book of Discipline passed into law the barons, in whom the Scottish Reformation had ever found its best support, made a stand upon other essentials in which the welfare of the church was concerned. They therefore presented a petition to the council requiring that idolatry should be suppressed, the churches planted with faithful efficient ministers, and a just provision made for their support. However unpalatable the best part of this petition might be, it was neither to be despised nor rejected, for the barons were peremptory in their demand. They had hoped that the queen would keep promise with them, which was not to alter their religion; but this religion could not exist without ministers,

and ministers could not live without provision. Many of these barons held the fruits of the rich livings still at their own disposal, although the bishops had rallied and attempted to repossess them; and they declared that they would neither comply with the demands of these bishops nor suffer any of their rents to be lifted until a sustenance was provided for their clergy. Ungracious as was the necessity the court party were obliged to yield; and their concession amounted to this—that two-thirds of the ecclesiastical revenues should be assigned to the old clergy and the remaining third to the ministers of the reformed church and the queen. "Well," cried Knox, "if the end of this order pretended to be taken for sustentation of the ministers be happy my judgment faileth me; for I am assured that the Spirit of God is not the author of it: for, first, I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided betwixt God and the devil. Well, bear witness to me, that this day I say it, ere it be long the devil shall have three parts of the third; and judge you then what God's portion shall be." "Nay," said Lethington in contradiction, "the ministers being sustained the queen will not get at the year's end enough to buy her a pair of new shoes." As if to give assurance that the ministers would not be defrauded of their due, the Lord James, the Earls of Argyle and Morton, Lethington, the Justice-clerk, the clerk-register, and Wishart of Pittarrow—all of them champions of the Reformation—were appointed to modify the annual stipends that were to be paid to their clergy. But the result showed that Knox's apprehension was too well founded. The sum that was set apart for the sustentation of all the ministers of the national church did not exceed three thousand six hundred pounds sterling. Out of this the ordinary rate paid to a minister was a hundred merks Scots, worth about seven pounds sterling per annum, while a few had three hundred merks. Scarcely could the pittance of the clergy have been so small when they were supported by the uncertain contributions of their flocks, a source of subsistence which their new nominal stipend was certain to dry up. Loud was the cry of the famished ministers at this mockery of state support; but the modifiers were deaf to their appeals. "Who would have thought," says Knox, "that when Joseph ruled Egypt his brethren should have travelled for victuals, and have returned to their families with empty sacks. Men would have thought that Pharaoh's store, treasure, and girnels should have been diminished rather than that the household of Jacob should stand in danger to starve for hunger." That there should have been so small a reversion to the Protestant clergy even if they got no more than one-half of the third, which, however, they were not so fortunate as to obtain, will astonish those who are aware of the previous wealth of the church. But, under the few years of conflict by which the Reformation had been achieved, it was marvellous with what facility that wealth had vanished, or only reappeared in the rise of new men and the enlarged rentals of the nobles. Besides these natural effects of war and violence much of this diminution was owing to the false returns of the Popish ecclesiastics as to the amount of their revenues, and much to the dexterity with which the bishops, abbots, and priors had transferred large portions of ecclesiastical property nominally into the hands of their lay friends, but to be held for their behoof. The greater nobles also, who held large ecclesiastical revenues, were allowed to retain them without paying the third part, because they were Protestants. The chief benefit, therefore, that the reformed clergy gained by this arrangement, was the recognition which it gave to their church as that of the state, and the consequent duty of the state to protect and support it.[1]

If this depression of the Protestant church was a source of satisfaction to its enemies events quickly followed to disturb their triumph. On the 30th of January, 1562, the great leader of the Protestants, the Lord James, was created Earl of Moray, by which title he is best known in Scottish history.[2] In a few days after he married Agnes Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal. The splendour of the marriage festival, at which the queen and all the nobility of Scotland were present, attested his popularity and power; and Knox, who united the pair in the cathedral of St. Giles, at the same time admonished them to moderation in a strain that almost savoured of jocularity. "Unto this day," he said to the noble bridegroom, "the kirk of God hath received comfort by you and by your labours; in the which, if hereafter you shall be found more remiss than you were before, it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature."[3] But a still greater subject of alarm to the Roman Catholics than the promotion of their dreaded enemy was a proposed personal interview between Elizabeth and Mary. The like

[1] Knox, ii. p. 294.

[2] This earldom was taken from the Earl of Huntly, who claimed it among his numerous titles and possessions, and on account of this claim the royal grant was temporarily superseded by the earldom of Mar, the title of which Lord James held until the earldom of Moray reverted to him in consequence of Huntly's rebellion. He thus appears in the history of this period under the titles of Prior of St. Andrews, Lord James, Earl of Mar, and Earl of Moray. To prevent confusion we have omitted his short-lived title of Earl of Mar in the subsequent events of the narrative.

[3] Knox, ii. p. 314.

overture of Henry VIII. to James V. had excited similar apprehension when the priesthood had greater power and influence to prevent it; but on the present occasion the offer came not from the English but the Scottish sovereign. Mary's expressions at this time of her affection for Elizabeth were so overstrained that Randolph, the English ambassador, knew not what to make of them. When her entering a second time into marriage was proposed she said, "I will have no other husband than the Queen of England;" and putting Elizabeth's letter into her bosom, she added, "If I could keep it nearer to my heart I would do so." Soon after Randolph thus writes to Cecil, "This queen's affection towards Elizabeth is so great, as I believe it was never greater towards any; or, it is the deepest dissembled and best covered that ever was." It may be that Mary, fully aware that Randolph would convey these declarations to his sovereign, had calculated upon the egotism and love of flattery which entered so largely into the character of Elizabeth. Having thus prepared the way she laid the proposal of an interview before her privy-council; and on their expressing a favourable opinion of the measure, if assurances of her personal safety could be obtained, Maitland of Lethington was sent as her ambassador to England to make arrangements for the meeting. What were Mary's hopes it is difficult to conjecture; but Elizabeth trusted that she would be able to detach her royal cousin from the interests of France and the Guises, and combine England and Scotland into a compact alliance against the menacing Popery of the Continent. Even more than this was expected by the Earl of Moray and his friends, to which Randolph thus alludes: "The hope which they have that your majesty shall be the instrument to convert their sovereign to Christ, and the knowledge of his true word, causeth them to wish above measure that your majesties may see the one the other." Very different were the expectations of the English statesmen with Cecil at their head; they dreaded the charms and fascinating powers of the Scottish queen, whose entrance upon English ground would revive her claims to the throne and animate the English adherents of Popery with fresh strength and confidence. So urgent, however, was Elizabeth for the interview that Cecil was obliged to draw up with Lethington the terms on which it was to be conducted. The place was to be York, or some town between that and the river Trent; the time between the 20th of August and the 20th of September. Mary, to ensure her safety and comfort, might, if she pleased, bring a thousand persons in her train, and for her expenses was to receive ten thousand pounds from Elizabeth. The English queen might demand, but was not to urge the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and nothing was to be mentioned between them that might create umbrage or uneasiness on either side. After this the desire of both parties cooled, and the purposed meeting was in the first instance deferred till the following year, and then quietly abandoned.[1] The cause of this growing estrangement is probably to be found in the state of France at this period, where the intrigues of the Guises for the suppression of the Reformation promised to be more successful than before. Elizabeth was indignant at the injuries inflicted upon the Protestants of that kingdom, while Mary may have been flattered with the hope of effecting her purposes by more available means than personal negotiation and less humiliating than submission to her powerful rival.

While this treaty between the two queens was going forward Edinburgh and the Scottish councils were strangely disturbed by the conduct of the Earl of Arran, the eldest son of the Duke of Chastelherault, and therefore related both to Elizabeth and Mary, as well as presumptive successor to the latter. Negotiations had passed even in his boyhood for contracting him as husband first to the English and afterwards to the Scottish queen; and thus a Hamilton rather than a Darnley might have been the father of the future dynasty of the two kingdoms. This youth of such high promise, when he grew up to manhood, became one of the leaders of the Congregation, and in that capacity had approved himself both as a gallant soldier and devoted Protestant. But after the return of Mary to her dominions he began to exhibit symptoms not only of a weak but an unsettled mind; and this a growing love which he manifested for Mary herself did not tend to compose. He had quarrelled with the turbulent and flagitious Earl of Bothwell; but John Knox, whose forefathers had been retainers of Bothwell's ancestors, had succeeded in reconciling them. But only four days afterwards Arran, escaping from his house at Kinnoul by a high window at night, hurried to Falkland, where the queen was residing, and gave a strange account of a conspiracy devised by his father, the Earl of Bothwell, and the commendator of Kilwinning, to seize the queen's person, murder the Earl of Moray, and possess themselves of the government. During the same day he had made a similar declaration to Knox; but the latter, who saw that the unfortunate man was struck with frenzy, sent notice to that effect to Moray. When examined about the alleged conspiracy Arran

[1] MS. Letters in the State Paper Office, A.D. 1562.

gave a coherent detail of it and attributed the design to Bothwell; but soon after he gave unmistakable tokens of insanity, talking strangely of signs in the heavens, of devils and enchantments, and declaring that he was married to the queen. Notwithstanding these symptoms the Earl of Bothwell and Abbot of Kilwinning were arraigned before the privy-council, where Arran repeated his charge; but on this occasion he inculpated only Bothwell himself, while he exempted his father and the abbot from any knowledge of the conspiracy, declaring that he must have been bewitched when he accused them. Notwithstanding this retraction the different parties were treated as if the whole accusation had been true. The duke and Bothwell were imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and the former was compelled to resign the keeping of Dumbarton Castle, which he had held since the time that Mary of Guise succeeded him in the regency. As for the unfortunate Earl of Arran he was committed to the guardianship of James Stuart of Cardonnel, a captain of the queen's guard, by whom he was treated with such infamous severity that he became a confirmed and incurable maniac. Such is the brief outline of a mysterious proceeding which has been so variously reported by the different writers of the period that no two accounts can be found alike.[1]

At this time the state of the Borders again demanded the presence of the Earl of Moray, who, having received a commission from the queen, moved with secrecy and celerity to Hawick, the chief haunt of the murderers, robbers, and marauders, by whom the Borders were infested. It was upon the day of the fair when the culprits could be most easily reached, and with one throw of the justiciary net eighty-three of the most notorious offenders were secured. Of these twenty were acquitted on trial, and of the rest, who were sentenced to suffer death, twenty-two were drowned, as there were not trees enough to hang them, and six executed at the Borough Muir beside Edinburgh.[2]

While deeds of lawless violence predominated on the Borders the streets of Edinburgh occasionally witnessed similar spectacles, the offenders also being of such rank and influence that justice could not apprehend them. In one of these outbreaks Sir John Gordon of Findlater, third son of the Earl of Huntly, attacked Lord Ogilvy and desperately wounded him, on account of his claim to certain lands of which Ogilvy held possession; and although he was thrown into prison he contrived in a few days to make his escape. This was the more unfortunate as Mary was preparing to make a progress to the north, in which she proposed to visit the Earl of Huntly in the midst of his own territories. It was a rash attempt, as Huntly's power in the north was even greater than her own, and his temper was soured by the ascendency of Moray, who had not only supplanted him in the council, but obtained the title of an earldom the revenues of which had long been in his own possession. The arrival of his son John, who represented his imprisonment as an unjust infliction of the queen at the instance of Moray, gave fresh edge to the proud father's resentment, and he was preparing to receive his sovereign with anything but a loyal welcome. He believed, indeed, that the opportunity was at hand to satisfy both his revenge and ambition by cutting off Moray, Morton, and Lethington, the queen's chief counsellors, and compelling her to marry his son, Sir John, who was at the head of the conspiracy. Mary and her chief nobles as they advanced were soon made aware that they were entering an enemy's country; and when Huntly invited her with many feigned professions of duty to visit him at his splendid mansion of Strathbogie, she refused and proceeded towards Inverness, although both town and castle were in the hands of his retainers, while a considerable army of Gordons were assembling in the neighbourhood. Instead of being daunted her spirit rose with the danger, and she expressed her regret that she was not a man, "to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapscull." On reaching Inverness the gates were shut against her; but on the coming of some of the Highland clans to her aid the town surrendered, and the captain who held it was hanged. Huntly now mustered his forces and advanced towards Aberdeen, but his cause was so desperate that when he reached Corrichie Hill, within twelve miles of the town, his army had dwindled to five hundred men, while a greatly superior force confronted him commanded by the Earl of Moray, whom the queen had appointed her general. Exhorting his followers not to be afraid, for that the greater part of the queen's troops were their friends, Huntly led them on to the attack; and his words were justified by the flight of their opponents except about a hundred who remained with the Earl of Moray. But that able leader kept his ground, and the tumultuous Gordons were borne back by the close spears of his little troop, while the runaways of his party, on seeing this change, rallied and returned to the charge, so that a complete vic-

[1] Knox's *History;* Letters of Randolph to Queen Elizabeth and Cecil, State Paper Office; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 71.

[2] Letter of Randolph to Cecil, 8th July, 1562; Knox, ii. p. 336.

tory was obtained over the rebels, of whom 120 were killed and about as many wounded. As for the Earl of Huntly he was found among the slain, but whether from stroke of sword or by being smothered in his armour, for he was old and very corpulent, could not be ascertained. His body was kept unburied until parliament should pronounce on it the sentence of treason; and Sir John Gordon, who was taken prisoner, was tried and beheaded, or rather frightfully mangled and butchered by an unskilful executioner. Lord Gordon, the eldest son of the earl, was found guilty of treason and committed to prison in the castle of Dunbar; and Adam Gordon, another son also taken prisoner at Corrichie, was pardoned on account of his youth, being only eighteen years of age. The whole of the earl's immense estates were confiscated to the crown, and a family lately so powerful reduced in a moment to insignificance. It was a fearful visitation of justice, but scarcely more than their guilt had provoked. The confessions of Sir John Gordon on the scaffold, certain letters found in the earl's pocket, and the revelations of Thomas Kerr, Huntly's confidential servant and chief counsellor, made it apparent that repeated attempts had been made for the assassination of the Earls of Moray and Morton and Maitland of Lethington by Sir John Gordon, which had always been frustrated; that the deed was finally to be consummated at Strathbogie, where they were expected to make a stay during the queen's progress; and that Mary herself was either to be put to death or retained a prisoner at the will of the earl and his family.[1] As the Gordons constituted the chief strength of the Popish party in Scotland their downfall was a happy event for the Protestants, but it was also an impressive warning to the Protestant nobles which Knox did not fail to deliver with his wonted stern impartiality. Alluding to the earl from the pulpit he thus appealed to them:—"Have ye not seen one greater than any of you sitting where at present ye sit, picking his nails and pulling down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices were rebuked? Was not this his common speech, 'When these knaves have railed their fill then they will hold their peace?' Have ye not heard it affirmed to his face that God would revenge that his blasphemy even in the eyes of such as were witnesses of his iniquity? Then was the Earl of Huntly accused by you and complained upon as a maintainer of idolatry and a hindrance of all good order. Him hath God punished even according to the threatening which his and your ears have heard, and by your hands hath God executed his judgment." Then coming down upon his application, which was no doubt unexpected, the preacher thus continued:—"But what amendment can be espied in you? Idolaters are at rest, virtue and virtuous men are contemned, vicious men bold and without fear of punishment. And yet, who guide the queen and court but Protestants? Oh, horrible slander to God and his holy evangel! Better it were unto you plainly to renounce Christ Jesus than thus to expose his blessed evangel to mockery. If God punish not you, so that the present age shall behold and see your punishment, the spirit of righteous judgment guideth me not."

[1] Knox's *History*; Letters of Randolph to Cecil.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY (1563–1564).

Mary's difficulties between the two religious parties—Her triumph at the prospects of Popery in France—Knox summoned before her for preaching against her levity—His answer to her charges—His refusal to confine himself to private censures—Chastelard's favour with the queen—His offences and execution—Effects of the gaieties introduced by Mary—Laws against Papists enforced—Mary holds another interview with Knox—His statements of the right of subjects to restrain and depose evil rulers—The queen's conciliatory conduct and professions to Knox—Causes of her temporizing—Parliament held—Unwonted splendour of its opening—Petition of the clergy for the reform of abuses—Attempts to set it aside—Rupture between Knox and Moray—Knox's appeal from the pulpit to the nobles against their lukewarmness—His denunciation of the marriage of the queen with a Popish prince—His interview in consequence with Mary—Her angry expostulations—He persists in his opposition to a Popish marriage—His reasoning on the subject—His apology to the queen for causing her to weep—His singular interview with the court ladies—Devices of Lethington to effect the queen's marriage with Darnley—His attempts seconded by the equivocal conduct of Elizabeth—Mary's continuing devotedness to the mass—Knox's prayer in consequence—Disturbance occasioned by the celebration of the mass in Holyrood during the queen's absence—Four citizens apprehended as the ringleaders—Knox writes to the reformed in their behalf—He is summoned to trial for convoking the queen's lieges—His preparations for defence—His trial before the queen and council—His answers—He is declared innocent by the court—Fruitless attempts to induce him to submit—His appeal to the General Assembly for his justification in the late proceeding—They declare him to have acted by their commission—Prevalence of French fashions and court vices—Growing indifference among the Protestants—Knox's denunciations of Popery and the mass—General Assembly—Intrigues of the chief nobles to divide and neutralize it—Their charge against Knox of disrespect to the queen in his ministrations—His doctrines on the obedience of subjects to their sovereigns—Discussion on the propriety of depriving the queen of her mass.

On the return of Mary from the north to Edinburgh her difficulties both personal and national were complicated by the affairs of France. In consequence of the continuing intrigues of the Guises for the restoration of Popery and the displacement of Elizabeth a war had broken out between France and England; and while in such a rupture the Queen of Scots was embarrassed in her choice of parties, from her expectation of the English succession on the one hand and the claims of her French kindred on the other, it was certain that by a strict neutrality she would lose the favour and might incur the hostility of both. Both had already appealed to her; and while her creed and natural affections inclined to the side of France and would have ultimately decided her choice for the Guises, against whom the war was chiefly directed, she knew that by such a choice she would incur the hostility of Elizabeth and endanger her own claims to the crown of England. Great, therefore, was her relief when peace was restored between the two kingdoms and the contending parties of France were left to settle their contest without foreign intervention; and her satisfaction was expressed by a series of entertainments, of which dancing formed the chief attraction. This, however, was an invasion of French fashions and frivolities, and as much dreaded by the reformers as the landing of a French army on our shores. It was also regarded as an insulting triumph over their cause, on account of the ascendency which the renewal of peace with England would impart to the Popery of France. John Knox, who regarded these symptoms with a watchful eye, and who continued to be punctually advertised of public and foreign movements, learned that the queen had danced excessively and till after midnight in consequence of having received letters from France informing her that her uncles were again in full activity, and that under their influence the persecutions against the Huguenots had been renewed. He judged this a sufficient cause for alarm, and on the 13th of December, which was the Sunday following, made it the subject of his sermon. His text was, "And now understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth," from which he declaimed upon the folly, impiety, and criminality of crowned heads who persecuted the righteous and favoured the wicked, and who were more exercised in "fiddling and flinging" than in reading or hearing the Word of God. The remarks, indeed, were general, but as events had fallen out they were susceptible of a most unfortunate and particular application. He was accused of having spoken irreverently of the queen, of having laboured to procure for her the hatred and contempt of the people, and of having exceeded the limits of his text; and upon these charges he was summoned before

the offended sovereign, who was attended by some of the auditors and reporters of his discourse.

In this second interview of the reformer with royalty he maintained the same bold yet respectful demeanour and used the same express straightforward language which had characterized the first. The queen made a long speech upon the several heads of his alleged offence, and demanded his reply, which he was not slow to give. He in the first instance complained of the misrepresentations of the reporters, and to clear himself in their presence he made a verbatim report of that part of his sermon on which the charges were founded, appealing the while to her majesty if it contained anything with which she could be justly offended. He had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour in which God has placed them, and the obedience that is due to them being God's lieutenants; but what account should the greater part of them have to give before that Supreme Judge whose throne and authority they so manifestly abused? After this came a specification of such royal offences as are condemned in the Word of God and visited with his displeasure. Even of dancing he had said that though he found no commendation of it in Scripture, while profane writers had branded it as the gesture of madness and frenzy rather than of sober men, yet he would not utterly condemn it provided two abuses were avoided: these were that the principal occupation of those who used that exercise was not neglected for the pleasure of dancing; and that they should not dance as the Philistines did, to express their pleasure in the calamities of God's people. The by-standers attested that he had given a faithful report; and the queen, after looking at those who had brought to her the tidings, said to the accused, "Your words are sharp enough as you have spoken them, but yet they were told to me in another manner."

The queen now attempted the language of conciliation. "I know," she said, "that my uncles and you are not of the same religion, and therefore I cannot blame you though you have no good opinion of them. But if you hear anything of myself that mislikes you come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you." It was, apparently, a reasonable and gentle proposal; but it would have stripped him of his ministerial authority and degraded him into a mere palace gossip or court malcontent. He was not thus to be entrapped, and in his answer he maintained the rights of his sacred office. "I am called, madam," he said, "to a public function within the kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to show him his offence, for that labour were infinite. If your grace pleases to frequent the public sermons, then I doubt not that you shall fully understand both what I like and mislike as well in your majesty as in all others. Or if your grace will assign to me a certain day and hour when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine which is propounded in public to the churches of this realm, I will most gladly await upon your grace's pleasure, time, and place. But to come to wait upon your chamber door or elsewhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whisper my mind in your grace's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience nor the vocation whereto God hath called me suffer it." He then attempted to soften his just refusal by a stroke of pleasantry and added: "For albeit at your grace's commandment I am here now, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me that at this time of day am absent from my book and waiting upon the court." Disappointed and angry, the queen curtly replied, "You will not be always at your book!" and then turned away. The conference being thus ended John Knox retired "with a reasonably merry countenance"—a tranquillity that offended some Papists of the court, who said to each other, "He is not afraid!" On hearing this he paused for a moment and replied, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentle woman dismay me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure."[1]

It was soon found that the censures of Knox upon the inordinate revelry and dancing of the court, and the consequences to which they would lead, were by no means unreasonable, ending as they did in the death of the unfortunate Chastelard,[2] as well as the impeachment of Mary's fair fame. This Chastelard, a young, gallant, accomplished Frenchman, who had visited Scotland in the suite of M. de Damville, had returned to this country as the bearer of letters to the queen. He grew into such favour with Mary that he was generally her partner in a dance which allowed so close an intercourse between the paired sexes as was judged unbecoming; he obtained such familiar access to the queen's cabinet that the nobles could scarcely get access to her presence; and sometimes she carried her graciousness so far as to recline upon his shoulder and steal a kiss from his neck. Even in the Louvre such tokens of her favour would have been thought suspicious; and how were they

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 330–335.

[2] He is also called Chatelar, Chatillon, Chasterlet, and Chastellet in the several accounts of this incident.

likely to be judged in Holyrood? In what way they were estimated by Chastelard himself was too soon apparent. Maddened by such preference from a beautiful woman and a queen he set no bounds to his audacity, and one night conveyed himself privately under the queen's bed, where he was discovered and dragged forth by her attendants before she had entered the apartment. With an ill-judged lenity the queen allowed him to depart, and no farther notice was taken of the affair. This forbearance, which tended to bring the queen's character in jeopardy, also emboldened the audacious Frenchman, who repeated the attempt one evening soon after at Burntisland in Fife. He suddenly appeared in the queen's chamber; but certain of her ladies were with her, and in consequence of their outcries the courtiers rushed in and secured him. Mary entreated the Earl of Moray to despatch the culprit without giving him time for explanation or apology, and this he hastily promised to do; but on second thoughts he begged on his knees to be freed from this ungracious commission. She had treated Chastelard with such familiarity that all the nobles were offended; but if he should now be secretly killed by her order what would the world judge of it? He offered, however, to bring the offender to trial and have him punished according to law. The queen still entreated that he should not be allowed to speak, and Moray assured her that he would do all he could to save her honour. He was as good as his word, by calling in and suppressing all such letters either from Chastelard or others as might have been prejudical to Mary's reputation, and of the trial itself there is no account to be found among the Scottish muniments. Chastelard was sentenced to die, and executed two days afterwards. He confessed in private his iniquitous designs against the queen's honour, and his death seems to have been a medley of devotional contrition and extravagant gallantry. On the scaffold he held in his hand a volume of the poems of Ronsard, whose Hymn to Death he considered a better preparation for his end than either breviary or missal; and after deploring his vanity and impiety he looked to heaven and cried, "O cruel lady!" Then turning to the place where he supposed the queen to be, he exclaimed with a loud voice, "Adieu, the most beautiful and the most cruel princess of the world!" and submitted to his fate.[1]

While Mary had been thus attempting to adorn the court of Scotland with the fashions and frivolities of France, her zeal in behalf of her proscribed religion instead of abating seemed only to increase with these indulgences, so that the gay parties for hawking, her favourite amusement, during the day, and the balls and masques of the evening made the attendance upon the mass more frequent, and the observances of the rite more public and imposing. It is not unlikely, indeed, that she regarded these gaieties as the fittest counteractions to the sternness and strictness of Protestantism, and hoped to recall the young generation to Rome by the allurements of cheerful license and revelry. Whether this was her mode of execution her purpose was fixed and certain—it was to restore the ancient faith at whatever price or hazard. This she had expressed by letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, at the commencement of this year. This also she expressed more fully at the same time to Pius IV., the reigning pontiff, declaring that ever since her return to Scotland it had been her intention to employ all her "studies, thoughts, labour, and manners, such as it had pleased God to give her," to bring back her poor subjects from the "new opinions and damnable errors" which had now become prevalent; and to spare no effort, and even life itself, to recover them to the holy Roman Catholic Church.[2] It was no wonder, therefore, that her private mass was gradually becoming a public one, and that the example of the chapel of Holyrood found imitators in several towns and villages, as well as in the dwellings of nobles and gentlemen. This was especially the case on Easter Sunday (11th April), when the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Prior of Whitehorn sanctioned the example; and although the queen, in compliance with the general demand, had issued a proclamation and letters forbidding these religious assemblies and denouncing the penalty of death on those who disobeyed, the impunity with which these prohibitions were followed made the Protestants suspect that their sovereign connived with the disobedient. They resolved, therefore, to enforce the law and inflict its punishments upon the offenders. Some priests were accordingly apprehended in the west, and others, such as the Abbot of Crossraguel and the parson of Sanquhar, were ordered to apprehend the delinquents within their bounds and inflict the penalties denounced, without transferring the case to her majesty or the council.

The queen was indignant at this interference; but she saw that those who were going to put the law into act and use were those by whose authority it had been established. She saw that

[1] Knox's *History*, ii. 367; Brantome, Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 357; Letters of Randolph to Cecil, 15th and 28th February, 1563, in Scottish Correspondence in State Paper Office, vol. vi.

[2] Prince Alexander Labanoff's Collection of Mary's Letters. Translated by W. Turnbull, pp. 142–144.

her only remedy was conciliation, and she resolved to try it once more with John Knox, who was the head and front of the opposition. Accordingly, two days after Easter Sunday, she invited him to Lochleven, where she was residing, and earnestly besought him to persuade the people, and especially the gentlemen of the west, not to punish those who used such religious ordinances as pleased them. He saw at once through the thin device that would not only have restored the mass, but made himself a party in the restoration, and he answered with his usual straightforward sincerity. He willed her to execute the law against the observance of the mass, and in this case he promised that the Protestants would be quiet throughout the whole of Scotland. If her majesty, on the contrary, thought to elude the law he feared there were some who would let the Papists know that they would not be permitted so manifestly to offend God and escape without punishment. "Will you allow," she asked, "that they shall take my sword into their own hand?" This was the great question at issue, and Knox answered it by the only authority which at that time was recognized—the rules and examples contained in the Old Testament. "The sword of justice, madam," he said, "is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for an end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent, they that in the fear of God execute judgment where God has commanded offend not God, although kings do it not; neither yet sin they that bridle kings from striking innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; for Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved. Neither spared Elias Jesabel's false prophets and Baal's priests, although King Ahab was present. Phineas was no magistrate, and yet feared he not to strike Cozbi and Zimri. And so, madam, your grace may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished, the vices and crimes that God commands to be punished." After this terrible catalogue of examples, by which, according to the logic of the day, the reformer had completely established his argument, he thus propounded the practical conclusion: "In this case I would earnestly pray your majesty to take good advisement, and that your grace should let the Papists understand that their attempts will not be endured unpunished. For power by act of parliament is given to all judges within their own bounds to search for mass-mongers, or the hearers of the same, and to punish them according to the law. And therefore it shall be profitable to your majesty to consider what your subjects look to receive of you, and what you ought to do to them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God; you are bound to keep laws to them. You crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, madam, if you shall deny your duty to them (which especially craves that you punish malefactors) think you to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, you shall not."

These new doctrines upon the duties of kings and the rights of subjects, the political first-fruits of the Reformation, grated as harshly in the ears of Mary as they would have done in those of Elizabeth; but while the latter would have sent the speaker to the Tower, the other was obliged to conceal her anger and retire in silence to supper. Knox intended to return to Edinburgh on the following morning, but was stopped by a messenger from the queen, inviting him to another interview. It was early in the morning; she was hawking in the neighbourhood of Kinross when he repaired to her; and her language was full of kindness and condescending courtesy. Instead of the harsh subject of the previous evening she now spoke of Lord Ruthven, whom she declared she could not esteem because he used enchantment, and of Maitland of Lethington, by whose influence Ruthven had been made one of the privy-council. Passing from these topics she now began to show a wondrous interest in behalf of the reformer and his church; and understanding that he was about to repair to Dumfries, where a superintendent was to be elected, and that the titular Bishop of Athens was one of the candidates, with the prospect of being successful, she warned Knox, and truly, that the bishop was a dangerous man, and therefore unfit for the appointment. Knox availed himself of the warning by delaying the election, and had cause to rejoice that he had done so. The queen then passed to the subject of her illegitimate sister, the Countess of Argyle, who was in discordance with her husband, and entreated the reformer to reconcile them, an object which had his cordial concurrence. But whence had arisen this sudden frankness of the queen and cordial liking for a man whom she both feared and hated? It was a strange hawking-match, in which he was the heron, while her hawk for the moment had outsoared and well-nigh struck him down; and he afterwards penned the account, that the world might see how blandly she could flatter, and how cunningly she could dissimulate. The moment of their parting was reserved for her master-stroke. "And now," she said, "as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as you required; I shall cause summon all offenders, and you shall know that I shall minister justice." "I am assured

then," he answered, "that you shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your majesty is more profitable than all the pope's power can be."[1]

There was good cause that Mary should conciliate her Protestant subjects, and him whom she regarded as their leader and head. She was still young, and had been long enough a widow; and the wish that she should marry, and have a regular successor to her crown, was one in which she coincided with her people. But to enjoy a free choice from among her suitors whether Protestant or Papist, it was necessary to conciliate both classes alike, and especially the former, who were by far the strongest and most influential of the two. Nor was her choice of a husband a limited one, for among the numerous princes who had aspired, or were still contending for her hand, there were the kings of Navarre and Sweden, Don Carlos, the unfortunate son of Philip II. of Spain, the Archduke Charles of Austria, and James Duke de Nemours. And setting all these aside there was the demand of Elizabeth that the Queen of Scots should marry some English nobleman as a necessary recommendation of her prospect to the English succession. The parliament was also to meet on the 26th of May; and by a previous course of conciliation on the part of the queen the way might be smoothed to that freedom of election, by which the imbecile Francis II. might be succeeded by a more lovable husband. Citations were therefore served upon the late offenders in the celebration of mass, who were commanded to appear on the 19th of the month, which they did with the Archbishop of St. Andrews himself at their head; and after their case was tried, and several delays to judgment interposed, they were consigned to imprisonment. This was a flattering concession to the Protestants, although Knox and his brethren feared that it was nothing but a feint, and that the culprits would be freed after a short confinement, which was actually the case. Two days after the parliament was opened with unwonted magnificence, the ladies of the court appearing on this occasion in their richest attire and ornaments; the queen rode in procession to the Tolbooth, where the estates were assembled; and when she delivered an address, which she had originally written in French, but translated into English for the occasion, her beauty and eloquence raised a storm of admiration which was vented in enthusiastic cries of "God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly?"[2] Among the business of this parliament, of which the record is lost, a Styx-like trial was held upon a corpse. It was that of the Earl of Huntly, which had been brought to Edinburgh in a chest and kept for the occasion according to a barbarous form of old Scottish law. The defunct was condemned for treason; his coat of arms was reversed and torn; and his accomplices, the Earl of Sutherland and eleven barons and gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were sentenced to forfeiture.

The pomp and glitter of this parliament, opened and presided over by a female sovereign, the extravagant adornments and foreign fashions of the ladies who attended her in three several processions to the Tolbooth, and the general pride, extravagance, and waste that predominated, was little calculated to soothe the preachers, and this the more especially while the interests of their church were neglected, and themselves consigned to destitution. They therefore indignantly declaimed against these new fopperies, so like the extravagance of the Field of the Cloth of Gold under which so many nobles' houses of England had been shaken, and were especially vehement against the long trains and rich embroidered skirts of the ladies under the uncourtly epithet of "the targetting of their tails." Articles were drawn up for the suppression of these enormities of dress, which were denounced as "the abasing of things that might have been better bestowed," and for the reformation of other enormities; but these, instead of being presented to parliament, were only derided and thrown aside. Moray and his coadjutors endeavoured to soothe the preachers by bidding them to wait until the parliament was over, and when the queen should propose her demands to the nobles, as she must do, in forming a matrimonial alliance: this would be their proper time to interpose in behalf of religion, and for the suppression of licentious manners and extravagant attire, and the opportunity they would by no means neglect. But the preachers, who had often been thus put aside, alluded to the ancient allegorical figure of opportunity, the back of whose head was bald, so that none could lay hold of him when he was allowed to turn away. Knox, who saw that Moray still feared the loss of his lately-won earldom, reminded him how inferior his condition had been when they first met together in London in 1552, and how God since that period had promoted him beyond all men's expectations. "But seeing," he added, "that I am frustrated of my expectation, which was, that you should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his truth to your individual advantage, I commit you to your own wit and to the guidance of those who

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 371–377.
[2] Knox; Letter of Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1563.

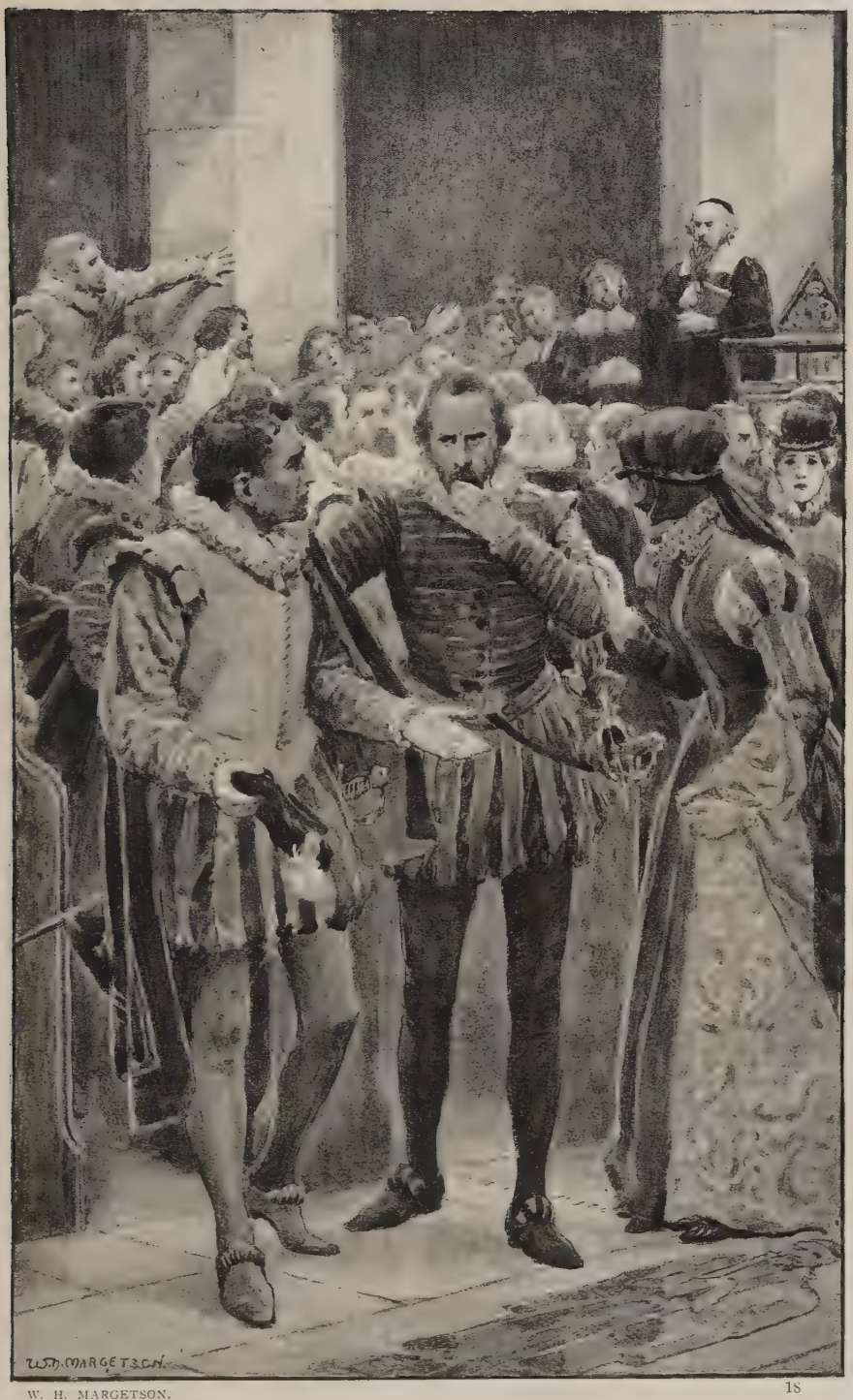
can better please you. I praise my God I this day leave you victor of your enemies, promoted to great honours, and in credit and authority with your sovereign. If so you long continue none within the realm shall be more glad than I shall be; but if after this you shall decay (as I fear you shall), then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was neither by bearing with impiety nor yet by maintaining of pestilent Papists." He ceased to take any further care of the earl's affairs, and the estrangement between them lasted more than eighteen months. This variance, and the tolerance allowed to those priests who had endeavoured to restore the mass, gratified the enemies of the Reformation, who regarded each event as a signal triumph of their cause. As it was judged necessary, however, to propitiate the Protestants for this lenity several acts were passed against adultery and witchcraft, and for the restitution of the glebes and manses to the reformed ministers and the repairing of churches—acts, however, which were so vaguely expressed that they were scarcely half fulfilled, and in many cases wholly eluded.

These proceedings of the parliament, and the lukewarmness of the nobles to the further progress of the Reformation now that their own ends had been accomplished, alarmed the anxious heart of John Knox, and before the dissolution of parliament he appealed to them with a stirring, eloquent sermon, most of them being present. He described the blessings which God had lately imparted to the land, and the ingratitude with which they had been received. He contrasted the success that had crowned their former labours for the cause with their present faintheartedness and remissness. "And now, my lords," he exclaimed with that prophet-like power and authority that had so often quelled the proudest, "I praise my God through Jesus Christ that in your own presence I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, yourselves shall be witness if I shall make any lie in things that are bypast. From the beginning of God's mighty working within this realm I have been with you in your most desperate trials. Ask your own consciences and let them answer you before God if that I—not I, but God's Spirit by me—in your greatest extremity willed you not ever to depend upon your God, and in His name promised to you victory and preservation from your enemies, so that you would only depend upon His protection and prefer His glory to your own lives and worldly advantage. In your most extreme dangers I have been with you. Saint Johnston, Cupar Muir, and the Craigs of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night wherein all you, my lords, with shame and fear left this town is yet in my mind; and God forbid that ever I forget it! What was my exhortation to you, and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised to you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you against whom was death and destruction threatened perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes! Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray His cause when you have it in your own hands to establish it as you please. 'The queen,' say ye, 'will not agree with us.' Ask ye of her that which by God's Word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God ye are not bound to agree with her in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and He shall prosper you in your enterprises." After answering in the same strain of vehement and convincing eloquence the common Popish objection that the parliament by which the present religion was established was not a lawful parliament, he thus advanced to the great topic of the day: "And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage. Dukes, brothers of emperors, and kings strive all for the best game; but this, my lords, will I say (note the day and bear witness afterwards), whenever the nobility of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel—and all Papists are infidels—shall be head to your sovereign, ye do so far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance ye shall do small comfort to your sovereign."

The uproar created by this discourse, and especially the concluding admonition, was incredible. Was the pulpit to become a tribunal before which kings and princes were to be arraigned, and their proceedings tried and denounced? The courtiers stormed, and the reformer's words were conveyed to the queen, who summoned him to her presence. He went down to Holyrood accompanied by Lord Ochiltree and several gentlemen, his friends, but none went in with him to the royal presence except Erskine of Dun. As soon as he appeared before the queen she cried, "Never was prince so treated as I have been. I have borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered to you presence and audience whenever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be revenged!" These passionate sentences, scarcely

JOHN KNOX PREACHING IN ST. GILES' CHURCH, EDINBURGH.

After the arrival of Queen Mary from France, and the assembling of the Scottish Parliament in 1563, there was evidence that the Protestant Lords had become lukewarm in their desire to complete the Reformation by stamping out Popery. This alarmed the anxious heart of John Knox, and he appealed to their religious zeal and patriotism in an eloquent sermon preached in St. Giles'. He described the blessings and success which had attended their former efforts, contrasting them with their present ingratitude and faint-heartedness. Then he referred to the proposed marriage of the Queen to a Roman Catholic; and in permitting this thing he charged the Scottish nobility with bringing God's vengeance upon the country, and a plague upon themselves. The uproar created by this sermon, and especially the portion referring to the Queen's marriage, was unbounded. The Lords of Assembly and the courtiers from Holyrood left the church in a storm of anger and dismay.



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CONGREGATION DISPERSING AFTER SERMON BY JOHN KNOX

IN ST GILES' CHURCH, EDINBURGH (A.D. 1564)

Vol. ii. p. 150.

befitting the royal dignity, were uttered with such abundance of tears that her page could scarcely supply her with handkerchiefs enough to dry her eyes. Knox was silent until the paroxysm had abated, and then answered calmly: "True it is, madam, that your grace and I have been at divers controversies in which I never perceived your grace to be offended with me. But when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in which you have been nourished, for the lack of true doctrine, your majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Out of the preaching place, madam, I think few have occasion to be offended with me; and there, madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plainly and to flatter no person upon the face of the earth." "But what have you to do with my marriage?" the queen asked sharply. "If it please your majesty patiently to hear me," he replied, "I shall show the truth in plain words. I grant that your grace offered to me more than ever I required; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to wait upon the courts of princesses nor upon the chambers of ladies; but I am sent to preach the evangel of Jesus Christ to such as please to hear it; and it hath two parts, repentance and faith. And now, madam, in preaching repentance, of necessity it is that the sins of men be so noted that they may know wherein they offend; but so it is that the most part of your nobility are so addicted to your likings that neither God, his word, nor yet their commonweal are rightly regarded. And therefore it becomes me so to speak that they may know their duty." This answer was so far from satisfying the queen that she repeated, "What have you to do with my marriage?" and to this added the scornful question, "What are you within this commonwealth?". "A subject born within the same, madam," he answered firmly; "and although I am neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it does to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience crave plainness of me. And therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I speak in the public place: 'Whensoever that the nobility of this realm shall consent that you be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish His truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.'"

This persistence in his doctrine of a royal marriage, and this declaration of his right to proclaim it, doubled his offence in the eyes of the queen, who again broke out into the fit of loud weeping which had been only for a few moments suppressed. Erskine of Dun, a scholar, courtier, and gentleman of mild, amiable temper, endeavoured to soothe her with graceful commendations; he praised her beauty, alluded to her accomplishments, and told her how eager all the princes of Europe would be to win her regard. This was well; but she had only to lift up her eyes to see Mordecai in the gate—the dark, stern man before her whom grandeur could not daunt, whom beauty could not soften, whom flattery could not win from those duties that opposed her wishes. As for him, he felt like a man, and a tender one too, although he dared not and would not swerve from his appointed path; and after waiting a considerable period till Mary's resentful sorrow had abated he thus addressed her:—"Madam, in God's presence I speak: I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys whom my own hand corrects, much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping. But seeing that I have offered to you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain, albeit unwillingly, your majesty's tears rather than I dare hurt my conscience or betray the commonwealth through my silence." This only irritated the queen, who commanded him to retire and await her judgment in the outer chamber. There the courtiers shunned his presence as one branded with the royal displeasure, and no one dared to countenance him except his steadfast friend Lord Ochiltree. The reformer advanced towards the gay ladies of the court, who were in their richest attire, and addressed them in language playful and sportive, but fraught with such stern truths as they were not likely to forget:—"O fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon that knave, Death, that will come whether we will or not! And when he has laid on his arrest the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it ever so fair and so tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting, pearls, nor precious stones." With such discourse he entertained his fair auditors and occupied the interval until the Laird of Dun came to him with an order from the queen to retire to his home until further advertisement. Mary, indeed, would have applied to the Lords

of Articles to have Knox punished for his offensive sermon, but from this she was dissuaded by her counsellors, and thus the matter terminated for the present.[1]

During these commotions one of the master-spirits of the storms of that period—Maitland of Lethington—had been upon an embassy both to France and England, in the former country to confirm the interests of his sovereign, which her absence and the ascendency of Catherine de Medicis were likely to impair; and in the latter to establish her rights of succession as heir-apparent to the English throne. He returned to Scotland in June, a few days after the sittings of parliament had closed, and expressed his indignation at the rumours of the queen's marriage with Don Carlos of Spain, declaring that she had never contemplated such a purpose. Among the designs of his crafty and restless brain the marriage of his young sovereign had formed an important part; but while the highest of Europe were contending for the preference, he had contemplated for her a very different husband in Henry Darnley, son of the exiled Earl of Lennox, now resident at the English court. His first step was to obtain the recall of Lennox to Scotland, for which he was now watching the opportunity; and to strengthen his influence for the accomplishment of his ulterior design he endeavoured to procure the deliverance of the Earl of Bothwell, now a fugitive, from imprisonment, and allied himself to the Earl of Athol. While he was thus preparing the way in Scotland for a marriage which was afterwards effected, the Queen of England, equally politic and crafty, was working in her own manner to produce, whether designedly or not, precisely the same result. It was against her political interests as well as her personal pride that Mary should aggrandize herself, as she had formerly done, by a marriage with any foreign potentate; and having thus limited her choice to a subject either of England or Scotland, it was desirable that the person chosen should be in some sort amenable to her dictation, by which her own influence in Scottish affairs should continue unimpaired. But strong as was her influence upon the choice of Mary, whom she might at any time deter by the threat of disinheritance, it would have been dangerous to alarm the pride of the Scottish queen by proposing to her at once not only a mere untitled gentleman but a Scottish exile living upon the bounty of England. Some middle proposal which was certain to be rejected would be necessary to break such a fall; and as the time had arrived when her silence could be of no further service, she broke it by announcing a name that astounded the courts both of England and Scotland alike. It was no other than Lord Robert Dudley, soon to be created Earl of Leicester, whom she proposed as the husband of Mary, Queen of France and Scotland and sovereign-expectant of England! The son of the upstart and double apostate Duke of Northumberland, and grandson of that Sir Edmund Dudley whom Henry VII. had employed as a tax-gatherer, and his successor executed as a rogue—that such a man should be put forward as husband of the Queen of Scots, and possible founder of a new dynasty both for England and Scotland, was what neither country could admit. By those also who were aware of Elizabeth's almost insane partiality for Lord Dudley it was judged that, even if she was already weary of him and willing to part with him, it augured little for her respect to Mary that she would seek to foist him into the Scottish throne. The aim, however, of Elizabeth, if this was really her aim, was attained. The first and worst shock being over, the second was lightly felt, and Mary herself, after she had recovered from her scorn of the Queen of England's minion, would feel relief in the change of her thoughts to her own cousin Darnley, the descendant of the sovereigns of both kingdoms.

During the rest of the summer Mary made a progress through the western counties; but the observance of the mass, which accompanied her wherever she went, both in towns and the houses of the gentry, made her visit, which otherwise would have been welcomed, highly unpopular. This was more especially the case as it was in these quarters that the Reformation had been earliest in its origin and was now the most widely established. The queen's journey alarmed Knox, who saw no safety either religious or political for Scotland as long as the mass was tolerated, and whose worst fears the late daring attempt of the Primate of St. Andrews and his clergy to restore it abundantly justified. Into his household devotions, therefore, to which his friends often resorted, he introduced this new petition, "Continue us in concord and quietness among ourselves, if it be thy good pleasure, O Lord, for a season;" and when asked why he prayed not for perpetual peace, his answer was that he durst not pray but in faith, and that faith in God's Word assured him that constant quietness could not continue in that realm where idolatry had been suppressed and then was again permitted. While the queen rested at Stirling on her return she had mass celebrated in the chapel; and emboldened by this example, her attendants who remained at Holyrood resolved to have

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 381–390.

mass there also, although the toleration had been only granted to herself. They even resolved to celebrate it in a more public manner than usual, and as if to aggravate their trespass the time selected was that on which the sacrament of the Last Supper was solemnized in the churches of Edinburgh. Such a violation of law and public religious feeling, which seemed a hostile challenge to the whole Reformation of Scotland, could scarcely escape without a brawl or even the infliction of a few broken heads, instead of the crown of martyrdom which it so ostentatiously courted. On learning this purpose several of the more zealous Protestants were sent to the abbey of Holyrood that they might take note of such persons as repaired to the mass, who, seeing a great number enter the chapel, rushed in also with such noise and violence that the priest quaked, the women shrieked, and the male worshippers, both French and Scotch, were greatly dismayed. A swift courier was sent to the Laird of Pitarrow, controller of the royal household, at that time worshipping in the church of St. Giles, beseeching him to fly instantly to Holyrood if he would save the building from destruction and the queen's servants from slaughter; and alarmed at the summons he hurried to the rescue, accompanied by the provost and magistrates and a considerable part of the congregation. But on arriving at the palace they found that not a blow had been struck nor insult given; nothing more deadly was to be seen than the congregation now fairly recovered from their panic, and the intruders gravely exhorting them not to violate the laws of the realm.

On tidings of this intrusion being carried to the queen it was resolved to make the most of it; and citations were issued against two of the ringleaders for carrying pistolets and convoking the queen's lieges at Holyrood, and being guilty of felony, hame-sucken, violent invasion, and spoliation within the same. It was evident from this commencement that extreme measures were contemplated, which, if allowed, would only inaugurate a new era of persecution, and a feeling of common right as well as common safety induced the Protestants of Edinburgh to combine in behalf of the accused. They accordingly commissioned Knox, who had been intrusted by the church with the office of giving warning whenever danger appeared, to write to the Protestants of all parts announcing the danger, and with this he gladly complied. The circular which he issued on this occasion was characterized by all his former boldness; and after stating the circumstances of the case, and the danger that would accrue to the church if the two citizens were given up to the will of their enemies, he invited the brethren of all estates, as they valued their public promises and the solemn engagement by which they were united, to repair to Edinburgh, and be present on the day of trial, to see justice done to the accused. A copy of the letter was carried to the queen at Stirling, and was condemned by her cabinet council as treason, upon which it was resolved to proceed against Knox himself as the head and front of the offence; a day in the middle of December was appointed for his trial, while, to give it greater authority, the nobility were invited to give their presence on the occasion. It was hoped by his enemies that he had involved himself beyond escape, and even his friends advised him to submit; but neither the menaces of the one party nor the entreaties of the other could daunt his courage or change his purpose. In convoking the brethren, he said, he had committed no crime; greater acts had been committed within these two years that were not reputed offences; and when warned that times were changed, and that past deeds could not now be repeated either with justice or impunity, he declared that the laws of an unchangeable God were the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. Even to Moray and Lethington, who accounted his case desperate and advised him to submission, he used the same bold language. He had not learned, he said, to cry "conspiracy" and "treason" at everything the thoughtless multitude condemned; but neither had he learned to acknowledge that as wrong which his conscience testified to be right. "How can your deed be defended?" said Lethington; "have you not convoked the queen's lieges?" "If I have not a just defence for my deed," replied the other, "let me smart for it." "Let us hear your defences," said Moray and Lethington, "for we would be glad that you should be found innocent." Here the reformer stopped short as if a trap had been set for him: Moray, he thought, was wavering between the court and Congregation, and therefore not to be implicitly trusted, while Lethington, engrossed with his political designs, was ready to further them even at the expense of the kirk. "Nay," said Knox briefly, on being asked to show his plan of defence; "for I am informed by several and even by you, my lord secretary, that I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged: therefore I might be reputed a fool if I would make you privy to my defences." If these sagacious statesmen felt the anxiety for his safety which they had expressed they might now have been satisfied that he was able to manage his own case, and that their sympathy was premature. Both were displeased at his wary refusal, and Lethington departed; but Moray,

between whom and the reformer the late umbrage yet subsisted, stayed behind and tried to enter into further discourse upon the state of the court and its parties; but here his old friend cut him short with, "I understand more than I would of the affairs of the court, and therefore it is not needful that your lordship trouble yourself with recounting them." He then turned to a subject that was nearer to his heart than his own personal safety, and added, "If you stand in good case I am content; and if you do not—as I fear you do not already, or else shall not do ere it be long—then blame not me. You have counsellors whom you have chosen; my weak judgment both you and they despised; I can do nothing but behold the end, which, I pray God, may be other than my troubled heart feareth."

When the day of trial came the queen and privy-council were assembled, and between the hours of six and seven in the evening John Knox was summoned before them for examination. On his way to Holyrood he was followed by such a crowd of his well-wishers that they filled the inner court and stairs even to the chamber-door. When all were assembled and in readiness the queen came from her apartment in state and took her place at the head of the long table; but when she saw the culprit Knox, standing bareheaded at the foot of it, she first smiled, and then broke into loud laughter. "This is a good commencement," she said to her court flatterers near her; "but wot ye at what I laugh? Yon man made me shed tears, and never shed tear himself: I will see if I can make him weep." The proceedings commenced in earnest by the reading of Knox's circular, and on its being handed to him he frankly confessed it to be wholly his writing and composition. His principal examiner was Lethington as secretary of the council; but, quick and cunning though he was in fence, the strong, temperate, judicious replies of Knox were more than a match for his wonderful adroitness. To the accusation that he had convoked the queen's lieges, the reformer answered that there were lawful as well as unlawful convocations; that if he was guilty in this present case he had also been guilty many times since he came to Scotland, for that no convocation of the brethren had been made in which his pen had not been employed, and that before this it had never been laid to his charge as a crime. This answer involved Lethington and almost every one present in these doings, and the former answered, "Then was then, and now is now; we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had." Knox alleged that the past and present times were the same, but only with this difference that the devil who formerly approached to them with open face now came to them wearing a vizor, and that the flock of Christ were in the same danger as before. The queen became impatient of this protracted skirmishing and interposed. "Methinks you are trifling with him," she said; "who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?" "No, madam," said the stern Lord Ruthven from his place at the council-board, "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily, and whatever your grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason." She sharply ordered him to hold his peace and allow the accused to answer for himself, after which the examination was wholly conducted by the queen, who proved herself a more able dialectician than Knox had anticipated. She allowed his right to assemble the people to his sermons, but not to convocate her subjects at pleasure without her commandment. He showed her in reply that whatever he had done in this way was done by the order and authority of the Protestant community at large; and that though this was done without her commandment, in like manner had Protestantism been established without her commandment as the religion of the realm. This was dangerous ground, and the queen made haste to leave it by coming directly upon the specific subject of trial. "You shall not escape so," she exclaimed with an air of triumph: "Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a sovereign of cruelty? I think there be acts of parliament against such whisperers." When this was granted the queen adverted to the following sentence in Knox's circular in reference to the two accused citizens: "This fearful summons is directed against them to make, no doubt, preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude." "Lo, what say you to that?" exclaimed the queen, when the extract was read. Having sought and obtained permission to reply, while many wondered how he should be able, he commenced with the following postulate:—

"I will first desire this of your grace, madam, and of this most honourable audience, whether your grace knows not that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the evangel of Jesus Christ?—and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm?" At these home questions the queen was silent; but the members of the council replied with one voice, "God forbid that either the lives of the faithful or yet the staying of the doctrine stood in the power of the Papists; for just experience has told us what cruelty lies in their hearts!" Adopting this concession Knox showed

that this wholesale destruction of the Protestants of Scotland had been repeatedly attempted by force, but had failed; and that now they were attempting what force could not accomplish by having recourse to craft and colour of law by having the sovereign a party to their attempt. It was evident, therefore, that the proceedings against the two accused brethren instead of the end would only be the beginning of a wholesale persecution and extermination. "And therefore, madam," he said, "cast up when you list the acts of your parliament. I have offended nothing against them; I accuse not in my letter your grace nor yet your nature of cruelty." It was the Papists her advisers, he added, who had inflamed her against the accused under the instigation of their father, who had been a liar and a murderer from the beginning. Here he was interrupted: "You forget yourself," cried one of the council, "you are not now in the pulpit." "I am in the place," replied Knox, "where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth; and therefore I speak. The truth I speak impugn it whoso list." Then addressing himself to Mary he reminded her how princes of honest, gentle, meek natures might be perverted by wicked and corrupt counsellors, of which he mentioned the instance of Nero, and warned her against her Popish advisers by the example of her mother, who had found their counsels so pernicious. It was evident that he had carried the minds of the council along with him, and therefore nothing further was said about the capital charge. But the queen had another in reserve. "Well, you speak fair enough here," she said, "before my lords; but the last time I spoke with you privately, you caused me to shed many salt tears and said to me stubbornly, 'You cared not about my weeping?'" This heavy charge, so often repeated in the present day, was not strictly true; and to clear himself of the misrepresentation he went over the principal points of this memorable interview with impartial fidelity. He alluded to her tears, but also reminded her of his sympathetic apology, and the very words he had used on that occasion. The trial was at an end; he was ordered to withdraw, and the question was put whether he was guilty or not. The members of the council unanimously voted that John Knox had committed no offence against the queen. This unexpected verdict enraged the court flatterers present, and especially Maitland of Lethington, and as Mary had previously retired she was brought back, placed in the chair, and the voting demanded anew. This attempt to coerce the council was met by a general cry of indignation: "What! shall the Laird of Lethington have power to control us? or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God and condemn an innocent man against our consciences for the pleasure of any creature?" It was one of those proud outbursts of nobility against the assumptions of royalty so characteristic of Scottish history, and the council not only absolved Knox once more with a unanimous verdict, but praised God for his modesty and his plain sensible answers. Mary was especially provoked that Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and a personal enemy of Knox, should side with the rest; and on hearing his vote of acquittal she said tauntingly, "Trouble not the bairn: I pray you trouble him not; for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of those that have passed before him?" "Your grace may consider," replied the offended prelate, "that it is neither affection to the man nor yet love to his profession that moved me to absolve him; but the simple truth, which plainly appears in his defence, draws me after it, though others would have condemned him." The court broke up, the queen retired heavy in heart and disappointed, and on that night, as Knox informs us, there was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court. Even after his acquittal, however, attempts were made to obtain from him some token of submission; and he was informed by the courtiers of the queen's party, that if he would place himself at her will his greatest punishment would be to enter the castle of Edinburgh, and immediately afterwards he might return to his own house. But this dishonest and paltry truckling he rejected with scorn. "God forbid," he said, "that my confession should condemn those men that of their conscience, and with displeasure of the queen, have absolved me! And further, I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire me to confess an offence, unless that therewith you would desire me to cease from preaching; for how can I exhort others to peace and Christian quietness if I confess myself an author and mover of sedition?"[1]

Although Knox was so successful with the Lords of Council upon a question of abstract right, and had obtained absolution from a charge of treason even when their sovereign was the chief accuser, there was another subject in which his heart was equally interested, but in which his arguments were ineffectual. The poverty of the clergy still continued, the allowance for their proper maintenance was withheld; and when the church appealed to the men in power, the possessors and dispensers of the ecclesiastical revenues, for a redress of the grievance the answer was, "If ministers will not follow our coun-

1. Knox, ii. pp. 393–412.

sels we will suffer them to labour for themselves and see what speed they come." The subject was debated with great keenness in the next General Assembly, especially by the lay members, the gentlemen and barons, who complained that the exactions for the thirds were continued upon their tenants, while their ministers were still unpaid. Even reprisals in the form of a stoppage of supplies was threatened, so that the queen's guards and the salaried Papists should be forced to complain as long as the ministers themselves had done. The most zealous opponent of the clerical claims in this assembly was the astute and formidable Lord-secretary Lethington, while it was expected that their chief advocate would have been Knox himself. But to the surprise of the brethren he remained silent; and when the cause of such unwonted backwardness was demanded he unfolded it with his usual eloquence and plainness. Of late days, he said, he had been accused and tried as a seditious man and a usurper of power to which he was not entitled. And yet what he had done in giving warning of the danger and summoning the brethren to assemble had been in consequence of the charge given to him by the General Assembly itself, and which he considered as binding upon him as the charge they had given him to preach in his pulpit in Edinburgh. It was this accusation that had troubled him, and not the trial which he was to undergo before the council. "The danger that appeared to me in my accusation," he exclaimed, "was not so fearful as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart; for these words were plainly spoken, and that by some Protestants, 'What can the pope do more than send forth his letters and require them to be obeyed?'" He therefore demanded their judgment whether he had usurped any power to himself, or only obeyed their commandment. At this appeal the court adherents stormed, and Sir John Bellenden, the justice-clerk, angrily cried, "Shall we be compelled to justify the rash doings of men?" "My lord," answered Knox firmly, "of you I crave nothing; but if the kirk, which is here present, do not either absolve me or else condemn me, never shall I in public or in private, as a public minister, open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning." After this appeal he retired, and a long contention followed. It was the design of his enemies to have him condemned by the church, although he had been absolved by the council, and with the hope of effecting this they had recommended themselves to the queen. But they were disappointed, for the award of the assembly was, that a charge had been given him to advertise the brethren in all quarters as often as danger appeared, and that therefore they avowed his deed in the late transaction to be also their own.

The year 1564 was ushered into Scotland with more than the ordinary measure of tempest and gloom; the heavy rains froze as they fell until the land was sheeted over with ice; and the birds, pierced by the arrows of the cold air, fell down in mid-flight. Nor were terrible supernatural signs wanting to those severe natural phenomena; the sea, it was said, stood still and ceased to ebb or flow, while spectral armies were seen careering in heaven and encountering with couched lances. They were those visions of a troubled brain which were wont in rude ages to attack nations like an epidemic, showing the unhealthy state of the public mind—a state which naturally led to the great changes and revolutions of which these signs were accounted the prophetic portents. But the festivity of the court continued unabated and was producing iniquitous fruits. One of the queen's French female attendants, with her paramour, the court apothecary, were convicted of the murder of their natural child and sentenced to public execution. A hasty marriage had to be huddled up between one of the queen's Maries — Mary Livingston — and John Sempill, nicknamed "The Dancer," while broad lands of the crown had to be bestowed upon the bridegroom to effect the union; and so numerous became the popular songs and ballads against the impurities of the court that they had to be suppressed by repeated statutes and proclamations. The very novelty of these foreign fashions and their exciting nature acting upon the Scottish temperament seems to have produced excesses by which France itself was outstripped, and Knox justified in his terrible denunciations against "fiddling and flinging." They were also a defiance of the Reformation and the resources of a new warfare against it when Popery itself was too feeble to maintain the struggle—a form of argument and means of proselytism more easily handled than patristic learning and Aristotelian logic, which were the weapons of but a favoured few. It was not surprising that the clergy should become louder and more frequent in their denunciations, and that their rebukes should be embittered by the shameful poverty to which they were so unscrupulously consigned. While they were also enduring a double portion of that general destitution which the inclemency of the season had occasioned the court banquets were going on as merrily as a marriage bell; for after the queen had feasted the lords of the council to show that she bore them no ill-will for their verdict on the trial of Knox, each gave a banquet in return, and thus the spilth

and revelry went on "till Fasten-even and after." The vehement attacks from the pulpit not only upon the prevalent vices but the particular offenders provoked a spirit of reaction, and the complaint of the courtiers was that trespassers were uncharitably handled. "Might not sins be reproved in general," they asked, "although men were not so specially accused that all the world might know of whom the preacher spoke?" To this it was replied, "Let men be ashamed to offend publicly and the ministers will abstain from specialities; but as long as Protestants are not ashamed manifestly to act against the gospel of Jesus Christ, so long the ministers of God cannot cease to declare that God will be revenged upon such abusers of his holy Word."

This reaction of sympathy for fashionable crimes and offenders of high rank did not stand alone; it was also accompanied with a new and wonderful lenity towards the religion of the queen, and this, too, on the part of many who had been the most zealous promoters and supporters of the Reformation. That the mass was idolatry had hitherto been an unquestioned axiom. It had commenced with the Reformation; the rite was branded with that title in the parliamentary enactments, and was so designated in the weekly and daily sermons. But now it was declared that the term was indiscriminate and unjust, and many offered to maintain by argument that the mass was not an idolatrous observance. It was a startling change in the spirit of the Reformation, and a terrible apostasy in the eyes of Knox, who saw that the worse than an invasion of ten thousand Frenchmen was on the eve of being aggravated tenfold by disunion, dissension, and civil contest. He expressed his anguish from the pulpit and in public prayer. "O Lord, how long," he cried, "wilt thou suffer thyself and thy blessed evangel to be despised of men—of men, we say, that make themselves defenders of the truth? For of thy manifest and known enemies we complain not, but of such as unto whom thou hast revealed thy light; for now it comes to our ears that men, not Papists, we say, but chief Protestants, will defend the mass to be no idolatry. If so were, O Lord, miserably have I been deceived, and miserably, alas! O Lord, have I deceived thy people; which thou knowest, O Lord, I have ever more abhorred than a thousand deaths." After this expression of his anguish and solemn appeal to heaven for the sincerity and rectitude of his teaching, he turned to that portion of his auditory which he had specified and thus addressed them:—"If I am not able to prove the mass to be the most abominable idolatry that ever was used since the beginning of the world, I offer myself to suffer the punishment appointed by God for a false teacher; and it appears to me that the affirmers should be subject to the same law; for it is the truth of God that ye persecute and blaspheme; and it is the invention of the devil that obstinately and against his Word ye maintain." Then, kindling into prophetic fervour, he added:—"Although ye now flirt and fleer at this as if all that was spoken were but wind, yet am I as assured as I am assured that my God liveth, that some who hear this your defection and railing against the truth and servants of God shall see a part of God's judgments poured forth upon this realm—and principally upon you that fastest cleave to the favour of the court—for the abominations that are maintained by you." Some were moved to tears by this appeal, but the more guilty said scoffingly, "We must recant and burn our bill, for the preachers are angry."

This dangerous lenity towards Popery, and the spirit of division with which it was rending the church asunder, were signally displayed at the next meeting of the General Assembly, which took place in June (1564). At first the Protestant lords of the court party absented themselves; but on being invited either to assist the assembly with their presence and counsel, of which it never stood in greater need, or to announce distinctly and at once that they had fallen back and would no longer concur with them, these noblemen vouchsafed their presence, but in a moody spirit, and withdrew themselves into a separate part of the building called the Inner Council House. They were the Duke of Chastelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Moray, Morton, Glencairn, Marischal, and Rothes, the Lord-secretary Lethington, the justice-clerk, the clerk of register, and the Laird of Pitarrow the controller, who from their inner chamber sent a message inviting the superintendents and some of the more learned of the ministers to come and confer with them. This device, however, of separating the clergy while weighty matters were in discussion, and carrying by a junto of their own the measures which ought to be settled by the brethren collectively, had been tried at the former assembly; and warned by the example, an answer was returned that the persons whose presence was requested could not be spared, and that the lords, if they acknowledged themselves members of the kirk, ought to join with the brethren and propound in public such things as they pleased. As the lords, however, continued to insist, their demand was at last complied with, on the express condition that no conclusion of that meeting should be put to the vote, but sub-

mitted to the decision of the whole assembly; and with the superintendents and ministers went John Knox, against whom it was known the accusations of the lords were to be directed.

The accuser on this occasion was Maitland of Lethington, the Machiavelli, as the other was the Luther of Scotland. In addition to his profound craft and subtlety as a statesman, to which Elizabeth herself had yielded and Burleigh done homage, he added not only an amount of learning that was rare among his countrymen, but a knowledge of theology beyond that of most politicians even of this reforming period, when every director of public events was obliged to back his proposals with church authorities and Scripture. He opened the proceedings by a gentle conciliatory harangue in which the grievances to be complained of were indicated under the three following heads:—How much they were indebted to God, by whose providence they had full liberty of religion under their sovereign, although she was not a Protestant. In the second place, how necessary it was that the queen, through the good offices of the church, and especially of its ministers, should be retained in the conviction that they favoured her interests and sought that her subjects should think well of her. Lastly, the speaker insisted how dangerous it was that ministers should be noticed to disagree in their forms of prayer for her majesty, or in their doctrine of the obedience that was due to her authority. "And in these two last heads," said Lethington in conclusion, "we desire you all to be circumspect; but especially we must crave of you our brother, John Knox, to moderate yourself as well in the form of praying for the queen's majesty as in the doctrine you propound touching her estate and obedience. Neither may you take this as spoken to your reproach, but because that others by your example may imitate the like liberty, although not with the same modesty and foresight; and what opinion may thus be created in the people's minds wise men do foresee."

These separate charges opened up a field of debate into which we have not room to enter. Knox justified himself with his wonted boldness and ability. He could not acknowledge that the land ought to praise God for having a sovereign by whose example it was perverted and in whose idolatry it connived. He could not otherwise than pray that the queen might be purged from the venom of idolatry and freed from the bondage of Satan as long as she continued to be a worshipper of the mass; and as for the qualified language of his prayers for her conversion, in which he seemed to doubt the fulfilment, he was justified in this by her continued opposition to the gospel and persistence in the worship of the mass. So long as this continued he could not pray in faith, and therefore was obliged to add the qualification, "If thy good pleasure be." His free speaking in the pulpit of royal perversity he justified by the language and doctrines of the New Testament and by the examples of the ancient prophets, who did not scruple to denounce kingly offenders even in presence of the people. With regard to the duties which subjects owed their sovereigns he terribly shook the doctrines of the divine right of kings and the obligation of passive resistance—those doctrines of which the Stuarts were such uncompromising champions and such signal martyrs—and on these topics unfolded the same opinions which were established nearly a century and a half afterwards as the foundation and pillars of the British constitution. It was in this as in other great principles by which he anticipated a glorious futurity that he could establish the prophetic declaration of his old age, "What a man I have been to my country the ages to come will tell, though the present generation will not confess it." Much, indeed, there was in his form of reasoning that would now fail to persuade, and not a little in his conclusions that would be deemed severe and unreasonable in the present day; but this alloy belonged to the period, and without it the valuable coinage into which it entered would scarcely have been appreciated or passed as good and lawful currency. Ably, indeed, fought Lethington, but it was the combat of craft against wisdom; and as often as he shifted his ground, which he did with admirable dexterity, he was met and driven from his position. The conclusion of this long debate, as summed up before them by Knox himself as principles fully demonstrated, were too pregnant with consequences to Mary and her doomed posterity to be passed over in this history without notice. They were the following:—

1. That subjects have delivered an innocent person from the hands of their king, and therein have not offended God.

2. That subjects have refused to destroy innocent persons when a king commanded, and in so doing have denied no just obedience.

3. That such as destroyed at the commandment of the king were reputed murderers before God.

4. That God has not only raised a subject to the office of king, but has also armed subjects against their natural kings and commanded them to take vengeance upon them according to his law.

5. That God's people have executed God's law against their king, having no further re-

gard to him in that behalf than if he had been the most simple subject within the realm.

The debate being ended the question was put by Lethington, "May we take the queen's mass from her?" This and nothing worse, a proposal which had been made before Mary was invited to return to Scotland, and which since that period Knox and a portion of his brethren had not ceased to demand, was now interposed as the mildest form by which these conclusions could be illustrated. It was also insisted that the votes of this committee should in the first instance be taken and afterwards presented to the General Assembly. By this proceeding it was thought that the concurrence of the lords in favour of the queen would have its influence upon the meeting at large. The proposal, however, was opposed by Knox as an act of tyranny against the church, and a violation of the agreement that no vote was to be taken at the present conference. His objections were overruled and the voting commenced, but had not proceeded far when its course was arrested by a remark of Mr. John Craig, the colleague of Knox, who alluded to the decision of a similar question by the University of Bologna. The interruption was gladly received by the court party, who found that the opinion of the clergy was going against them, and the meeting broke up without anything being concluded. As we have already seen, Moray was present on this occasion, and in concluding his account of it Knox painfully records that their alienation still continued, and that neither by word nor letter there had been any communication between them.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY (1564–1566).

Opposition to the return of the Earl of Lennox to Scotland—His arrival in Scotland—He is restored to his honours and possessions—Melvil's embassy to England—His interviews with Elizabeth—Her duplicity—Unwise proceedings of Mary—Extravagant style of living at her court—David Rizzio—His rapid rise in Mary's favour—His arrogance—Resentment of the nobles against him—Arrival of Lord Darnley in Scotland—His appearance and character—Object designed in his coming—His favour with the queen—His impolitic conduct towards the nobles—Mary's exertions to restore the mass—A mass priest pilloried—Bothwell returns to Scotland—His nonappearance on the day of trial—He hastily retires to France—Attempts of the queen to obtain the consent of the nobles to her intended marriage with Darnley—Her unsuccessful attempt with the Earl of Moray—Opposition to the marriage on the part of Queen Elizabeth—She submits the measure to her privy-council—Their disapproval of the marriage—Darnley continues in his offensive practices—General Assembly held—Its articles for the reform of abuses—The articles presented to the queen—Her equivocal conduct on receiving them—Her final and unsatisfactory answer—The queen marries Darnley—Alarm of Moray and a party of the nobles at the marriage—They assemble to oppose the queen and Darnley—The Chase-about Raid—Moray and his adherents obliged to fly to England—Darnley offended by a sermon of Knox—His trial and answers—The Earl of Bothwell again appears in Scotland—His favourable reception by the queen—Her affections alienated from Darnley by his own vicious practices—Conduct of Elizabeth towards Moray and his associates—Her treacherous conduct towards them at her court—Their harsh dismissal from her presence—Events in Scotland that promise their recall—These symptoms frustrated—Alliance of foreign powers for the destruction of Protestantism—Mary joins it—Alterations in her conduct towards her Protestant subjects—Their alarm—Combination for the destruction of Rizzio—It is headed by Darnley—Rizzio's arrogant confidence—He is murdered in Holyrood—Mode and proceedings of the deed—The queen imprisoned in her palace—Severity and closeness of her detention—Moray and his party return to Edinburgh.

While the marriage of the Queen of Scots had been the great subject of political anxiety and intrigue at the courts of Scotland, England, France, Spain, and Rome, and while Mary herself was annoyed with the deceitful proposals of Elizabeth, who pointed out to her the Earl of Leicester as the fittest object of her choice, the union to which she was fated was accelerated by the arrival of the Earl of Lennox in Scotland. This was the first step which Lethington had successfully negotiated with the Queen of England, and her recommendation, with that of her minister Cecil for the earl's recall, the exertions of her ambassador Randolph at the Scottish court to that effect, and the cordial assent of the Earl of Moray, were sufficient to remove any obstacle to the restoration of the long-absent exile. But even when all was in readiness for his departure from England Elizabeth wavered, or affected to waver; and she not only

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 417, 462.

sought to detain him, but commanded Cecil to write to the Scottish court, urging that the earl's permission to return should be countermanded. At this change and its occurrence at the last hour both Moray and Lethington were indignant, and they wrote sharp letters to the English minister reminding him how cordially his queen had assented to the measure, and how urgent she had been in promoting it. The chief opposition to be feared would be from Knox and his adherents, who had cause to believe that both Lennox and his son were papists; but of this they made light as an obstacle of small account. "The religion here," Maitland wrote, "doth not depend upon my Lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeves of any one or two that may mislike his coming." Moray's letter was to the same effect. "As to the faction that his coming might make for the matters of religion," he wrote, "thanks to God our foundation is not so weak that we have cause to fear if he had the greatest subject of this realm joined to him, seeing we have the favour of our prince and liberty of our conscience in such abundance as our hearts can wish. It will neither be he nor I, praised be God, can hinder or alter religion hereaway; and his coming or remaining in that cause will be to small purpose."[1] Elizabeth yielded and granted license to the earl to leave England, giving him also a letter of warm recommendation to the Scottish queen. He arrived in Edinburgh on the 23d of September (1564), after having been absent from his native country twenty-two years; and his advance to Holyrood House, near which his lodging was appointed, was in great state, he having twelve gentlemen riding before him in velvet coats, with gold chains about their necks, and thirty gentlemen and servants riding behind him in gray liveries. He signalized his return by splendid presents to the queen and principal persons of the court, but omitted the Earl of Moray, and seemed anxious to win the favour of every one except him who was ultimately to be the most powerful of all. On the 9th day of October the revocation of his sentence of banishment and restitution to his titles, honours, and estates was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, with all the pomp and solemnity that could grace so important an occasion; the Cross was hung with tapestry; five heralds in coat armour and two macers made the proclamation, while the principal nobility welcomed the restoration of their brother by their presence on horseback at the ceremony.[2]

There was still no public mention of a union between Queen Mary and the son of the Earl of Lennox; on the contrary Elizabeth still persisted in her mysterious policy of offering the Earl of Leicester as the fittest husband for her cousin, although the pretext was now so stale that it could not be otherwise than laughed at. If her design indeed had been to precipitate Mary into a union with Darnley through sheer irritation and contradiction a woman's finesse, added to a politician's cunning and sagacity, could not easily have devised a better mode. In utter perplexity as to Elizabeth's real intentions Mary, after the return of Lennox, sent Sir James Melvil as her ambassador to England. His ostensible object was to explain and palliate whatever might have been deemed offensive in her late letters to Elizabeth upon the Lennox affair; but he was also to watch the proceedings of the English parliament, especially in reference to her own claims in the English succession. Melvil discharged his commission ably; and his account of this embassy, which has been quoted in so many histories, gives a strange sketch of Elizabeth, in whom a robusteous playfulness, personal vanity, and love of applause, coquetry, and every womanly freak, failing, and folly were so strangely mixed with, and controlled by, the accomplishments of a ripe scholar, the wisdom of a statesman, and the commanding influence of an all-successful ruler—a queen who in one breath could show herself more than man and less than woman, and who seemed, like Antæus, only to reinvigorate herself by the hazardous process of falling. Both as a gay female who loved to talk of foreign fashions and accomplishments, and as a politician who wished to gather intelligence about every court and statesman, the presence of the travelled and experienced Scottish diplomatist was welcome to Elizabeth, so that she frequently sent for him three times in the course of a single day. She expressed the highest love for her dear sister and cousin, and wished that she could be persuaded to marry the handsome and accomplished Leicester. She alluded to the "long lad"—so she termed Lord Darnley—and feared that the ambassador preferred him to the other. She wished to know whether Mary was her superior in beauty, whether she was shorter or taller, whether she danced better or played better on musical instruments; and to qualify him for being an impartial judge, she danced "high and disposedly," and let him hear her performances on the virginals. All this was utter trifling and folly for the time, the impulsive starts of Elizabeth's vanity; but with her calm reflection was certain to succeed; and from these chance fragments she could combine such a portrait of Mary as she might not otherwise have obtained —of a rival whom she dreaded, was desirous to

[1] Letters in State Paper Office, 13th July, 1564.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 77; *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary* (Maitland Club pub.), p. 111.

overreach, and might even find it her interest finally to destroy. Regarded in this light these interviews of Melvil with Elizabeth, although they have afforded such merriment to posterity, were no laughing matter to the Queen of Scots and her ambassador. After Melvil had given a full and detailed report of Elizabeth's words and behaviour Mary wished to know his opinion of their sincerity; on which he frankly confessed that in his judgment there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning in the Queen of England's conduct, but on the contrary envy, apprehension, and great dissimulation.[1]

In the meantime the style of living maintained by Mary was such as to give every advantage to her dangerous rival. Her kingdom had reached a crisis; a momentous transition had commenced, of which the character was intelligible and the result certain, and good feeling as well as policy would have dictated a line of conduct more in sympathy with the condition of her people and the perilous tenure of her authority. But to a land of overturned monasteries and a community warring to the death upon the most irreconcilable of all divisions she brought the frivolities of a dissipated court; upon a people stripped and peeled by a long course of wars foreign, civil, and religious, she imposed a waste and expenditure such as an abundant treasury and peace both at home and abroad could scarcely have justified;—and such a reckless course of indulgence was equally offensive to the old church already trampled under foot, and to the new that had established itself amidst gloom and suffering and self-denial. Every morning she devoted to the chase, and every evening to balls and masquerades, at which she and her ladies sometimes appeared in male attire, to the great indignation of her Protestant subjects. Her banquets were held "with joy and mirth, marvellous sights and great show, and singular devices; nothing left undone that might either fill the bellies, feed the eyes, or content the mind."[2] This account of the luxurious court feasting is corroborated by an incidental notice given by Knox of the queen's visit to Fife at the beginning of 1565, where she was banqueted so royally at the gentlemen's houses that a dearth of wild fowl ensued, so that partridges were sold at a crown a piece! Neither was the close of this revelry consistent with her duties or her dignity as a queen, for it was to pass with a few attendants to St. Andrews that she might live merrily in the house of a private citizen. Here Randolph waited upon her, charged with weighty affairs connected with the two kingdoms and their sovereigns; but, instead of granting him a formal interview for the purpose, she invited him to dine and sup with her every day. When this had continued for three days he at length ventured to speak of business; but her reply was characterized by the same unroyal levity—"I see now well," she said, "that you are weary of this company and treatment. I wish for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt the pastimes with your great and grave matters! I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not see her here; nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of state nor such appearances that you may think there is a queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh."

But the greatest imprudence of Mary, and that from which she was chiefly to suffer, was the undue favour which she was bestowing upon a menial and a foreigner, David Rizzio. This man, who occupies so prominent a place in the history of the period, was a native of Pancalieri in Piedmont. When he was about twenty-eight years of age he arrived in Scotland as secretary of the Marquis de Morette, who was sent in embassy from the court of Savoy in 1561, to congratulate Mary on her return to her native dominions. Mary had already three valets of her chamber who sang in three parts; but as a bass was wanted, Rizzio, who was skilled in music, sometimes took this part with the other performers. This accomplishment procured him such favour with the queen that he was easily persuaded to remain in Scotland as one of the royal valets; and on the retirement of Roullet, Mary's French secretary, Rizzio, on account of his knowledge of the French and Italian languages, was promoted to the office. The national jealousy against foreigners, his large salary, and the gratuities he received from the queen would have been enough to expose him to envy and dislike; but when to these was added the surmise that he was a secret agent of the pope his unpopularity was increased tenfold. He was soon the principal court favourite; all who had suits either at law or court applied to him; and even at the most important state levees, when the chief personages of the realm were present, Rizzio would ostentatiously converse with the queen as if to parade his superiority. To such a nobility as those of Scotland this behaviour of an alien and menial was intolerable, and therefore they not only bent on him their darkest looks, but would sometimes shoulder and thrust

[1] Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.
[2] Letter of Randolph to Cecil, 13th June, 1563.

him aside when he presumed to stand in their way. The luckless foreigner soon found that the queen's thoughtless partiality and his own overweening arrogance had set him up as a mark for universal dislike, and on applying for counsel to Sir James Melvil the latter advised him to eschew the danger of his position by shrinking into his original insignificance. This course he promised to follow, but afterwards told Sir James that the queen would not permit him, but willed him to carry himself as before. Melvil was a faithful and trusted servant of his sovereign, who had desired him to warn her of whatever he judged amiss in her proceedings; and judging that the present state of matters was perilous both to the favourite and herself, he waited on the queen. He warned her of the danger of showing such partiality to a stranger; of the offended pride of the nobles and the religious jealousy of the Protestants; and even went so far as to remind her of Chastelard, whom her condescension had inspired with a mad presumption that in the end proved injurious to herself. These and other such admonitions upon the necessity of prudence and circumspection were thankfully received by the queen; but whatever may have been her good resolutions for the present, subsequent events proved that they had taken no lasting hold.

While the Scottish court was thus troubled by the ascendency of an unworthy favourite the man arrived by whom the evil was to be removed, but only by the substitution of a worse. This was Lord Darnley, who, under the plea of important business connected with his father's affairs in Scotland which required his personal appearance, had obtained permission of Elizabeth for the journey. He arrived in Edinburgh on the 12th of February, 1565, and learning that the queen was in Fife, he repaired to the castle of Wemyss, where the queen was at that time residing. The interest that had previously been excited by the frequent mention of his name was increased by his appearance. Of considerably more than ordinary height he was straight, slender, and well proportioned; he was in the fresh bloom of early youth, having only reached his nineteenth year; and in England he had perfected himself in those graceful accomplishments which were so highly prized at the court of Elizabeth. But beyond this showy exterior he had little to recommend him, for he was weak in judgment and violent in temper, a tool fitted for evil counsellors, and one whom high place and power were only likely to pervert and debase. All this, however, was as yet undetected, and while he recited poetry and played on the lute, rode well and danced gracefully, Mary "took very well with him, and said that he was the properest and best proportioned long man that ever she had seen."[1] The courtship thus commenced went on royally, and Mary, who had been tantalized by so many proposals of marriage, was glad to find at last a suitor in whom her personal affections could be reconciled with her political interests. At length, emboldened by her kindness, Darnley ventured to propose marriage; but the queen rejected the symbolical ring which he offered on the occasion. Still the handsome stripling had not been told to despair, and he not only continued his assiduities, but engaged Sir James Melvil and David Rizzio, the queen's chief advisers, in his favour. But a more prevalent solicitor still was sickness, by which Darnley was attacked at Stirling, first in the form of measles and then of ague, after he had been a short time in Scotland. Mary, who was then in Stirling, treated him with great sympathy, and watched over his recovery till he was convalescent, and her own heart lost. But in her now confirmed resolution to have Darnley for her husband there was every prudential motive to confirm her choice. Tutored by the counsels of his ambitious mother, the Countess of Lennox, who had sent him to Scotland to win the queen for his bride, he had as yet maintained a prudent discreet behaviour, and given indications neither of his vices nor defects. He was recognized in England as the first prince of the blood, and, next to Mary herself, the successor to the English throne; and should Elizabeth persist in her oft-declared resolution to die a virgin queen the offspring of Mary and Darnley would by natural succession unite the whole island under one crown. The greatest opposition that could be offered must come from Elizabeth herself, who had such a deep personal interest in a marriage by which her own Tudor line would be superseded by a new dynasty. But Elizabeth had already insisted upon Mary's choice of a native nobleman for her husband instead of a foreign prince, and when Darnley set out for Scotland it was not only with her full consent, but bearing her hearty recommendations in his favour. Anticipating, therefore, no objections from that quarter, Lethington was sent to the English court to announce the intended marriage and obtain Elizabeth's approbation. He arrived at Westminster on the 18th of April and delivered his message; but it was received by the English queen with indignation, and on laying the proposal before her council they responded to her feelings by condemning such a union, declaring that it would endanger the welfare of both kingdoms alike. Whether Elizabeth was maintain-

[1] Melvil.

ing a mere show of opposition against a measure which her practices had so greatly tended to promote, or had thought more deeply of the diminution of her own popularity which the birth of a male heir to her throne would create, it is impossible to conjecture. The great bugbear of her life was the thought of an alien successor, and, like the mysterious handwriting on the wall, it woke terrors which her courage could not quell and forebodings which her power could not silence.

In the meantime Darnley, whose success had been so rapid that the crown-matrimonial seemed already within his grasp, was beginning to show his natural character. His gentleness and moderation vanished, his conciliatory bearing towards the principal nobles was changed, and he was already offending those of the court who were not to be provoked with impunity. In this way he set at defiance the Duke of Chastelherault, to whom his father had been careful to reconcile himself, and made the Hamiltons his enemies. He openly declared the Earl of Moray's power in the state to be exorbitant and dangerous; and on having pointed out to him on a map of Scotland, at his own desire, the lands which that earl had received from the queen, he declared that they were too much. By similar offensive and arrogant conduct he not only made himself enemies in every quarter, but betrayed the weakness of his capacity, and how easily he might be led or overthrown. And as if to consummate these insults by showing his contempt of the whole Scottish nobility, he betook himself exclusively to the society and counsel of the upstart Rizzio. Mary endeavoured to check his imprudence; but the vain, rash young man was already too wise to be instructed, and, forgetful that he owed all to the bounty of his mistress, he talked of the strong party he had in England as if this had been and now would be sufficient to retain for him the dangerous superiority he had so quickly and unexpectedly attained.[1]

Amidst this gathering irritation by which the contemplated marriage was clouded the most important party of all, and in which it might have found its best defence, continued to be overlooked. While the leaders of Protestantism were insulted and Moray obliged to retire from the court, the grievances of the clergy in respect to their pecuniary claims on the state remained unredressed. But this was not all, for the queen's mass, not contented with mere toleration, began to be more ostentatious than ever. Such was the case at the beginning of this year when the queen was in Fife, and when her acquaintanceship with Darnley was commencing. During her absence mass was celebrated in Holyrood, to which the Papists of Edinburgh repaired; and emboldened by the impunity with which this was followed, they ventured a few Sundays after to have evensong, with priests, attendants, and singers. Against this breach of law and promise an appeal was carried by the Earl of Moray to the queen; but her excuse was that the offenders were many, and that she could not trouble their conscience. But matters were still worse when the period of Easter had arrived. On the Sunday mass was celebrated with greater pomp than had been usual in Scotland even when Popery was dominant; and while organs had hitherto been sufficient for the instrumental music, there were now the accompaniments of trumpets, drums, fifes, bagpipes, and sakers. On the Monday after, which was the day of festival and religious rejoicing, Randolph in his letter to Cecil writes that the queen "and divers of her women apparelled themselves like bourgeois wives, and went upon their feet up and down the town. Of every man they met they took a pledge or a piece of money towards the banquet; and in the same lodging where I am accustomed to lodge there was the dinner prepared and great cheer made, at which she was herself, with the great wonder and gaping of men, women, and children." This mumming, however, was not wholly confined to one party; the more zealous Protestants were on the alert to apprehend such mass-priests as might venture at this season to defy the law, and succeeded in securing one whom they carried to the market-cross, where he was kept for an hour in his clerical garments, with the chalice bound fast to his hand, amidst the missiles of boys "who served him with his Easter eggs." On the following day the priest was tried and convicted according to act of parliament; and although the punishment denounced for his offence was death, nothing more was inflicted than a return to the pillory at the market-cross, where he was obliged to stand four hours and endure a second shower of unsavoury Easter pellets. This may be called persecution, but in France or Spain would a Protestant thus offending have been let off so cheaply? The queen was indignant with the provost and town-council, and commanded them to punish those "who were pleased to do justice perforce and without the magistrates' authority;" but as this would have involved the extinction of the pillory itself, the chief terror to evil-doers, by the chastisement of egg-throwers, the usual dispensers of its retributions, the royal order could not be complied with. The queen, however, rewarded

[1] Randolph to Cecil, May 3 and May 21, 1565.

the zealous mass-priest by promoting him to a benefice.[1]

Amidst these changes the turbulent Earl of Bothwell returned unexpectedly from France. As he was suspected of treason and notoriously profligate in character his arrival boded no peace to the disturbed realm. On his arrival the Earl of Moray, whose life he had repeatedly threatened, appealed for justice against Bothwell for his treasonable design to seize the person of the queen three years before. With this crime he had been charged by the Earl of Arran, who about the same time had shown those symptoms of insanity from which he never recovered; but from the repetition of this charge by one so cautious as Moray it is possible that this nobleman may have obtained other and stronger evidence of Bothwell's guilt. On the day of trial Moray was in Edinburgh ready to support his charge, but Bothwell failed to appear —not, however, as may be charitably supposed, from consciousness of guilt, but rather on account of the numerous following of his adversary, who had entered the capital accompanied by an attendance of five thousand horsemen. So large a train may be accounted for by the great popularity of the earl and the reluctance of his friends to intrust his safety to a city in which Bothwell was likely to have his residence. On Wednesday, the 2d of May, the court was opened, and Bothwell, failing to appear, was condemned to pay the usual pecuniary forfeiture for non-appearance. He was not, however, put to the horn, a circumstance that was noted as a striking proof of the queen's clemency. After lingering for a short time in Liddesdale in continual terror of his life he again withdrew himself to France.[2]

As the queen had been so precipitate in her love of Darnley she was equally desirous to hasten on the marriage, and to this effect her proceedings now tended. In favour of it were not only the whole kin of the Earl of Lennox, but the Earls of Athole and Caithness, the Lords Hume and Ruthven, and all the influential barons who still adhered to the old Catholic faith. But against it was the still more formidable opposition of the duke, the Earls of Moray and Argyle, John Knox, the clergy, and the chief friends of the Reformation. The fact that Darnley and his father, notwithstanding their equivocal professions, were more than suspected of being Papists, and the eagerness with which their cause was espoused by that party, excited the alarm of the Protestants and made them generally hostile to the union. To reconcile, if possible, the leaders of the two parties and obtain their assent to the marriage the queen called a meeting of the nobles at Stirling; and adopting the plan of her ancestors, she endeavoured to secure the general suffrage by individual interviews with the disaffected. Accordingly on the 4th of May, when the Earl of Moray waited upon the queen at Stirling, she accompanied him to Lord Darnley's chamber, where she presented to him the marriage contract to which she had already obtained the signature of several lords, and desired him to subscribe it as the others had done. It expressed the approbation of the subscribers to the marriage, with their promise to obtain for her husband the crown-matrimonial in full parliament, and to serve and obey both him and her as their lawful sovereigns. Moray refused to sign it, declaring that so important a matter required a meeting of the whole nobility, or at least the chief of them and those whose patent was of a date prior to his own. The queen remarked that their approval had been already testified, and then appealing to his feelings she besought him to be so much of a Stuart as to consent that the crown should be retained in the family and surname, according to their father's will and desire expressed by him upon his deathbed. But Moray still refused. The hastiness of the measure which would degrade her in the eyes of foreign potentates, the indignation of Elizabeth whose ambassador was even now in waiting to protest against it, and most of all the hostility of Darnley to the Reformation, were the arguments by which the earl justified his refusal; and Mary, finding that all her remonstrances and threats were in vain, dismissed him with indignation.[3]

But remonstrances from England and opposition in Scotland were equally unavailing to arrest the marriage: with a perseverance only strengthened by every obstacle until it seemed a kind of infatuation Mary hastened onward to a union that was to be her fatal doom. At a full and open meeting of the nobles held at Stirling on the 15th of May the intended marriage of the queen with Darnley was announced; and overborne with the general voice, the duke, the Earls of Moray, Argyle, and Glencairn, and the chiefs of the Reformation assented with the rest—stipulating, however, that Protestantism should be established in parliament by the queen herself and the mass abolished. Not only did Mary receive these overtures complacently, but she even promised to hear conferences and disputations on the Scriptures and the sermons of such of the reformed ministers

[1] Knox.

[2] Randolph to Cecil, 24th March, 1565; Knox.

[3] Knox, ii. p. 480; Randolph to Cecil, 8th May, 1565.

as pleased her, especially Erskine of Dun, now superintendent of Angus, of whom she spoke with high commendation. On the same day Darnley received the honour of knighthood and immediately after was created Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross, after which investiture the young sovereign-elect bestowed knighthood upon fourteen gentlemen of ancient families. Even at this late stage also there was an unexpected interruption from England. In the midst of the proceedings Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the ambassador of Elizabeth, arrived at the gate of the castle demanding admission; and on entering the hall he protested in the name of his mistress against these proceedings, and that Lennox and Darnley, who were her own subjects, should embark in such an enterprise without giving her any previous notice. Mary's answer was both truthful and sarcastic. She had imparted, she said, her resolution of this marriage to Elizabeth as soon as she had entertained it herself, and this was all that she had ever promised to do. As for her choice, she added, she had complied with the expressed wish of Elizabeth, so that instead of a foreign prince she had selected an Englishman descended from the sovereigns of Scotland and England, and first prince of the blood in the latter country, and who, therefore, would be acceptable to both nations alike. All she would consent to do was to defer the ceremony of creating Darnley Duke of Albany, the last step to the throne, until she had heard again from Elizabeth, and with this concession Throckmorton had to rest satisfied.[1]

These answers were far from silencing the English queen, and her opposition to the marriage, whether real or feigned, was signalized by fresh proceedings. The intriguing Countess of Lennox, who had done so much for the aggrandizement of her son, and who was now suspected of caballing with the Popish noblemen of England, was first sent into confinement and afterwards imprisoned in the Tower. An imperious order was sent down to the Earl of Lennox and his son Darnley commanding them, on their allegiance as English subjects, to return to England. Elizabeth also submitted two important questions to her privy-council upon the subject of the approaching union to the following effect: 1. What dangers might ensue to the Queen of England and her realm from the marriage of the Queen of Scots with Lord Darnley? and 2. How these apprehended dangers might be best avoided. In answer to the first of these queries the council alluded to the alienation of confidence which might take place in the minds of her majesty's subjects by this prospect of a new succession to her crown; and how this marriage, so grateful to the Papists both of Scotland and England, would encourage the party in the latter country to resume their struggle for superiority, and even attempt it by a civil war rather than be unsuccessful. To the second question, as to the best means of avoiding these dangers, the council advised that her majesty should marry without further delay; that measures should be adopted for the strengthening of Protestantism both in England and Scotland; and that the party in Scotland opposed to their queen's marriage should be comforted and supported.[2] That such interference in the affairs of Scotland was expedient and such aid to its leading Protestants needed was apparent to the council from the intelligence which Randolph from time to time had been sending. From this it appeared that Rizzio was now the chief secretary of Mary, the only governor and director of Darnley, while the latter had so greatly increased in insolence and violence as was likely to ensure for him a short reign and a violent end. "The hazard towards him and his house," Randolph had written, "is marvellous great, his pride intolerable, his words not to be borne but where no man dare speak again. He spareth not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly where he knoweth that they will be taken. Such passions, such furies, as I hear say that sometimes he will be in is strange to believe. What cause this people hath to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all and thought what they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or themselves a miserable life to live under such estate and government as this is like to be." In the same letter Sir Thomas thus adverts to the condition of Moray and the Protestant party, and their need of English aid: "To see so many in hazard as now stand in danger of life, lands, and goods it is great pity to think; only to remedy this mischief he [Darnley] must be taken away, or such as he hateth find such support that whatsoever he intendeth to another may light upon himself. A little now spent in the beginning yieldeth double fruit. What were it for the queen's majesty, if she list not to do it by force, with the expense of three or four thousand pounds to do with this country what she would?"[3]

The assent of the Protestant lords at Stirling

[1] Knox; Keith; Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 21st May, 1565.

[2] Draft in MS. by Cecil in State Paper Office, June 4, 1565.

[3] Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 3d June, 1565.

to the queen's marriage with Darnley had been obtained chiefly through Mary's favourable reception of their demands for the establishment of the reformed religion and her expressed willingness to listen to the sermons of its principal preachers; and the 31st of May had been the day appointed when she would take these demands into full and final consideration. But before the day arrived the queen wrote to the lords from the town of Perth requiring them to postpone their application until such time as should be decided by the advice of her council. But as the only members of her council at this time were the Earls of Lennox and Athole, Lords Ruthven and Darnley, and David Rizzio, it was to be feared that this adjournment would be indefinitely protracted. Nor were these suspicions lessened when a fresh day was appointed by the queen, for it was the 23d of June, only two days before the meeting of the General Assembly, so that by their repairing to Perth at such a time the assembly would have been deprived of their attendance, the church disunited, and its decisions deprived of authority and effect. These nobles therefore remained in Edinburgh and assisted at the General Assembly with the exception of the Earl of Moray, who set out for Perth to join it, but fell sick on the way.[1]

The assembly met on the 25th of June, and the articles to be presented to the queen for the establishment of religion were comprised under six heads. By the first it was required that the mass, with all papistical authority and papal jurisdiction, should be abolished not only among the subjects but also in the queen herself personally; that the reformed religion now received in Scotland should be established, approved, and ratified throughout the realm in the queen's own person as well as in the subjects; and that the people should be bound to resort to public worship on the Sundays at least, as they had formerly been bound to repair to the mass. The second article had reference to the sustenance of the ministry both for the present and in time to come, the assignment of benefices to properly qualified persons, and the abolition of pluralities. The third concerned education, and demanded that none should be permitted to have the charge of schools, colleges, or universities, except such as had been tried by the superintendents or visitors of churches, and found able and sound in doctrine. The sustentation of the poor was the subject of the next article, and it was required that all lands founded for hospitality of old should be restored to their first use, and all lands, annual rents, emoluments, &c., pertaining formerly to friars and priests should be applied to the support of the poor and endowment of schools in the towns and other places. The fifth required the punishment of public offences which at present were allowed to pass uncorrected, viz. idolatry, blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, manifest whoredom, maintenance of brothels, murder, slaughter, oppression, &c., and that judges should be appointed in every province and diocese for their due trial and punishment. The last article demanded "that some order be devised and established for ease of the poor labourers of the ground concerning the unreasonable payment of the tithes, who are oppressed by the leasers of the tithes set over their heads without their own consent and advice." Such were the six articles drawn up for the establishment of religion, which were sent for the sanction of the queen and presented to her at Perth by five commissioners sent by the assembly; but on the next day she suddenly departed to Dunkeld, whither the commissioners followed her. Here, when they obtained audience and craved an answer, she excused herself on account of the absence of her council, but declared her intention to be in Edinburgh within eight days, when they should receive her reply. This harassing system of delay, however, was continued nearly two months longer, so that it was not till the 21st of August that the promised answer was given, and even then it was equivocal and unsatisfactory. She could not consent to renounce her religion, as, independently of doing violence to her conscience, she would lose the friendship of the King of France and other foreign allies; and with regard to her establishing Protestantism as the exclusive religion of the realm, this could not be done without the authority of the three estates of parliament, to whom the final decision should be referred. Of the proposed alienation of the church benefices for the support of the ministry she stated that these were part of the crown patrimony, and that they were necessary for her own support; but consideration of this being entertained she had no objection that a reasonable sustentation should be assigned to the ministers. With regard to a provision for the poor as much should be done by her majesty as could be reasonably demanded, while the third, fifth, and sixth articles were referred to the decision of the estates assembled in the next parliament.[2]

But during the previous gentle course of temporizing on the part of the queen, and before this final answer was given, by which her pre-

[1] Knox, ii. p. 483.

[2] Knox, ii. pp. 484–490; Spottiswood, p. 190.

vious promises were contradicted, and the reformers disappointed, she had succeeded in the great object of her wishes and her schemes—she had become the wife of Darnley. As the parties were so nearly related a papal dispensation was necessary for the marriage, and this having arrived from Rome at the end of July the queen was impatient of further delay. Accordingly, as soon as it was received, and at a late hour in the evening, a proclamation was made at the market-cross of Edinburgh announcing that the queen had resolved to take to her husband a right excellent and illustrious prince, Henry Duke of Albany, Earl of Ross, Lord Darnley, and therefore, that he should be held, obeyed, and reverenced as king; and commanding that all letters and proclamations hereafter should be made in the names of Henry and Mary. On the following day, which was Sunday, the 29th of July, the ceremony of marriage was performed at six o'clock in the morning in the royal chapel of Holyrood by the Dean of Restalrig; but on this joyful occasion it was remarked as an omen of dread that the queen, instead of being attired as a bride, had inadvertently come to the altar in her state dress of mourning as a widow. After the ceremony it was thrown aside; but, alas! how soon to be resumed, and yet again abandoned! After the service Mary went to mass, and the new king, instead of accompanying her, went to his pastimes. The marriage banquet was graced by all the splendour and formalities of royalty and a succession of feasts, revels, and dancing.[1]

This happy state of affairs, however, was not to be lasting. Alarmed at the danger to which the Reformation was exposed from their sovereign's equivocal conduct, and indignant at her arbitrary proceeding of proclaiming her husband king without the consent of parliament, Moray and his adherents were resolved to make an armed protest, and only waited for aid from England to break out into open insurrection. But Mary's promptitude on the occasion was equal to that with which her rash marriage had been accomplished. Only three days after she commanded Moray to appear at court on pain of being denounced as a rebel, and on his refusal he was put to the horn. On the same day, or that immediately following, a proclamation was made by Henry and Mary announcing that certain rebels under the pretext of religion were about to assemble for treasonable purposes, and warning all true subjects to be ready to meet their majesties at Linlithgow on the 24th of August under penalty of life, lands, and goods. These decisive measures broke up the coalition, and its members, consisting of the duke, the Earls of Moray, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and the gentlemen of Fife and Kyle, who had resolved to assemble in arms on the 24th, were unable to effect the muster. Even the aid they had expected from Elizabeth was withheld; for although that cautious princess had sent them ten thousand pounds she refused to send three thousand men, when she saw that they were little able to help themselves and that their cause was desperate. In the meantime Mary, who had taken the field in person with pistols at her saddle-bow, and was at the head of an army that made resistance hopeless, swept through Fifeshire, seizing the castles of her enemies, fining the rebel towns, and preparing for a campaign in Dumfries, the last retreat of the fugitive lords. Again they appealed to Elizabeth for aid; and in stating the grounds of their appearance in arms against their sovereign they adduced facts that could not be contradicted to show that Protestantism was on the eve of being subverted in Scotland, and Popery restored, and that the rights of the nobility and the people at large were violated by their queen's arbitrary innovations. But the appeal was in vain, and after being driven from every place where they attempted to rally and make a stand this hopeless attempt of Moray and his party, derisively called the "Chase-about Raid," was terminated by their flight into England, while their lands and possessions were confiscated. The general apathy of the people to a cause in which the leaders of the Reformation were engaged, and the facility with which the insurrection was extinguished, afforded a striking contrast to the popular zeal in former similar emergencies. But mere personal interests were too obviously mixed up with the occasion to give it a religious or even disinterested character; and "some alleged," as Knox informs us, "that the cause of this alteration was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes."[2]

While this apparent faintness of heart characterized the proceedings of the Chase-about Raid the fear and flight displayed in the field were contrasted by the unflinching boldness of the pulpit. On Sunday, the 19th of August, Darnley, who seems to have cared little for any religion, and could be Protestant or Papist according to circumstances, repaired to the High Kirk. This was probably to refute the allegation of the insurgent lords that he was at heart

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 80; Randolph to Leicester, July 31, 1565.

[2] State Papers; Randolph's Letters; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 81–83; Knox.

a devoted adherent of the Church of Rome. His presence had been expected, and a throne prepared in the church for his reception. The preacher was John Knox, and the text of his sermon was Isaiah xxvi. 13, 14. During his discourse he had occasion to quote these words of Scripture, "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them; children are their oppressors, and women rule over them," by which he illustrated the plagues inflicted upon nations for their sins. He also declared in reference to the government of wicked princes, that "God justly punished Ahab and his posterity because he would not take order with that harlot Jezabel." The new king was in a fury at this sermon, which he regarded as a personal attack upon himself and the queen, although no such application had been made, and on the same afternoon Knox was commanded to appear before the privy-council. He complied, and was accompanied to Holyrood by a great number of the most respectable citizens of the town. He was charged with having offended the king by some words he had uttered in his sermon, and desired to abstain, therefore, from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and allow Mr. Craig his colleague to take his place. He answered that he had spoken nothing but according to his text, and that if the church would command him either to speak or abstain he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him. To this we are told he added, that as the king to pleasure the queen had gone to mass and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his justice make her an instrument of his ruin. At these words the queen burst into tears.[1]

An event occurred not long afterward that was to cost the queen more bitter tears than all the sermons and denunciations that John Knox had ever uttered. This was the return of the Earl of Bothwell to Scotland on the 17th of September, having in his company David Chambers, one of his retainers, and a lord of session, whose dark intriguing spirit fitted him to be the counsellor and assistant of such a chief. Mary received the earl with fervent welcome, the insurgent nobles being still in the field, and as his power was great upon the Borders, he was made a member of the privy-council and lieutenant of the West and Middle Marches. After Bothwell's arrival the queen's proceedings seemed to assume additional vigour, so that Moray and his associates, who could not at any time assemble more than a thousand horse, were glad to escape from Dumfries to Carlisle. After this suppression of the insurrection Mary and Darnley disbanded their army, which had amounted to 18,000 strong, and returned to Edinburgh in November.

Although the queen's spirited conduct had been crowned with such success her triumph was soon clouded by the conduct of the king consort, whose unworthiness became every day more apparent. Of late he had become addicted to drinking and low company; his conduct in public to Mary was often harsh, coarse, and undutiful, so as to draw tears from her eyes; and although she emphatically warned him of his danger by ordering that his name should be no longer placed before hers upon the coin or in public deeds, he was so regardless of the warning, that nothing would satisfy him but the privilege of the crown-matrimonial, which he continued to demand with offensive importunity. She endeavoured to silence him with the answer that the crown-matrimonial could not be bestowed upon him until he was fully twenty-one years of age; and when this was found insufficient she was obliged to tell him plainly that she had done too much for him already, and that the crown could not be his without the consent of parliament. This refusal directed his rage against her majesty's counsellors, to whose advices he attributed this rejection, and especially against Rizzio, whom he already began to suspect of even worse offences than that of bereaving him of his share in the royal authority. Mary had now cause to regret her success in the Chase-about Raid, by which her brother Moray and the other Protestant nobles, who could have best suppressed the insolence of her unworthy husband, were driven across the Border into banishment.[2]

In the meantime the condition of these fugitives was such as their enemies might well afford to pity. But for the underhand encouragement of Elizabeth and her secret promises of aid they would scarcely have undertaken so desperate an adventure, and now that it had terminated so disastrously for themselves they thought that they might look to her for sympathy and shelter. Very different, however, was her reckoning upon the subject. Their attempt had been unsuccessful, and therefore she must disown it. They were no longer powerful lords but impoverished exiles, and therefore must be thrown aside as broken and useless instruments. To this course of selfish policy she was also urged by a letter of Mary denouncing her for harbouring these traitors, and by the remonstrances of the French and Spanish ambassadors who accused her of fomenting these disturbances in Scotland for her

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 497, 498; Spottiswood, p. 191.

[2] Letters of Randolph and Drury to Cecil, December, 1565, and Feb. 1566.

own advantages. In this difficulty Elizabeth, who still found it necessary to continue her practices in Scotland, had recourse to her wonted equivocation and double-dealing, and while openly discountenancing Moray and his coadjutors she yet resolved to give them secret encouragement and support. Accordingly, when she found that they were travelling to her court she sent an envoy commanding them to stop, which they did at Ware; but after this public ostensible order came a secret message from her telling them to advance. The Earl of Moray and the Abbot of Kilwinning arrived at her court, little aware of the degrading part they were about to play, and were received in the presence of the Spanish and French ambassadors who were invited to witness the interview. Elizabeth welcomed the refugees with a scowl and demanded of them why they had come to her court without warning. "Are you not branded as rebels to your sovereign?" she asked; "have you not spurned her summons and taken arms against her authority?" Then appealing exclusively to Moray she added, "I command you on the faith of a gentleman to declare the truth." The earl, overwhelmed with this unexpected appeal, denied that he was a traitor, declared that the accusation against him of plotting to seize the person of his sovereign was false, and that the Queen of England had not encouraged his rebellion. Triumphing in this extorted admission so hastily and improvidently given Elizabeth looked exultingly at the ambassadors, and then proceeded to rebuke her victims: "It is well that you have told the truth; for neither did I nor any one in my name ever encourage you in your unnatural rebellion against your sovereign. Not to be mistress of a world would I maintain any subject in disobedience to his prince: it might move God to punish me by a similar trouble in my own realm. But as for you two, ye are unworthy traitors, and I command you instantly to leave my presence." They retired in shame and confusion, while Elizabeth was careful to have the history of the interview proclaimed in Scotland as the best proof of her innocence in the late disturbances.[1] After their departure she not only sent aid privately to the exiled lords, but made a show of her clemency by writing to Mary in their favour.

While the Earl of Moray and his party were living in obscurity at Newcastle, and under the public ban of their own sovereign and the Queen of England alike, their case was not so hopeless as at first sight it appeared. Their friends in Scotland were anxious for their return, and those Lords of the Congregation who had not joined in their revolt were urgent for their recall. At the head of these was the Earl of Morton, recognized as the head of the Douglases during the minority of the Earl of Angus, Lord Ruthven, Maitland of Lethington, and Lord Lindsay. Sir James Melvil seconded their application; and it was thought that even Rizzio, to whose favour Moray had appealed with the present of a rich diamond, and who needed powerful friends to interpose between him and the king's violence, might be induced to add his influence in behalf of the proscribed nobles. While such powerful influence was stirred up in their behalf at court, John Knox, who had been reconciled to Moray, and with him the ministers of the Reformation, were active in promoting the public sympathy for the exiles and making their restitution the subject of general demand. But stronger than all these applications in their behalf were the vices and follies of Darnley. A Protestant or Papist by fits and starts, he had belied his profession of the former character by quarrelling with Knox and the ministers, while he had damaged the interests of the other party by his freakish demonstrations of zeal for the Church of Rome. Sometimes, we are told, he would even shut up the noblemen in his chamber, in the hope of persuading or compelling them to accompany him to mass—a mode of proselytism, we need not add, which instead of producing compliance only brought him anger and contempt. Nor was his violent, undutiful conduct to the queen abated; and while he made himself contemptible to the subjects by his low vices, he continued his demands for that crown-matrimonial which the queen of her own authority could not grant, and which he had shown himself so unworthy to wear. Beset by such difficulties on the one hand and so many solicitations on the other it was thought that Mary would soon yield, and that the recall of the banished lords would surround her with wiser counsellors and more able protectors. All was in readiness for this desirable measure when it was suddenly subverted by French influence and popish intolerance.

The religious spirit of the sixteenth century had added a new object of ambition to the mere love of conquest and military glory. Kings and warriors had now become more zealous in suppressing what their church denounced as a damnable heresy than in winning the renown of a merely carnal warfare; and those who, some centuries earlier, might have resigned their crowns and retired into monasteries to expiate a life of wholesale iniquity thought that absolution could be more cheaply and pleasantly purchased by taking the field as the soldiers of the

[1] Copy of the Queen's Speech in the State Paper Office; Melvil's Memoirs, p. 112, Edin. 1735.

church, and becoming the conquerors of heretical states and kingdoms. Of these distinguished characters which the Reformation had called into action the present heads were Catherine de Medicis and the Duke of Alva, who had organized a plan for the destruction of Protestantism, and combined the hitherto conflicting kingdoms of France, Spain, and the emperor for this common object; and the movements of this secret alliance had commenced by the march of Alva into the Low Countries and that merciless war which terminated in the liberation of the Seven United Provinces. In such a coalition Scotland was not to be overlooked, and two French ministers arrived from the French court ostensibly on a visit of ceremony and to invest Darnley with the order of St. Michael, but in reality to obtain Mary's accession to the league. Of these two De Rambouillet was the French king's ambassador; but to Clernau, who was the envoy of the Cardinal Lorraine and in the secret of the league, was intrusted the religious part of the commission, in which he was aided by Thornton, a messenger from Archbishop Beaton, at that time the Scottish ambassador in France. They showed to her the secret "Band" or agreement which had been drawn up by the three powers, and by their specious arguments obtained her assent to it. It was a foul and fearful compact from which her better feelings ought to have revolted, for it involved nothing short of a wholesale destruction of the Protestants throughout Europe; and in effecting it the sovereigns were to violate their engagements to their own subjects and their treaties with foreign powers, as well as the obvious considerations of clemency and common humanity. But these considerations were swallowed up in the re-establishment of the Catholic faith, and the millennium that was to follow when the whole world should be of one creed. To Mary, also, it opened up an alluring vista sufficient to tempt her onward. With the aid of such potentates, and the unlimited command of auxiliary troops and money which the alliance would place at her disposal, it would free her from her present embarrassments by restoring the Catholic faith and investing her with absolute authority, instead of the limited and divided power of a Scottish sovereign. Nay, more, it would furnish her with the means of revenge against her hated rival Elizabeth, and ensure her claims to the English succession with Catholic England as her future place of rule. To this result the thirtieth article of this league or compact, sometimes called the Treaty of Bayonne, gave full countenance, for it imported that "Calais and other places lately belonging to the crown of England shall be delivered to the King of Spain; and he shall help and assist the Queen of Scotland, and restore her to her kingdom in chasing away the Queen of England and helping to destroy all such as be affectioned or make claim to the same kingdom." Amidst these glittering visions, this alluring Fata Morgana, what were the discordances of her troubled court, the dangerous proximity of the banished lords, the moody, discontented looks, and angry remonstrances of her heretical subjects?[1]

From this period the conduct of Queen Mary was changed. She talked to Randolph as if she meant to compel his mistress into the acknowledgment of her right to the English throne. She allowed the idea of re-establishing the mass in the High Church of Edinburgh to be mentioned at her council board, and expressed her indignation that any of her subjects of the Romish persuasion should suffer on account of their faith. She appointed an early day for the meeting of parliament, at which the Popish ecclesiastics were to take their seats as spiritual lords, and Moray and his adherents to be condemned to forfeiture and perpetual banishment. These were symptoms of the restoration of the old faith which implied the restitution of the church lands and property; and as this restitution would have occasioned a sore bereavement to many a titled and noble house it was enough to combine against the queen not only those who sympathized with the banished lords, but those who had hitherto adhered to her cause. Something was necessary to be done before the meeting of parliament to arrest the threatened evil, and this it was judged could be entirely effected by putting to death the insignificant foreign valet and musician, David Rizzio.

That such a person should have been allowed to rise to so great importance in the state would have been dangerous for any sovereign; but in Scotland, where the nobles were proud, poor, and jealous, and so apt to call their kings to a strict account, Mary's undue favour towards Rizzio was downright infatuation. Nothing similar to it had occurred since the reign of James III.; but Cochrane was not only a native Scot but a man of high genius and accomplishments and a gallant soldier, who could compel fear and admiration as well as excite envy and hate. Even Oliver Sinclair, the favourite of James V., although a scion of "the lordly line of high Saint Clair," could not propitiate these haughty magnates, and they chose to be shamefully routed at Solway rather than obey him as their general. Through the patronage of the

[1] Robertson's *History of Scotland*, in appendix; Keith, p. 325.

queen this obscure Italian had now risen to such a height that he could openly scorn those lords who at first had despised him, while his wealth was so great that he outshone the king himself in dress, equipage, and sumptuous style of living.[1] As Mary's chief counsellor, her unpopular acts were attributed to his suggestions; and as the emissary and pensioner of the pope he entered zealously into all her plans for the restoration of Popery and condemnation of the banished lords, and was to preside as chancellor at the ensuing parliament. Even before this period anticipations had been hinted of a second tragedy similar to that which had been enacted at Lauder Bridge, but no regular plan for the death of Rizzio seems to have been formed until the present occasion; and even now it might not have been matured but for the resentment of Darnley. He felt himself not only eclipsed by the splendour of this satellite but supplanted in the queen's confidence, and to Rizzio he attributed his exclusion from her counsels and her refusal to grant him the crown-matrimonial. But worse than all was the horrid suspicion that the minion had dishonoured his bed. He resolved to slay the supplanter, while his father, the Earl of Lennox, sympathized in his feelings and approved of his purpose. The young man then repaired to the lords who were hostile to Rizzio, to whom he stated his wrongs and his purposed vengeance; and, on finding that his design against the favourite coincided with their own plan of arresting the queen's proceedings and recalling the banished lords, the Earl of Morton, chancellor of the kingdom, Lord Ruthven, and George Douglas, the cousin of Darnley, engaged to share in the deed. They also made themselves certain of the countenance of several of the Protestant barons to whom they communicated their design, and from whom they obtained assurances of assistance and protection. Ridiculous attempts have been made to implicate John Knox in the conspiracy, and this upon the strength of a list of names written by a clerk pinned to a letter from Randolph containing an account of the death of Rizzio. But the contradictory rumours of this period which were written from the Scottish metropolis to England, and the suspicious cohesion of these two documents, are insufficient to brand the memory of the reformer with such a charge. The whole tenor of his life was opposed to such underhand concealment, and if, from religious zeal, he had approved of the conspiracy, he would also have frankly avowed his complicity. As the deed was to be one of those prompt judicial acts of which the history of the country is so rife that they were considered a part of the constitution, the contracting nobles drew up two regular bonds or covenants by which they agreed on their plan of procedure, and engaged to support and protect each other after it was effected. By the same wild show of justice it was resolved that Rizzio, already tried and sentenced as a traitor to the realm and an agent in the league which his mistress had subscribed, should be carried to the usual place of execution, and, only in the event of difficulty or resistance, should be slain upon the spot.

In the meantime the victim of this terrible conspiracy was ensuring its success by his arrogant confidence. It needed, indeed, no spirit of prophecy to foresee that his career would soon close, and that his end might be sudden and violent; and one pretending to be a soothsayer advised him to settle his affairs and betake himself out of Scotland with all speed. He only laughed at this advice and declared that he was not afraid of the nobles; that they were but wild ducks, so that if one of them was struck the rest would cower. "Nay," said the other, "you will find them geese; if you handle one of them the rest will fly upon you and pluck you, so that not a feather or down will be left upon you." By the same person or another of the same class he was oracularly warned to beware of the Bastard. He thought that this referred to the Earl of Moray, and he declared that the Bastard should not be restored to harm him. It is added that the first stab which he afterwards received, and that was dealt by the bastard son of the Earl of Angus, verified the equivocal warning.

The parliament was assembled on the 4th of March, and the Lords of Articles chosen, among whom Rizzio was busy to procure their assent to the condemnation of the banished lords. On the 12th the sentence was to be passed against them condemning them to banishment and forfeiture. The deed must be done before that day arrived, and the conspirators fixed on Saturday, the 9th, for their enterprise. On the evening the Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, Lord Lindsay, the Master of Ruthven, and several gentlemen, with 150 attendants bearing torches and weapons, repaired to Holyrood and took possession of the principal gates, while Darnley went before them into the queen's apartment to open the way for their coming and preserve the queen from danger. It was

[1] At his death it was found that he possessed in gold alone to the value of eleven thousand pounds. As he had been little more than four years in Scotland, during only fourteen months of which he had been the queen's private secretary, the above-mentioned sum, almost equal to a nobleman's fortune, shows the prodigality with which the favours of Mary had been heaped upon him and the undue facilities he had enjoyed of amassing wealth.

now between the hours of six and seven in the evening, and Mary was at supper in a small apartment entering from her bed-chamber, having in her company the Countess of Argyle, the commendator of Holyrood, Beaton, master of the household, Arthur Erskine, captain of the guard, and the doomed Rizzio, when Darnley entered the room by a secret turnpike stair that communicated with his own apartment below, sat down beside Mary, and threw his arm around her waist. A few moments after this peaceful demonstration was followed by the entrance of a man in complete armour, but with ghastly countenance, emaciated frame, and feeble step; it was Lord Ruthven, who had risen from his sick bed, to which he had been long confined, and had buckled on his mail, which he could scarcely carry, that he might assist in what he reckoned a righteous, patriotic deed. The queen screamed at the sight and commanded him to retire, while some of those present declared that he was under the frenzy of his fever; but the sick man in a hollow voice ordered Rizzio to rise and leave a place which he was unworthy to occupy, while at the same instant several of the conspirators appeared at the principal door. Rizzio saw that his fate was decided, and took shelter behind the queen, who endeavoured to save him, but was held back by her husband; and amidst vain cries of "Giustizia! giustizia!" the wretched man was dragged out of the apartment into the neighbouring ante-chamber. Even the ropes were at hand which the conspirators had prepared, and in a few minutes more he would have been formally hanged, either at the place of public execution or in the Abbey Close, when an accident occurred to convert the execution into a revolting act of murder. In a different part of the palace were the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and others of the queen's friends, who hearing the noise of the affray rushed to the spot, accompanied by the menials armed with kitchen utensils, but were soon driven back by the Earl of Morton and his band of warlike retainers. But this sound of approaching rescue only ensured the fate of Rizzio. Hearing the din, and afraid that their victim might escape, the conspirators at once used their weapons in the ante-chamber, and with such savage determination that he perished under fifty-six wounds.

Such are but the leading events of a tragedy of which the episodes were so numerous, and in many cases so contradictory, that we cannot pause to particularize them. At the rush of the conspirators into the queen's apartments and the struggle in dragging forth the offender the table was overturned and the lights extinguished, so that all which afterwards occurred was in the midst of a darkness and confusion that could only heighten real and create imaginary terrors. On returning from the scene of bloodshed Ruthven was so feeble and exhausted that he was compelled to sit down in the queen's presence and call for a cup of wine; and when she reproached him for such rude behaviour he excused himself on the plea of sickness. She taxed him with the unlawfulness of his proceeding, on which he justified himself by informing her that it was done by the instigation and advice of the king. He then exhorted her to advise with her nobles in the public affairs of the realm, and not be led away by vagabond knaves who had nothing to lose either in credit or patrimony, and therefore could not give sufficient pledge of their fidelity, and to take warning from the calamities which had befallen Scottish kings for governing without the advice of their nobility. In this he touched the very root of Mary's misgovernment; but it was not a time for counsel, however wise and wholesome, and she dismissed him and his associates in a rage. She was still ignorant of the death of Rizzio when one of her ladies rushed into the room crying that he had been slain. "And is it so?" said Mary; "then, farewell tears: we must now think of revenge!"

The terrible deed at Holyrood could not long be unknown in Edinburgh, and as soon as the rumour had risen the provost caused the alarm-bell to be rung. He was soon at the head of five hundred armed citizens, with whom he marched straight to the palace for the queen's defence or rescue; but as soon as this warlike array had occupied the outer court the provost was ordered by Darnley to disperse them, with the assurance that the queen and he were well, and that there was no need of aid. The magistrate expressed his doubt by desiring to see her majesty in person; but Darnley proudly replied, "Provost, know you not that I am king?" The city force was immediately withdrawn, and Mary was left a prisoner in her own palace. On the same night the Earl of Athole, Lethington, Sir James Balfour, and the Laird of Tullibardine were allowed to leave the palace, while the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell had previously escaped by the window. On the following morning, which was Sunday, Sir James Melvil was dismissed; and at his departure he was seen by the queen from a window, who implored him to hasten to the provost and bid him raise the town for her deliverance; but this functionary was mindful of the countermand given by the king on the previous evening; and when he again attempted a muster of the people at the Tolbooth he found the queen's government so unpopular among them, that they would not re-

spond to his call. She was thus left without a friend or comforter, and without hope, and when her ladies were admitted they were not allowed to pass muffled from her chamber, lest they should be the bearers of despatches to her friends without. Even when she had attempted to address the citizens from the window, or to persuade the servants to set her free, the conspirators had threatened, she said, "to cut her into collops, and cast her over the walls." On the same day (Sunday) a proclamation was made in the king's name that all bishops, abbots, and other Papists should depart from Edinburgh, and as this order was obeyed the condemnation of the banished lords on the ensuing Tuesday was not likely to be passed, even though the parliament should assemble. But these exiles were so well assured of the safety of their return, that there was no need to await such contingencies; and having been forewarned of the events that had taken place they arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday evening, two days before the time appointed for their condemnation.[1]

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY (1566–1567).

Moray's interview with the queen—She successfully detaches Darnley from the conspirators—Her escape with Darnley to Dunbar—She raises an army and advances against the conspirators—They take to flight—Her inclination to forgive them alarms Darnley—Increasing odium against him—Perplexity occasioned to the queen by his conduct—Birth of her son, James VI.—Elizabeth's reception of the tidings—Mary pardons several of the late conspirators—Knox excepted from the remission—Darnley's unpopularity increases—He resolves to leave the kingdom—He is questioned on the subject by the council—His equivocal conduct before them—He persists in his threat to leave Scotland—Increasing favour of Bothwell with the queen—His family and personal history—He repairs to quell disorders in the Border districts—He is wounded—He is visited by the queen—Her visit succeeded by a dangerous illness—Lethington's plot to have Darnley divorced from the queen—Mary's reluctance at the proposal—The plot ripened into a design to kill Darnley—Baptism of James VI.—Symptoms of discord on the occasion—The murderers of Rizzio recalled—Darnley retires to Glasgow and falls sick—Bothwell matures his plan to destroy him—He obtains accomplices for the deed—Morton refuses to join in it—Suspicious conduct of Mary in these proceedings—She visits Darnley at Glasgow—Their interview—She persuades him to return to Edinburgh—He is lodged in Kirk-of-Field—Preparations made for his destruction—Last visit of the queen to Darnley—Particulars of his murder—Conduct of Bothwell throughout these proceedings—Suspicious appearances on the body of the murdered Darnley—The blame of the deed laid upon Bothwell—Mary's conduct after the death of Darnley—Her remissness in searching for the murderers—Libels charging Bothwell with the murder—Demands made upon the queen for inquiry and punishment—She heaps new honours on Bothwell—His mock trial on the charge of Darnley's murder—His precautions to defeat the ends of justice—His acquittal—His public challenge to any who should accuse him—Mary's infatuation for Bothwell.

On the arrival of the Earl of Moray in Edinburgh on the evening of the 10th of March he repaired to Holyrood, where Mary, impatient of her confinement, and dreading the fate that usually awaits imprisoned sovereigns, was ready to welcome his return. Bereft of every influential friend, and ignorant of his connection with the conspirators, she now regarded him as her best hope of deliverance, and welcomed him with embraces, kisses, and tears, expressing the while her confidence that if he had been at home he would not have allowed her to be so injuriously treated. He was melted by this appeal, and his tears were mingled with her own. The effect of this interview was to make him less cordial to the designs of the lords, and more desirous that she should be set at liberty. Mary, however, had higher confidence in the vacillating spirit of her husband than the fraternal affection of her stern uncompromising brother, and upon him she was already using those ingratiating arts which so few had been able to resist. It must, indeed, have cost her no ordinary struggle to conceal her loathing of a husband who had accused her of so foul a crime as marriage infidelity and given publicity to the charge by the murder of the man he suspected; who had joined a coalition to deprive her of her liberty, and was now aiming at possession of her crown. But Mary had been trained in a political school the chief lessons of which were craft, concealment, and dissimulation, and in these she had profited

[1] Calderwood; Spottiswood; Knox; Buchanan; *Memoirs of Sir James Melvil;* Letter of Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France; Keith, p. 330; Narrative from Berwick in Keith's Appendix, pp. 119–130.

so greatly as even to outstrip her teachers. She now assailed his pride, the quality in which the vain weak youth was most susceptible, and represented to him that he was only regarded as a tool by those nobles who sought to use him for their own selfish purposes, so that even if they made him king it would be only with the empty title of royalty, while they usurped for themselves the reality and substance. His only safety and real consequence lay in his wife, the lawful sovereign of the realm, and in her unborn infant; and if she and her expected successor were destroyed how little scruple they would feel in his removal also! When she had sufficiently alarmed him with this new view of his position she pretended to regard their charge of his complicity in the late murder as a calumny, and exhorted him to confute it and justify himself to the world by procuring the means of their joint escape. Darnley was overcome, and implicitly resigned himself into her hands. Under her direction he went to the lords offering them her remission for the murder of Rizzio, with whatever security they might demand; and while time was purposely protracted in drawing up the instruments of this treaty he requested that the guard placed upon her might be discharged, so that when this engagement was to be ratified she might be a free person, and delivered from all restraint. This demand, without which their remission would have been worthless, was so reasonable, that the lords, after delivering the paper to Darnley for the queen's signature, removed the guards and restored the servants of the palace to their occupations. On the evening the queen went to rest; all in the palace was still, and the lords, apprehending no change or movement, repaired to the Earl of Morton's house. But at midnight Mary and Darnley, accompanied by Lord Traquair and Arthur Erskine, captain of the royal guard, stole out of Holyrood, mounted on fleet horses, and galloped to the strong castle of Dunbar, which they reached in safety before their flight could be discovered.

The consternation of the conspirators at the queen's escape could only be equalled by the triumph of her friends; and while the former felt that they had been outwitted, and were involved in the penalties of treason, the latter hastened to Dunbar, where the royal standard was planted, and troops from all quarters rapidly assembling. She was soon at the head of eight thousand men and advancing upon the capital, while all the agents and accomplices in the late conspiracy, whose names had been readily given up by Darnley, were denounced with the utmost penalties of treason. The Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, and his son, the Master of Ruthven, fled to England, while others betook themselves to the Highlands. So severe was the royal justice against the accomplices of the conspirators, that some were imprisoned who had taken no part in the deed, and Thomas Scot, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Sir Henry Yair, lately a Popish priest, but now a retainer of Lord Ruthven, were executed upon the mere suspicion of their being concerned in the murder of Rizzio. Not content with thus avenging the death of her late favourite, the queen caused the body of Rizzio to be disinterred from his grave at the abbey gate, and interred in the place of royal sepulture close by the grave of Queen Magdalene, the amiable wife of James V. By this rash action she strengthened the odious charge which her husband had brought against her, and the popular suspicion which had been founded on her extravagant attachment to the Italian. Another, by which she excited general derision, was the issuing of a proclamation, in which she forbade any of her lieges to say that Darnley her husband had been a participator in the death of Rizzio, or even privy to the deed.[1]

Having escaped so imminent a peril the queen endeavoured to ensure her future safety by uniting those discording nobles who were best affected to her cause. Her endeavours for this purpose were so successful that the Earls of Moray and Bothwell were reconciled to each other, and the Earls of Athole and Argyle agreed to suspend their mutual feuds. Strong in these powerful supporters, she might now afford to extend forgiveness even to the chief of her enemies, with Lethington and Morton at their head, and this she could more easily do as Lord Ruthven, the chief actor in the late tragedy, had died about this time at Newcastle, worn out by the disease under which he was sinking when he put on his armour and headed the conspirators in Holyrood. But this forgiving tendency of the queen, in which she was strongly supported by Bothwell, was especially odious to Darnley; his denial of the conspiracy of which he was the contriver and ostensible head, and abandonment of his friends whom he had engaged at every hazard to support, excited the indignation of his late adherents, and in retaliation they accused him as the sole contriver of Rizzio's murder, and sent to Mary the agreement which he had subscribed with them for its accomplishment.[2] The queen was horror-struck at the revelation. She now saw that her husband had not been even the passive tool, but the active agent of a deed by which her own life and that of her unborn infant had been endan-

[1] Calderwood, ii. p. 316; Knox, ii. p. 526; Buchanan, b. xvii. 65.

[2] Letter of Randolph to Cecil.

gered, her authority subverted, and her character branded with shame. The last tie between them was cut asunder, and Darnley was treated by all parties with contempt. Excluded from the queen's society, and fearing the vengeance of those whom he had betrayed, he retired to Stirling; and either feeling his need of religious absolution or in the hope of ingratiating himself with the Popish party, he was there shriven according to the mode prescribed by the Church of Rome.[1] But he had already veered and vacillated too often and too much to secure the confidence of either Papist or Protestant, and this religious demonstration was without effect.

In the meantime the queen, who previous to her expected delivery had retired for safety to the castle of Edinburgh, was a prey to perplexity and despair. Sometimes she contemplated a temporary retirement to France, leaving her kingdom in the meantime to be governed by a regency composed of her principal lords, Moray, Bothwell, Athol, Huntly, and Mar.[2] Sometimes she thought of obtaining a divorce from her unworthy husband, and to that effect had actually sent a messenger to the court of Rome.[3] But as the period of her delivery drew nigh gentler and sadder thoughts prevailed. Apprehensive that the birth of an heir to the crown might be accompanied with her own death, she called her nobility together, made arrangements for the government of the kingdom in the event of her demise, and drew out her last testament.[4] She was also reconciled to her husband, and allowed him to hope for the return of her favour. Nor were her Protestant subjects neglectful of their loyalty at such a crisis; and the first public fast of the Reformation was held on the first and second Sundays of May, in which earnest prayer was made for their queen's safe delivery.[5] On the 19th of June this important event occurred in the castle of Edinburgh, and James VI. was born, under whom England and Scotland after so many centuries of contention were to be united as a single sovereignty.

As this circumstance was so important to Elizabeth, Sir James Melvil was instantly despatched with the tidings to the English court. From the murder of Rizzio, which had taken place almost in her presence during Mary's advanced state of pregnancy, this consummation was by no means a certainty, and Elizabeth may have either hoped or feared that the expected birth might be still-born or an imbecile, or at least that the life of the mother might be the sacrifice. On arriving in London, four days after, Melvil communicated the tidings to Cecil, who instantly carried them to his mistress at Greenwich. The time was after supper, and Elizabeth was in the midst of court merriment and dancing when the news of the birth was whispered in her ear. In a moment her mirth was changed to sadness; she sat down and leant her cheek on her hand; and while all were silent at the change she burst forth to the ladies around her, complaining that the Queen of Scots was delivered of a fair son, and herself but a barren stock. But on the following morning when she was to receive the messenger her wonted duplicity had returned: she welcomed Melvil with a "merry volt" [countenance], declared that the tidings had recovered her from a heavy sickness of fifteen days' duration, and promised to send both honourable lords and ladies to Scotland to supply her place at the christening. But there was another subject on which she could not command her countenance so readily: this was the question of the succession to the English throne, which even by the reckoning of her chief nobility was now conclusively settled by the birth of the Scottish prince. But when Melvil proposed that his queen should now be publicly acknowledged the second person of the realm of England, Elizabeth would make no express declaration, but promised to send her answer by those noblemen whom she should commission to represent her at the baptism.[6]

With the birth of an infant heir to the throne the necessity of reconciling all parties was increased; it was also an occasion on which lenity could be shown without the imputation of weakness. The first important step of Mary, therefore, after this event was to forgive some of the late conspirators against her liberty, and accordingly Lethington and the Lairds of Brunston, Hutton, Calder, and Ormiston were pardoned. But from this remission John Knox was exempted, who after the queen recovered her liberty had left Edinburgh and taken refuge in Kyle. From this circumstance some have endeavoured to establish the surmise that he had been privy to the plot for the assassination of Rizzio and had strengthened it with his sanction; but of this no proof can be adduced; while the severity that was exercised against those who had in no way participated in the deed, and the queen's well-known hostility to the reformer, were of themselves enough to explain and justify his flight. This immunity granted to the conspirators dismayed the unfortunate Darnley, while the universal neglect with which he was treated showed to him that he had no friends or supporters upon whom he

[1] Knox, ii. p. 527.
[2] Letter of Lethington to Randolph, 27th April, MS. State Paper Office.
[3] Randolph to Cecil, 25th April.
[4] Randolph to Cecil, 7th June.
[5] Calderwood, ii. p. 317.
[6] Melvil's *Memoirs*, pp. 158, 159.

could rely. In this state of helpless uncertainty he repaired sometimes to Lennox, where his father resided, sometimes to Stirling, whither the infant prince had been conveyed; and the fact that he had scarcely six horsemen in his train—an attendance which the poorest baron would have despised—indicated how low his fortunes had fallen.[1] Even yet, however, he could find unwise counsellors, who added their folly to his own and accelerated his destruction. He now pretended a wonderful zeal for Popery, and wrote letters to the pope and the Kings of France and Spain, complaining of the state of religion in Scotland and the queen's indifference in restoring the mass; but he was betrayed by his confidant, who sent copies of these letters to her majesty, which served to increase her anger and contempt.[2] Thus finding himself detected, he complained of the neglect with which he was treated, his complete exclusion from the affairs of government, and alleged that the nobles were already plotting his destruction; he even avowed his intention to leave the kingdom, to lay his cause before the thrones of the continental sovereigns, and appeal to them for justice and redress. This mad resolution alarmed his father, who communicated it to the queen; and Mary, startled at this infatuation of her husband, at length admitted him to her presence and tried the effect of expostulation; but to all her appeals he maintained a sullen obstinacy and persisted in his purpose.[3]

A meeting of the lords of council was thus necessary to interpose their authority in preventing his departure, and it was held in the queen's apartment previous to Darnley's return to Stirling. None were present with the members except Monsieur de Croc, the French ambassador, on the part of the queen. Darnley was asked the cause of his purposed departure. Who had offended him? what injuries had he received? Let him but state them, and the injuries should be redressed, the offenders punished. Would he bring into jeopardy not only his own honour but that of the queen and of the nation at large by persisting in the step he had contemplated? These remonstrances were seconded by Mary, who besought him, since he had been silent on the subject of his injuries on the previous night, that he would now speak before the lords and explain wherein she had offended him. Nothing she had ever done, she said, had been to the prejudice either of his honour or her own; and if she had ever given him offence it had been unwittingly, and she was ready to make amends. But to every such appeal Darnley still continued silent, and his silence on the occasion is frequently accepted as a proof of Mary's innocence. Even this, however, is but a doubtful evidence. He was not now at the head of a band of conspirators to whom he could unfold his wrongs, whether real or fancied, and instigate them to revenge, but a weak, wavering, unbefriended man upon whom every eye was fixed and whom every voice was ready to overwhelm with denial and scorn. It needed a stronger courage than ever Darnley possessed to speak boldly out under such circumstances, and the reply assigned to him was that of an imbecile and a coward. Though they "used all the interest they were able to persuade him to open his mind, yet he would not at all own that he intended any voyage or had any discontent, and declared freely that the queen had given him no occasion for any." De Croc, in a letter written a few days after, has inadvertently announced the causes of this wonderful forbearance on the part of the jealous consort-royal: "It is in vain to imagine that he shall be able to raise any disturbance, for there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the queen."

Although he had disavowed any intention of leaving the country, this denial of Darnley, like the others he had made, was of little value. Even when he left the council-chamber he addressed the queen in these words: "Adieu, madam; you shall not see my face for a long time." Soon after he expressed his purpose less equivocally by a letter to Mary, written in a sort of disguised style, by which it appeared that he still contemplated his departure from Scotland. He also assigned the causes. The first of these was that she neither trusted him with such authority nor was so careful to advance him and make him be honoured by the nation as she at first did; his second complaint was that nobody attended him and that the nobles deserted his company. In the answer which she wrote to him she imputed the blame entirely to himself. She had already conferred upon him too much authority for her own safety, and it had served as a pretext for her enemies. As for his lack of attendants, this could easily have been remedied, as she had offered him the services of her own. With regard to the remissness of the nobility she told him he had been at no pains to receive them with courtesy and kindness, and had prohibited those whom she appointed to wait upon him from entering into his presence. Confined to such charges as these, the queen's answer was easy and successful, and as such Darnley seems to have received it, for although

[1] Knox, ii. p. 533. [2] Ibid.
[3] De Croc to Beaton; Lords of the Privy-council to Catherine de Medicis; Keith, pp. 345-347.

the vessel in which he had intended to embark was in readiness there was no further mention of his departure. But well would it have been not only for himself but for all parties had he effected his purpose, for the man was now in the ascendant by whom his life was to be destroyed and his place and honours usurped. Even already the unfortunate Darnley appears to have been the subject of the dark designs of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell.

Until a comparatively recent period the Hepburns of Hailes had occupied no place among the nobility of Scotland, and it was not until the first year of the reign of James IV. that they were ennobled with the title of an earl, dom. But it was from no want of turbulence, daring, or ambition that the family was so long in emerging from the inferior rank of border barons; and strangely was their career connected with that of the widowed queens of our Scottish sovereigns. It was in the castle of Dunbar, then held by Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, a freebooter and outlaw, that the beautiful but unfortunate Joanna Beaufort, the widow of James I., breathed her last in neglect and obscurity; but whether as the prisoner, guest, or mistress of this robber-chieftain it is impossible to ascertain. It was the descendant of this Patrick, and third Earl of Bothwell, who, as an enemy to the Reformation and a keen adherent of Mary of Guise, sought the honour of her hand, and to forward his cause had given up the martyr Wishart to his enemies, although he had pledged himself for his safe-keeping. And it was by James his son, the present earl, that this peculiar ambition of the family was to be consummated by his marriage with Mary Stuart — a marriage, however, by which the race was to be extinguished as soon as it had touched the zenith of its elevation. The Greek drama, with all its aids of destiny and inevitable doom, could scarcely have fabled a more romantic family tragedy or a more terrible and retributive close.

The early years of the present earl appear to have been spent upon the Continent, chiefly in France; and there he also appears to have engrafted the refinements of Italian treachery and French profligacy upon the ruder vices of his own nation and family. His first return to Scotland was in 1560, and his character was soon fathomed by Throckmorton, the English ambassador, who thus describes him: "He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man, and therefore it were meet his adversaries should both have an eye to him and also keep him short." Once and again obliged to leave Scotland in consequence of his turbulent character and daring ambition, he finally returned from France at the time of the Chase-about Raid, and so effectually recommended himself by his activity in the queen's cause that she restored him to his hereditary office of Lord High Admiral of Scotland, and appointed him Lieutenant of the West and Middle Marches. As a candidate for the queen's affections, under the declining favour of Darnley, he does not appear to have been distinguished by personal attractions, being of a dark and somewhat ill-favoured countenance, while his character was so odious that Cecil could thus report of him: "I assure you Bothwell is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to the detestable vices." But these, perhaps, were nothing more than such as were prevalent among the French courtiers of the day, and with the contemplation of which Mary may have been not unfamiliar; and they were set off by a chivalrous courtly exterior and such foreign accomplishments as were not usual in Holyrood, while his devotedness to the queen's service, at a time when she was most forsaken, soon won for him not only the confidence she had given to Rizzio but the love she had once borne for Darnley. After the death of the former, and when her husband had become odious to her from his share in the murder, the queen's favour to Bothwell increased, so that in addition to her former bounties she conferred upon him the church lands of Melrose, Haddington, and Newbattle, the castle of Dunbar, and the principal lands of the earldom of March, which belonged to the crown.[1] Thus, fatally for her own peace, she made him the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and brought him within a step of that perilous eminence from which he was doomed so speedily to fall.

It was not long after the meeting of council occasioned by the contumacy of Darnley that the wonted disturbances on the Border required the royal interference. Independently of the bitterness of mutual feuds among the Elliotts, Armstrongs, Johnstons, and other border tribes there was a general envy among their chiefs at the promotion of the Earl of Bothwell, and resentment at the arrogance and severity with which he exercised his office as Warden of the Borders. Mary resolved to repair to the disturbed districts in person and hold justice-ayres for the punishment of the offenders. It was a wise and just resolution, and in conformity with her active adventurous spirit; but it was negatived by her reliance on Bothwell, who accompanied her as lieutenant, and whose presence was more likely to aggravate these disturbances than to quell them. On receiving a commission from the queen at Jedburgh to

[1] Knox, ii. p. 528.

apprehend the principal culprits he marched into Liddesdale with a small force, confident, it may be, of the support of those lawless villains with which the district abounded, and who were wont to obey his orders without scruple. Already he had captured the lairds of Mangerton and Whitehaugh and several Armstrongs, whom he confined in his castle of Hermitage, and had gone in pursuit of the Elliotts, when, after outstripping his company, he encountered John Elliott of the Park, a notable border thief, and severely wounded him with a pistol-shot. The wounded man, thinking himself past recovery, fell upon the earl with his two-handed sword and had almost killed him before his followers arrived to the rescue, who carried their wounded chief, almost dead, to the castle of Hermitage.

This event occurred on the 7th of October, and on the following day the queen arrived in Jedburgh, where a court was immediately opened, and the trial of malefactors commenced. How soon she may have received tidings of Bothwell's disaster is unknown. It is stated, however, by Buchanan, that here she was certainly informed that his wounds were not mortal, and she continued the proceedings of the court till the 15th, when she rode to the Hermitage. Even this proceeding, considering the high rank of Bothwell, and that he had been wounded in her service, would have seemed nothing worse than a genuine act of gratitude, had not after events exposed it to a worse interpretation. The season also, which was that of winter, the length of the way through a rugged country, the danger arising from outlaws and robbers with which the district abounded, and the very slender train with which she was accompanied, gave this journey more the appearance of an amorous impulse than royal or friendly solicitude, and the chief redeeming circumstance of this rash adventure was, that the Earl of Moray and several of her officers were in her train. After spending two hours in conference with the Earl of Bothwell at the Hermitage Mary returned on the same day to Jedburgh, and notwithstanding the fatigue of such a journey she sat up until a late hour of the night writing to the man whom she had just left.[1] But a reaction immediately followed; on the next day she was seized with a dangerous illness, in which she fell into a swoon and remained for two hours insensible and like one cold in death. A violent fever ensued, in which for ten days her life was despaired of, and thinking that her end was approaching she repeated the creed in English and desired the lords who were present to pray for her; she confided her son to the guardianship of the Queen of England, and entreated the Earl of Moray, who, in conjunction with the Duke of Chastelherault, was to be regent of the kingdom, to be merciful to those who were of her religion.[2] Her desperate journey to the Hermitage was enough to account for this sickness; but Lethington, who seems even already to have contemplated the removal of Darnley, and had an interest in making him odious, attributes it to her grief at the conduct of her husband. "The occasion of the queen's sickness," he wrote in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, "so far as I can understand, is caused of thought and displeasure, and I trow by what I could wring further of her own declaration to me, the root of it is the king." In the close of the next sentence the wish or purpose of the crafty politician peeps out. He adds, "For she has done him so great honour without the advice of her friends, and contrary to the advice of her subjects, and he, on the other hand, has recompensed her with such ingratitude, and misuses himself so far towards her, that it is a heart-break to her to think that he should be her husband, and how to be free of him she has no outgait."

In the meantime Darnley, who had been advertised of the queen's danger, rode post from Stirling to Jedburgh, where he remained only a single night. He returned a few days after; but his presence seemed to bring little comfort to Mary, who in her hours of suffering and despondency often exclaimed, "Would that I were dead!" A more efficient comforter was the Earl of Bothwell, who a few days after the queen's illness commenced had caused himself, wounded as he was, to be conveyed in a chariot to Jedburgh, and "in whose presence the queen took more pleasure than in all the rest of the world."[3] And now was the time for Lethington to prosecute that dark design with which his fertile brain was teeming. It was necessary for his ambitious purposes that those concerned in the murder of Rizzio should be recalled; and as the lords of the council were desirous for their return he opened his design to them at Craigmillar, where Mary resided during her convalescence. His proposal to them was that they should unite in obtaining a divorce between Mary and Darnley, on condition that she should grant a full pardon to Morton and his associate exiles; and under this specious form they willingly assented to the measure. He then carried the proposal to the queen, who consented to be thus rid of her husband provided the divorce could be legally obtained, and that it should not

[1] Letter of Lethington to Beaton; Laing, ii. 74.

[2] Keith; Knox, ii. pp. 534, 535.

[3] Knox, ii. 535.

endanger the rights of her son. The lords then proposed that after the divorce Darnley should live in some distant part of the country, or go abroad; but here the queen paused; it would be better, she declared, that she should herself retire to France, and there remain until he acknowledged his offences. This would have defeated their purpose, and Lethington took upon him to reply. "Madam," he said, "mind ye not we are here of the principal of your grace's nobility and council, who shall find the means that your majesty shall be quit of him without prejudice of your son; and albeit that my lord of Moray here present be little less scrupulous for a Protestant than your grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same." The queen alarmed, besought them to let matters remain as they were until God of his goodness should provide a remedy; but to this Lethington replied, "Madam, let us guide the matter among us, and your grace shall see nothing but what is good and approved by parliament."[1] It was a fearfully mysterious hint; it was an intimation that she should be freed from an unworthy husband, even though the plan of a divorce should be abandoned. Into Lethington's plot Bothwell had entered with ardour, and he was one of the three earls who took part in this interview. Soon after the dark design was matured. A bond was drawn up at Craigmillar by Sir James Balfour, a creature of Bothwell's, subscribed by Argyle, Huntly, Lethington, and himself, in which they avowed their resolution to cut off the king as a young fool and tyrant, and enemy to the nobility, and pledging themselves to stand by each other to defend the deed as necessary for the public welfare and their own safety. As for the document itself it was lodged in the hands of Bothwell, where it was not likely to remain a dead letter.

While the death of the father was thus devised the baptism of his infant son was in preparation, and on the 17th of December it took place in the great hall of the castle of Stirling, with a magnificence more suited to the future ruler of three kingdoms than the heir of such a poor crown as that of Scotland. The Earl of Bedford was sent with a splendid train as representative of the Queen of England, bearing a large font of silver as her christening gift, and the simple-minded reformers groaned in spirit at the magnificence, expenditure, and waste by which the occasion was distinguished. An event, also, which signalized the future union of three discording kingdoms into a single empire, could not pass without present signs of division and angry contention. The ceremonial, which was performed by Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, being according to the Popish ritual, the Protestant lords refused to perform those offices which had been usual in a royal baptism, so that none but the Earls of Eglinton and Athol and Lord Seton assisted in carrying the elements. Noting this circumstance the Protestant Earl of Bedford afterwards said to the queen, "Madam, I rejoice very greatly at this time, seeing your majesty has here to serve you so many noblemen, especially twelve earls, whereof two only assist at this baptism, to the superstition of Popery." Another sign of discordance was, that while Bothwell in almost regal grandeur presided, though a Protestant, at the arrangements of this religious ceremonial, the father himself was absent. Darnley, indeed, was in attendance at the castle, and would have been present, but for the general disapprobation with which he was regarded; the queen had filled his place with another, the ambassadors refused to recognize him, and the nobles repelled his advances; it is even added that the dress, ornaments, and attendants, without which he could not have appeared on such an occasion, were withheld from him.[2] Even at the principal banquet also, which followed the baptism, and where all should have been concord and amity, a misunderstanding occurred which had almost led to an open affray. The principal dishes were brought into the hall upon a carriage that seemed to move of itself, while after it went musicians clothed like maidens, singing and playing upon all sorts of musical instruments. The procession was ushered by men disguised like satyrs, having long tails, and carrying whips in their hands, who frisked before the carriage. This dainty device, so common to the state festivals of the period, was the contrivance of Bastian, a French servant of Mary, and would have given general satisfaction but for a freak of the English guests, who, when the satyrs wagged their tails with their hands, imagined that this was done in their very faces, and in token of scorn and defiance. Indignant at this they retired behind the table and sat down upon the bare floor with their backs to the entertainment to show their resentment, while Hutton, one of Elizabeth's chief favourites, talked of thrusting his dagger into the knave Bastian, who had thus insulted them. It was with some difficulty that they were at length pacified by the interference of the queen and the Earl of Bedford.[3]

This "tragical mirth" was soon to be followed

[1] Keith, appendix, pp. 136-138.

[2] Letter of De Croc to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Keith's preface, p. 7; Buchanan, book xviii. 5.

[3] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 171.

by a tragedy whose horrors were unmitigated. Moved by the solicitations of the Earls of Moray and Bothwell, Mary, a few days after the baptism, consented to the recall of Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and seventy-five others connected with the murder of Rizzio, with the exception of George Douglas and Andrew Car of Faudonside, who had been the most active in the deed.[1] The court was therefore no longer a safe place for their betrayer, and accordingly Darnley abruptly withdrew and retired to Glasgow, where his father resided. Here he fell sick, his illness increased until his body was covered with pustules, and this attack of small-pox occasioned a report that he had been poisoned. Considering that he was already a doomed man, and that the interest which certain parties had in his removal was generally known, the suspicion was not so unreasonable as such surmises have been frequently found. In the meantime Bothwell, who had resolved to displace and succeed him, and was making allies for the purpose, had won over to his views the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord Caithness, and the Laird of Ormiston; and on the arrival of the Earl of Morton in Scotland early in January, 1567, he applied to that able and powerful nobleman, whose assistance would have been worth that of all the rest combined. He therefore revealed to him the plot for the removal of Darnley by assassination, and urged him to join it by the assurance that the queen had consented to it; but Morton, though little scrupulous from moral considerations, had too recently smarted for his share in a similar design, and was too cautious to unite in such an enterprise with so rash a leader as Bothwell. He therefore declared that he would have nothing to do with the matter unless the queen's handwriting could be shown to him for a warrant. Bothwell renewed his persuasions in a second interview at which Lethington was present, but Morton returned the same answer; and Bothwell, seeing that nothing was to be done without the stipulated guarantee, endeavoured to obtain the queen's written consent, which she refused. But why content herself with a refusal instead of an active interference? The plot was certain to go on, and her passiveness would further its success whether Morton joined it or not.[2]

But this non-interference of Mary, when she knew that a plot was devised against the life of her husband, was not the only suspicious part of her proceedings. As if to prepare for the deed and abate the odium which it would occasion, she professed to be in continual apprehension from the conspiracies of her husband. Rumours were also propagated that Darnley intended to crown the young prince, and in his name take possession of the government, and under a pretended fear of this design she removed the prince from Stirling to Edinburgh on the 14th of January (1567). But, besides that Darnley had now neither influence, means, nor following even for a petty feud, he had so early as the 5th been confined to his bed from the painful disease under which he languished. And yet, utterly prostrated though he thus was, she could write of these his dangerous designs to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and thus conclude in the language of a well-grounded alarm: "For the king our husband God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is semblance, well known to God and the world, especially our own indifferent subjects see it, and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall always be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways but honourably, however he, his father and their fautors speak, who we know want no good-will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their force well enough, and takes the means of their pretences from them; for, as we believe, they shall find none, or very few approvers of their counsels and devices imagined to our displeasure or misliking."[3]

This letter was written on the 20th of January, and on the 22d Mary set out for Glasgow to visit her husband. Darnley was alarmed rather than gratified by her purposed visit. Although partially recovered from his illness he was still an invalid; he knew that the queen had lately been speaking of him with severity; and he had heard strange rumours of the conspiracy against his life first proposed at Craigmillar Castle. He therefore sent a messenger to excuse himself from a personal interview, as he was still suffering from sickness, and was not assured of the abatement of her displeasure towards him; but the queen, observing that there was no medicine to cure fear, passed forward to Glasgow and visited him in his bed-chamber. After the usual greetings their mutual grievances were introduced, and Darnley spoke of the "purpose of Hiegate," a plot which aimed at his life. On Mary wishing to know who was his informer he gave the name of the Laird of Minto, who had told him of a letter made by her own device and

[1] Letter of Bedford to Cecil, 9th January, 1567, State Paper Office.

[2] Morton's confession on his trial for the murder of Darnley; Laing; Calderwood, &c.

[3] Keith, preface, p. 8.

presented to her at Craigmillar, authorizing his seizure, and also his death if he resisted, but which she had refused to sign. In this vague manner he had been forewarned of a design against his life and the queen's knowledge of the plot; but he added that he would never think that she who was his own proper flesh would do him any hurt; he also declared, that if any others attempted it they should buy him dear, unless they made the attempt when he was sleeping. On the queen reminding him of his former threats to retire to the Continent he declared that he had entertained no serious thoughts of such a departure; and when she charged him with the design of deposing her and usurping the government in the name of their son he vehemently denied the accusation. Mary appeared to be convinced, and Darnley's former love returned; he adjured her to bear him company, and no longer to withdraw from him as she had been wont, and Mary informed him that she had brought with her a litter to carry him to Craigmillar, and that if he would follow her thither they should again live together at bed and board.[1] She intended, she also said, to give him the bath at Craigmillar, so that he might be effectually cleansed from the effects of his ailment. On this understanding they parted; but before Mary retired she desired him to conceal the engagement that had been formed between them, as their sudden reconciliation might give offence to some of the nobles,—an umbrage which Darnley professed he could not understand. After her departure he communicated the whole particulars of this interview to his servant Crawford, that they might be repeated to the Earl of Lennox, and wished to know what he thought of them; but this faithful adherent observed, "She treats your majesty too like a prisoner; why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?" Darnley declared that he had entertained the same idea, and was still filled with misgivings; "but," he added, "may God judge between us; I have her promise only to trust to; but I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me."[2]

Soon afterwards Darnley commenced his journey in company with the queen, and travelling by easy stages, reached Edinburgh on the last day of January. But instead of the fair castle of Craigmillar a residence had been selected for him at Kirk-of-Field, at that time in the suburbs of Edinburgh, and to this he was brought by Mary herself. The house was airy and healthy for an invalid, but its isolated situation and remoteness from the city made it most unsafe for one who had so many enemies, while its smallness and want of accommodation rendered it an unmeet abode for the king-consort of the realm. And that it was fitted for the malevolent purpose of the conspirators was sufficiently shown by the fact that it belonged to Robert Balfour, brother of that Sir James Balfour who had drawn up at Craigmillar the bond of the associates for the murder of Darnley. At a short distance from Edinburgh the queen and her husband were met by the Earl of Bothwell, who escorted them to this ominously-chosen dwelling. Everything, indeed, looked so suspicious that several of Darnley's servants took the alarm and left him; while the queen, as if to quiet his misgivings, treated him with additional tenderness and had a chamber prepared for herself immediately below his own, in which she passed the night and a considerable part of each day. But while the poor victim was thus reassured of his safety and elated with the thought of the queen's returned affections, the conspiracy was matured and the mode of his destruction determined. Bothwell had already chosen his agents from among the hardened and unscrupulous ruffians whom he kept in pay and assigned them their parts in the deed of murder. He had caused false keys to be made by which access could be obtained into every part of the building, and from his castle of Dunbar he had brought a barrel of gunpowder which was to be placed in the apartment which the queen occupied under that of Darnley.

The 9th of February arrived, the day on which the deed was to be consummated, and it was Sunday. The queen had caused the door to be removed from the ground-floor by which her room was separated from that of Darnley. From the king's apartment she had also caused a bed of new velvet to be taken and an old one substituted in its place, and from her own she removed a rich coverlet of fur that would otherwise have been destroyed in the explosion. Was it in utter ignorance that she thus prepared for the laying of the mine? She spent the greater part of Sunday with the king, and promised to spend the whole night in the house also, while her behaviour towards him surpassed in kindness anything she had evinced for several months before; she kissed him, gave him a ring, and in the course of conversation observed that about the same time last year David Rizzio had been slain. It was a startling coincidence and strangely brought to mind at the present moment. Even while they were thus engaged the ruffians in Bothwell's employ were silently depositing their bags of gunpowder in the cham-

[1] Crawford's deposition at the trial of York in December, 1568: Anderson, iv. p. 169.

[2] Crawford's deposition, Anderson.

ber below, and laying the train with which a slow match was to be connected; and all being in readiness, Paris, the chief actor in the deed, entered the room, at sight of whom she suddenly recollected that she must return to the palace. A masque had been given that day at Holyrood in honour of the marriage of Bastian, her foreign servant, with Margaret Curwood, one of her favourite female attendants; and she must needs lead off the dance after supper, and convey the bride to bed according to the usual custom. She therefore returned to the palace by torch-light, and after her departure Darnley rehearsed with satisfaction to his attendants the kind expressions of the queen, and the hopes he entertained of his full restoration to her favour. But why should she so unseasonably have spoken of the slaughter of Rizzio? This was an obstacle he could not surmount, and it marred the satisfaction which her demonstrations of love had inspired. Living among enemies, and every hour exposed to the risk of a secret and violent death, he had of late betaken himself more closely to the consolations of religion; and on this, the last night he was to spend on earth, he repeated the 55th Psalm, so applicable in several parts to his own condition, and which before he frequently read or sang, after which he went to bed, his young page Taylor lying beside him in the same apartment.

And now was the time for the conspirators who lurked beneath the king's room, as well as those who were present at the queen's masque at Holyrood. On the queen's return to the palace she held a long conference with Bothwell, and while the revelry was going on he stole away from the palace, exchanged his rich suit of black velvet and satin for one of coarse stuff, and, accompanied by four of his attendants, repaired to the Kirk-of-Field, where the chief actors in the murder waited his arrival. But even though thus disguised his midnight expedition was not unnoticed, for both at the southern gate and that of the Nether-bow the party were challenged by the sentinels, "Who goes there?" and could only pass by replying, "Friends of Lord Bothwell." But while they were thus hurrying to the spot the foulest part of the deed had been effected. While it was in planning Captain Cullen, one of Bothwell's associates, had advised that for greater security the king should first be strangled, as he had known many who had survived an explosion of gunpowder; and this mode of making the work doubly sure was adopted. No sooner, therefore, had Darnley fallen asleep than the murderers who were lurking in the room below ascended the stair; but the noise made by their false keys on opening the door alarmed the sleeper; he jumped out of bed in his shirt and pelisse and endeavoured to escape, but was seized, overpowered, and strangled after a desperate struggle, while his cries for mercy were heard by some women in the house nearest the spot. The match was then lighted by which the house was to be blown up and all traces of the murder and its actors obliterated; and it was at this stage of the proceedings that Bothwell and his party arrived. They and the active agents withdrew to a safe distance to await the explosion, but the match burned slowly; and they were advancing with cautious steps to ascertain that all was right, after waiting a quarter of an hour in suspense, when a sudden glare shot up, the ground reeled beneath them as with an earthquake, and a sound that was mistaken for a peal of thunder went over the town and woke the citizens from their sleep. Having thus completed the deed, the conspirators ran back at full speed to Edinburgh; and Bothwell, on hurrying to his apartments, swallowed a cup of wine and went to bed.[1]

It was between two and three o'clock on Monday morning that Edinburgh was awoke with the sound of the distant explosion, and before its cause could be ascertained and the tidings brought back Bothwell had been half an hour in bed. A loud knocking was then heard at his door, and George Hacket, a servant of the palace, rushed into the bed-room so scared that he could hardly utter the words: "The king's house is blown up, and the king, I trow, is slain!" Bothwell sprang to his feet with a look of well-feigned astonishment and horror, shouted "Treason!" and being joined by the Earl of Huntly, who had been privy to the conspiracy, the pair went to communicate the tidings to the queen, who immediately shut herself up in her bed-chamber. Bothwell then repaired with a body of soldiers to the scene; but his arrival had been anticipated by multitudes from the city whom the noise had awakened and who had hurried to the spot. From the roofless and shattered walls they could see that the house had been blown up with gunpowder, but they also saw enough to make them doubt if the same explosion had killed the king. His chamber-page Taylor had been killed along with him, and their bodies were lying at so great a distance from the house that the explosion could not have flung them so far without disfigurement. But there they lay with-

[1] Evidence of Thomas Nelson at the queen's trial at York, Anderson, iv. p. 165; Confession of Paris, Anderson, ii. 192; M. de Moret's account in Tytler, 'appendix vii. No. 4, vol. vii. *History of Scotland;* Letters of Drury to Cecil in 1567; State Paper Office.

QUEEN MARY AND THE EARL OF BOTHWELL AT THE MASQUE-BALL IN HOLYROOD.

It is Sunday the 9th February, 1567, and Queen Mary is giving a masque-ball in honour of Bastian and Margaret Curwood, two of her servants who have just been married. The long room in Holyrood Palace is crowded with a gay company, and there is rustle of silk and shimmer of satin as the masquers glide hither and thither scattering jests and laughter. *At length the viols strike up, and the Earl of Bothwell leads forth the Queen in the first dance.* They appear to be of happy mood, these two, and yet there is murder in Bothwell's thoughts. For at this very moment his hirelings are busy, and on the morrow all Scotland shall learn with horror that Darnley, the Queen's husband, has been assassinated in his lodging at Kirk-of-Field.

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT THE MASKED BALL, HOLYROOD,

ON THE NIGHT OF DARNLEY'S MURDER. (A.D. 1567.)

Vol. II. p. 182.

out marks of either bruise or scorching, and Darnley's pelisse, which was lying beside the body, in like manner unscathed by any marks of the flame. The onlookers carefully marked these symptoms, and suspected that something else besides gunpowder had been at work. It was time that Bothwell and his guard should interfere, and by his order the bodies were hastily removed from further inspection by being conveyed into a neighbouring house. A few days after the body of Darnley was buried by night, and without any of the usual solemnities, in Holyrood; none of the nobility and only one of the officers of state was present at the interment; and the grave of the murdered king was beside that of his victim, David Rizzio.[1]

In the meantime where was the wonted energy of Mary by which the death of Rizzio had been so promptly avenged? By her endearments and professions of forgiveness she had persuaded her husband to leave his father's house, where he might have been safe, to put himself under her protection, to accompany her to Edinburgh, and intrust himself to the insecure, solitary mansion of Kirk-of-Field. These considerations alone were enough to rouse her to exercise and make her active in the pursuit of the murderers. But she still continued to shut herself up in her apartment, and would communicate with none except through the medium of Bothwell. Thus two days elapsed during which nothing was done for the discovery of the murderers. It was not until Wednesday that a proclamation was made offering a reward of two thousand pounds to any one who would reveal the actors of the deed. In the meantime the impatience of the people had outstripped the tardy justice of the queen. The fate of Darnley was so pitiable that only his good qualities were remembered, while the general suspicion, which pointed to the real agents and surmised the causes, were enough to inflame the popular resentment. Loud voices like those of heralds were heard at midnight denouncing Bothwell, James Balfour, and David Chambers as the authors of the king's murder; and when the royal proclamation was published a paper was fixed during the night on the door of the Tolbooth accusing the above-mentioned persons by name. Another placard followed, in which the queen's servants were charged as implicated in the crime: Signor Francis Bastian, John de Bourdeaux, and Joseph Rizzio, the brother of David, who had been promoted to the office of the queen's private secretary. But by this time Mary, after grieving her friends and astonishing the world by her continued remissness, had removed herself from the sound of these rumours by retiring to the castle of Lord Seton, which was at a short distance from Edinburgh. Thither she was accompanied by Huntly, Lethington, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, all of whom had approved of the purpose of Darnley's assassination; and above all, by Bothwell himself and Captain Cullen, with a party of Bothwell's military retainers as a guard of honour to the queen. And strange was the conduct of Mary at this early stage of her widowhood. Scarcely had two weeks elapsed after her husband's death when her court at the castle of Seton was animated with her wonted amusements. Among these is particularly noticed a trial of archery, in which she and Bothwell gained the match in shooting at the butts against Huntly and Seton, while the prize was a dinner which the losing party were compelled to give the winners at Tranent.[2]

While these were the royal occupations at Seton, the indignant reports in the capital were not only growing louder but assuming a more tangible form. In addition to the other libels a bill was fastened on the Tron in which a smith was mentioned as having furnished false keys to the king's apartment, and who was willing to come forward with his testimony if his safety was ensured. Another intimation announced that a person had been discovered in Edinburgh from whom Sir James Balfour had purchased a suspicious quantity of gunpowder previous to Darnley's murder. Nor was the queen herself more exempt from suspicion than Bothwell, and she was charged with participation in the deed. These bold libels aroused the culprits at Seton more than the crime itself had done; and Bothwell, accompanied by fifty of his guards, hurried to Edinburgh to confront his accusers, swearing that if he could discover the authors of these placards he would wash his hands in their blood. He rode with a proud gesture and fierce countenance through the principal streets, while his guards kept closely round him; and when any one of whom he was doubtful addressed him his hand was upon his dagger's hilt. There was no remissness now in searching for the authors of the libels; but although all who could write a fair hand or limn a tolerable picture throughout the town were sought after, the offenders were not detected. On the very evening of the day when Bothwell made this entrance of defiance into Edinburgh two more placards were set up. The one inculpated the queen by the initials M.R., with a hand holding

[1] Confessions of the murderers on their trial, Anderson, ii. 165–192; Buchanan.

[2] Letters of Drury to Cecil, State Paper Office; Buchanan.

a sword; the other pointed to Bothwell himself, having his own initials and the picture of a mallet above them, as the only wound which the body of Darnley exhibited must have been dealt with a blunt instrument.[1]

Although the popular resentment might be confronted by apathy or borne down by bravado other appeals for justice began to pour in which could not be thus answered. The Earl of Lennox addressed a moving letter to the queen, entreating that the estates might be assembled for the trial of those who were accused of the murder of his son. The Earl of Moray, who had left the court previous to the murder on account of the dangerous sickness of his wife, and who was still resident in the country, held a meeting with the Earls of Caithness, Athole, and Morton, to deliberate on public affairs, and bringing the offenders to justice. Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was now ambassador at the French court, wrote an anxious letter to Mary, informing her of the terrible suspicions that were abroad, and adjuring her as she valued her fair fame, and would avoid the charge of complicity in her husband's murder, to vindicate herself in the eyes of the world by prosecuting its authors and inflicting a rigorous revenge: "rather than it be not actually taken," writes the afflicted prelate in the agony of his despair, "it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all." But besides this there were other letters from France, in which Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, and Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, savagely reproached her apathy in the matter, and declared that if she failed to revenge the death of their cousin, the king, and clear herself of these suspicions, they should hold her as disgraced and become her enemies. But more formidable than all these appeals united was that of Elizabeth of England. However her malignant feelings may have been gratified by the disgrace of a rival who had so often eclipsed her, her royal pride was awake to the shame entailed upon female sovereigns by the suspicions that were settling upon the character of Mary, while her patriotism must have revolted at the idea that a queen so impeached was heir-apparent to the English throne, and would probably be her successor. Her letter on this occasion, written in French and dated the 24th of February, was brought by Sir Henry Killigrew. "Madam," wrote Elizabeth, "my ears have been so astonished, and my mind so grieved, and my heart so terrified at hearing the horrible sound of the abominable murder of your late husband and my deceased cousin, that I have even now no spirit to write about it; and although my natural feelings constrain me greatly to deplore his death, as he was so near a relation to me, nevertheless, boldly to tell you what I think, I cannot conceal from myself that I am more full of grief on your account than on his. O madam, I should not perform the part of a faithful cousin or an affectionate friend if I studied rather to please your ears than to endeavour to preserve your honour; therefore I will not conceal from you what most persons say about the matter, namely, that you will look through your fingers at taking vengeance for this deed, and have no intention to touch those who have done you this kindness, as if the act would not have been perpetrated unless the murderers had received assurance of their impunity." She then adjures her to destroy this suspicion and manifest herself to the world as a noble princess and also a loyal wife by bringing the actor of the crime to punishment even though he should be the nearest of her relatives.[2]

It was no wonder if these urgent appeals alarmed the Scottish queen; they demanded an immediate response; but how could they be answered? She had ordered a solemn dirge for the repose of her husband's soul; but when she gave her attendance at the rite her face was pale and sad, and its beauty marred, as if she had been suffering from sickness; and when she received Killigrew it was in a darkened chamber, where, although her looks could not be seen, her words, voice, and manner attested the depth of her distress. She saw that the only satisfaction she could render would be to give up Bothwell to trial, and with this promise she satisfied the English ambassador; but day after day passed without witnessing its fulfilment. Nay, as if even this reluctance had not been enough she hastened to load Bothwell with new favours. The Earl of Mar was induced to give up the keeping of the castle of Edinburgh, which was immediately conferred upon the favourite. Upon him also were bestowed the castle of Blackness, the Inch, and the superiority of Leith, and by these investments the capital of the kingdom was placed under his control. He might now be safely exposed to the risk of a trial; and a whole month after the murder of Darnley, when most of the agents in the deed had retired into concealment or left the kingdom, the loud, and long, and universal demand was complied with, by citing Bothwell to appear before the bar of parliament and answer the charges of his accusers.

From the long delay that had occurred, and

[1] Drury's letters; Keith, p. 374; State Paper Office, 1566, 1567.

[2] Prince Labanoff's Letters, vol. vii. pp. 102–104.

the precautions adopted, by which the accused party could bid his enemies defiance and overrule the course of justice, it was evident that this trial could be nothing but a form or a mockery. It was now hurried on as if to prevent the accusers from appearing. The day appointed was the 12th of April, but on the 11th the Earl of Lennox, the principal accuser, sent by letter an appeal to the queen against the injustice that characterized these proceedings. No time had been given him to collect the evidence by which the guilty might be detected; while the party charged with the crime, instead of being committed to ward as was usual in such cases, was allowed to go at large, was the chief attendant upon her majesty's person, and was so powerful by his command of the town and castle that he could not be impeached with safety.[1] Elizabeth, also, who had adopted his cause, wrote to Mary to enforce his appeal. Lennox was aware, she said, that a combination was formed for the acquittal of Bothwell whether guilty or not, and that a refusal of the earl's reasonable demand would bring her into such suspicion as would make her shunned by all princes and hated by all peoples—"and rather than this should happen," added Elizabeth, "I would wish you an honourable burial more than a sullied life." But the messenger was received with scorn, and refused access to the royal presence, and Mary, after reading the letter, vouchsafed no answer.[2]

On the momentous 12th of April the Tolbooth of Edinburgh was opened for the trial, and Bothwell was fully accoutred and prepared to take justice by storm. The streets from Holyrood to the Tolbooth were occupied with an array of four thousand armed men; two hundred hagbutters in his employ guarded the doors of the court, so that none might enter whose testimony might be unfavourable; and the tribunal, thus overawed, had for its president the Earl of Argyle, one of his principal supporters, while the jury itself was composed of his creatures and adherents.[3] Even the arrival of Lennox also was guarded against, by an order which met him on the way, prohibiting him from entering the town with more than six attendants.[4] Every precaution being thus adopted Bothwell went to his trial as to a triumph, mounted upon the horse which had belonged to Darnley, and attended by Lethington and a crowd of his favourers. On his passing the palace the queen, who stood at a window watching the cavalcade, gave him a friendly greeting as a farewell; and even when the trial was afterwards going on she sent him a friendly token and message as if further to assure him of her good wishes. On the indictment being read the Earl of Lennox, who was called upon to make good his charge, did not appear. Upon this Robert Cunningham, a gentleman of his household, rose and stated the causes that had prevented the earl his master from appearing; adding that he had been sent forward to reiterate the charge of murder against the Earl of Bothwell, and to request delay for collecting the necessary evidence. This was refused, upon which Cunningham entered his protest against any sentence of acquittal upon persons who were notoriously known, as he boldly stated, to be the murderers of the late king. As no witnesses ventured to appear, and the crown lawyers were silent, Bothwell was acquitted by the unanimous voice of a jury of five earls, five lords, and five barons, and to save themselves from the charge of wilful error they protested that they had absolved him through the want of an accuser. As soon as he had quitted the Tolbooth, Bothwell, to enhance the value of his acquittal, put up a public cartel, in which he offered the combat to any gentleman undefamed who should charge him with the king's murder. But the same apprehension that prevented the arrival of Lennox in Edinburgh was enough to deter any one from publicly accepting this useless bravado.[5]

Although Bothwell had been thus absolved by a jury of his peers the commons were still dissatisfied; the trial was only calculated to strengthen the popular suspicion, and the public clamour was louder than ever. Nor was it confined to the atrocious Bothwell; the queen's partiality and the manner in which she had countenanced the proceedings of the trial made her be suspected as an accomplice in his crime; and even the poor market-women, as she passed them, mixed their wonted shout of loyalty with a qualification that must have grated fearfully upon her ears. "God preserve your grace," they cried, "if you are sackless [innocent] of the king's death!" Even those who endeavoured to account for her unnatural infatuation were obliged to betake themselves to an excuse, which, however absurd in itself, was in accordance with the superstition of the age. Mary's affection for Bothwell, they declared, was neither a natural nor voluntary feeling; but the effect of magic, love-spells, and philtres, that had transformed her out of her proper self and driven her onward with a violence which she could not resist. To

[1] Keith, pp. 374, 375.

[2] MS. Letter, State Paper Office: Queen Elizabeth to Mary Stewart, 8th April, 1567.

[3] Keith, 377; Letter of Drury to Cecil, 15th April, 1567.

[4] Anderson, ii. p. 98.

[5] Anderson, ii. p. 107; Letters of Forster and Drury to Cecil, 15th April, 1567; State Paper Office.

such lovers of the supernatural Bothwell's erratic life; his early sojourn in foreign lands, where men read the stars and converted stones into gold; his restless spirit and incredible audacity, nay, even his swart un-Scottish complexion and mesmeric looks were fitted to suggest such a solution; and they talked of his old paramour, the Lady Buccleugh, accounted a powerful sorceress, as his assistant in this damnable practice. But events were already at hand too much in the established course of nature for such popular apologies to explain or to palliate.

CHAPTER XI.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY (1567).

Proceedings of Bothwell to effect his marriage with the queen—Ansley's Supper—Bond of the lords to support Bothwell's pretensions—Bothwell's forcible abduction of Mary at Almond Bridge—Confederacy of the lords for her protection—She rejects their offer to deliver her from Bothwell—She is brought back to Edinburgh—Preparations for her marriage with Bothwell—Craig's reluctance to proclaim the banns—His protest on proclaiming them—His appearance before the council—Marriage of the queen with Bothwell—The confederate lords unite against them—They apply to England for aid—Mary's defiance of their attempts—Quarrels between her and Bothwell after the marriage—Bothwell's appeals for recognition to the sovereigns of France and England—The confederate lords take arms—The queen and Bothwell escape from them to Dunbar—They muster an army and encamp on Carberry Hill—The confederate lords advance against them—Irresolution of the queen's soldiers—De Croc's unsuccessful attempt to mediate between the two armies—Bothwell's proposal of single combat—Carberry Hill surrounded—The confederates reject the offers of compromise—Desertion among the queen's troops—Bothwell's offer of combat—The combat prevented by the queen—Bothwell retires from the field—Mary surrenders to the confederates—Her treatment from the lords and the soldiers—She finds herself a prisoner—She is brought to Edinburgh—Insults heaped upon her in the city—Her escape dreaded—Her continuing infatuation for Bothwell—The lords resolve to imprison her—She is sent to the castle of Lochleven—Precautions to prevent her escape—The confederates seek to justify themselves with France and England—Their appeal to Queen Elizabeth—Discovery of the casket containing Mary's letters to Bothwell—Trial of two of the murderers of Darnley—Return of John Knox to Edinburgh—Proceedings of Queen Elizabeth with Mary and the confederates—Attempts of her ambassador for the reconciliation of both parties and Mary's liberation—His proposals rejected—Mary's refusal to have Bothwell divorced from her—Her hopes of relief from the Earl of Moray—His interview with the Queen of England—Continuing negotiations with Mary ineffectual—General demand for her death—The church mollified by concessions—Perplexity of the lords about their future disposal of the queen—They resolve to depose her and crown her son—Interview of Lindsay and Melvil with her at Lochleven—She subscribes the demands of the lords—Coronation of James VI.—Elizabeth's remonstrance against it—Apology of the lords to the English ambassador for holding their queen a prisoner—They explain the danger of Mary from her pretended adherents—The Earl of Moray arrives in Scotland to assume the regency—He learns the proofs of Mary's guilt—His interview with her at Lochleven—She entreats him to accept the regency—He is inaugurated regent—Form of his oath of office.

After the trial, in which justice was outbraved, Bothwell was at the height of his prosperity, while there was none to contend with him. Lennox was once more a fugitive in England, where alone he could be safe from the machinations of his son's destroyer; Moray, disgusted with the state of public affairs, which he found himself unable to remedy, had retired to France three days before the trial was held; and Lethington, Morton, Huntly, and Argyle, who had more or less shared in the plot against the late king, were for the present among Bothwell's supporters. Three days after the trial the parliament was opened; and Mary, as if to punish the popular indignation, which continued as loud as ever, refused the usual guard of the city magistrates and trained bands and replaced them with a troop of hagbutters, while Bothwell was promoted to the high distinction of bearing the crown and sceptre before her. At this parliament the chief business transacted was the confirmation of Bothwell's acquittal by the three estates, and the restoration of the Earl of Huntly to the lands which had been forfeited to the crown by his father's rebellion. This important concession, coupled with rumours already prevalent that Bothwell intended to be divorced from his countess, who was sister of Huntly, gave rise to strange suspicions and made it be regarded as the price of his acquiescence. The object of this contemplated divorce it was not difficult to surmise: it was only a necessary and preparatory step to the marriage of the queen with Bothwell. And

what would be the fate of the young prince under such suspicious guardianship? It was naturally concluded that the same ruthless ambition that had swept away the father would not hesitate at the removal of the son also.

While the land was thus darkened with the shadows of advancing evils Bothwell evinced his purpose by one of those daring strokes which were too much in accordance with the character and events of Scottish history. It was to obtain the consent of the nobles to his marriage with the queen, and under their combined influence to carry it into effect. No sooner, therefore, had the parliament risen, which was on the 19th of April, than he invited the chief nobility to supper in a tavern kept by a man named Ansley. Thither the parties repaired, but during the feast the house was quietly surrounded by two hundred hagbutters; and when the hearts of the guests were warmed with wine Bothwell rose and presented to them a bond for their signature recommending him to the queen as a suitable person for her husband; he added that their compliance would be agreeable to her majesty; and according to the testimony of some of them he showed her own written warrant empowering him to make this proposal to the nobility. The lords were confounded, but their retreat was effectually debarred, so that none escaped but the Earl of Eglinton; the rest, either confused, overawed, or secretly inclined to the measure, set their names to this infamous document, more degrading than the Ragman Roll itself. These were the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Errol, Crawford, Cassillis, Morton, and Sutherland, with five lords and seven bishops, who were thus secured by a single throw of the net at this notable entertainment, usually called Ansley's Supper. Little did they know that by this act they subscribed to their sovereign's destruction as well as to their own lasting shame.[1]

Furnished with this sanction Bothwell now drove onward to the accomplishment of his purpose, while all who might have opposed it appear to have been daunted by his monstrous effrontery. Let him effect it also in what manner he pleased, he was certain of the queen's concurrence. She had made so little concealment of her preference as to declare that "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she leave him."[2] But how to effect the marriage was the difficulty, as Bothwell was still married and the queen only in the third month of her widowhood. An act of forcible abduction was necessary that should leave her no alternative, and the whole plan was contrived between the pair. But cunningly though it might be designed, it could not be concealed from the spies in English pay at the court of Scotland; and a notice not obscurely worded, and sent from Scotland probably to Cecil, gave intimation of the purpose on hand. "The queen rode to Stirling," says the writer, "this last Monday, and returns this Thursday. I doubt not but you have heard how the Earl of Bothwell has gathered many of his friends, and, as some say, to ride in Liddesdale, but I believe it is not, for he is minded to meet the queen this day called Thursday, and to take her by the way and bring her to Dunbar. Judge you if it be with her will or no." Thus the very day and mode of the abduction were intimated even while they were in progress. On that Monday, the 21st of April, Mary commenced proceedings by repairing to Stirling to visit her son; but the Earl of Mar, the prince's governor, refused to admit more of her train with her than two female attendants. If part of the plan had been to transfer the custody of the prince to the Earl of Bothwell, it was thus unexpectedly frustrated by the jealous watchfulness of Mar. After leaving Stirling the queen had scarcely proceeded four miles when she was seized with a grievous pain, so that she was obliged on her return to make a halt at Linlithgow;[3] and by this opportune seizure, which served in lieu of her child, her journey could be so delayed that the place of meeting might be reached without the show of design or connivance. On Thursday, the 24th, she left Linlithgow; and on reaching Almond Bridge, about six miles from Edinburgh, Bothwell was awaiting her arrival at the head of six hundred spears. Her train was soon surrounded and dispersed; Huntly, Lethington, Sir James Melvil, and a few others were taken prisoners; and Bothwell himself, seizing her horse by the bridle, carried her off with her party to the castle of Dunbar. Even when the faithful Melvil remonstrated against this violence he was silenced by the declaration of Captain Blackadder, his captor, that this deed had been done with the queen's own consent.[4]

Thus Mary had reached the climax of her folly, but neither without warning nor yet the means of deliverance. The death of Darnley and the ambitious designs of Bothwell had excited general alarm; and all who were friendly

[1] Keith, p. 380; Anderson, iv. p. 60; Calderwood, ii. p. 351; Buchanan, xviii. 26.

[2] Letter of Kirkaldy to the Earl of Bedford, April 20, 1567: State Paper Office.

[3] Calderwood, ii. p. 356; Buchanan, xviii. 27.

[4] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 177.

to the queen, or ashamed of their country's degradation, or envious of the power and jealous of the designs of the daring favourite, had combined to protect her from his designs even before this desperate outrage at Almond Bridge, and were only hindered from interposing by her own reckless infatuation. This last act drew them more closely together at Stirling, where they entered into a bond by which three resolutions were determined; these were—to deliver the queen, now a prisoner, from the power of Bothwell; to watch over the safety of the prince; and to pursue the murderers of the late king. This coalition, under which the offenders were so speedily to be crushed, included the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Athole, Mar, Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Caithness, and the Lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glammis, Innermeith, Lindsay, Hume, and Herries; with De Croc, the French ambassador, Sir Robert Melvil, and Kirkaldy of Grange.[1] Their first proceeding was to send to the queen to know whether she was taken and held prisoner against her will, in which case they offered to effect her deliverance; but to this she answered from her place of captivity that although she had been taken against her will, she had since been treated with such courtesy that she had no cause of complaint.[2]

After this strange preparation for the marriage it was necessary that the queen should be produced free and unconstrained before her subjects; and accordingly, after the residence of a few days at the castle of Dunbar, under the same roof and in the public possession of Bothwell, she was escorted by him to Edinburgh in royal state, himself leading the queen's horse by the bridle with courtly attention, while his followers threw away their spears to show that she was fully at liberty. In this manner they entered Edinburgh and went up to the castle, of which Bothwell was the governor. In the meantime Bothwell had been hurrying on his application for a divorce from his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, and his alleged adulteries and nearness of kindred to Lady Jane having been sustained by the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the consistorial courts, the sentence of divorce was passed on the 3d of May, the same day on which Mary returned from Dunbar to Edinburgh. On the following day she came down from the castle, presented herself before the lords, and declared herself to be free and at liberty. Nothing now was wanting except the proclamation of the banns of marriage between her and Bothwell; and Knox being still absent from Edinburgh, an order was sent to John Craig, his colleague, to make the proclamation. It might have been thought that when so many high-born earls and warlike barons had yielded to the storm, no opposition would have been offered by a solitary presbyter. But he refused compliance with the order, alleging that the queen had sent him no command upon the subject, and that common rumour asserted her to have been ravished by Bothwell and still detained by him as his prisoner. To overrule this objection the justice-clerk brought him a letter signed by Mary herself, declaring the falsehood of the rumour and commanding him to proclaim the banns; but he still refused, and demanded to be confronted with the parties themselves. This was granted; and before the privy-council, Bothwell himself being present, he charged that nobleman with the crimes of rape, adultery, and murder, to which no reply was offered. Having thus exonerated his conscience and fulfilled his duty as a clergyman, he proclaimed the banns in the High Church, but not in the usual fashion, for as soon as he had made proclamation he added this solemn testimony: "I take heaven and earth to witness that I abhor and detest this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world, and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God to the comfort of this unhappy realm." For this bold protest he was again called before the council and rebuked as having exceeded his commission, to which he replied: "The bounds of my commission are the Word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which I have said nothing; and by all these I offer to prove this marriage to be scandalous and infamous." Upon this he was stopped by Bothwell and dismissed without further questioning.[3]

All being thus in readiness for the marriage, Mary on the 12th of May formally presented herself in the high court of Edinburgh before the chancellor, judges, and nobles who had been assembled for the occasion. She told them that understanding there had been a hesitation among the lords of session whether they could sit and administer justice, on account of the reports of her late captivity, and that she was not a free agent; although she had at first, she alleged, been disturbed at her capture by the Earl of Bothwell, yet his subsequent good behaviour, with the consideration of his services in times past, had not only induced her to forgive him but even to promote him to still

[1] Kirkaldy, letter to Bedford, State Paper Office.
[2] Calderwood, ii. p. 357.
[3] Knox, ii. p. 555; Anderson, iv. p. 280.

higher honour.[1] On the same day she created him Duke of Orkney and Shetland, placing the coronet on his head with her own hands. On the 15th of May, at four o'clock in the morning, she was married in Holyrood by the Bishop of Orkney, one of the four prelates who had joined the Reformation according to the Protestant ritual, Craig himself being present. But the solemnity was darkened with evil omens. Instead of assembling with acclamations the people stood aloof and in silence; scarcely any of the nobility were present; even De Croc, the French ambassador, refused attendance; and Mary, with the same inadvertence which she had exhibited at her marriage with Darnley, was again espoused in the mourning attire of a widow instead of the wonted bridal dress and ornaments.

The marriage of the queen was the strongest bond of union among those associated lords who had for some time been combining against her. Her infatuated attachment to Bothwell and implicit compliance with his slightest wishes, combined with his own desire to have the young prince in his custody, not only roused their alarm but sanctioned their opposition. The life of their future sovereign, endangered equally by an unnatural mother and a selfish, unprincipled stepfather, was at stake; and for the preservation of the prince they judged that even the deposition of the queen and the destruction of her husband would be reckoned a righteous service. Nor was encouragement to their proceedings wanting from the lack of new allies and associates. The versatile but profound and politic Lethington being threatened by Bothwell, and fearing the worst from such an enemy, had secretly joined the associated lords and only waited the opportunity to declare himself; while Moray, then in France, was made aware of their purposes, and was expected at least to sympathize with them. Even France, now justly alarmed at Mary's headlong course, and willing rather to leave her to her folly than lose its hold upon the kingdom of Scotland, adopted the quarrel of the lords and was willing to aid them with troops in the prosecution of their designs. But it was rather from Protestant England, with which the future interests of their young prince were so closely connected, than from Popish France that these lords were willing to receive countenance and aid; and to Elizabeth they applied rather than to Charles IX. But the crafty Elizabeth was sorely perplexed by their application. Their purpose was not merely to put down Bothwell as the murderer of their late king but to crown the prince—a design that startled her as downright rebellion and a violation of the rights of sovereigns which no crowned head could sanction. On the other hand there was danger from the offers of France, by which the influence of that kingdom might be restored among the Scots, to the jeopardy and hurt of England. In this uncertainty she contented herself with watching their movements and awaiting the course of events.[2] The meetings of these nobles were not unknown to Mary, but she only treated them with contempt; and speaking of the heads of the coalition she observed: "Athole is but feeble; for Argyle, I know well how to stop his mouth; and as for Morton, his boots are but new pulled off and still soiled, he shall be sent back to his old quarters." She was soon to find that Morton, to whose late recall from England she thus alluded, would not again be banished so easily.

In the meantime the disastrous marriage was producing bitter fruits to the pair themselves. Even on the very day of its solemnization Mary appears to have quarrelled with Bothwell. Sending for de Croc, the French ambassador, she asked him if he perceived any strangeness between her and her husband, and declared that she did not rejoice, and never would rejoice again; and that all she desired was death. On the following day, being in a closet with Bothwell, she was heard in the adjoining room crying aloud for some one to bring her a knife, that she might kill herself.[3] Bothwell also, as if he already suspected the constancy of the queen and feared that the fate of Darnley might be his own, closely watched her intercourse with others, and would no longer allow her to use those familiarities with her friends which were so congenial to her disposition.[4] And yet this rough imperious treatment, so different from what she might have expected, seems only to have endeared him to her the more, and her proud spirit was quelled beneath a pride that was greater than her own. Her love was that of an infatuated, subdued, and broken-hearted slave that cowered beneath the eye that threatened and fawned upon the hand that struck. In their public conduct, however, Mary was careful that nothing of this should be seen or even suspected. The marriage was followed by a popular display of pageants and tournaments. She exchanged the sombre dress of her widowhood for gay attire, and often rode out with the Duke of Orkney, in whose company she always seemed happy; and when Bothwell, mingling

[1] Anderson, i. pp. 87, 88.

[2] Letters of Drury to Cecil, May, 1567.

[3] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 180.

[4] Letter of De Croc to Catherine de Medici; Labanoff, vii. p. 110.

the homage of a subject with the affection of a husband, refused to be covered in her presence, she would then in a playful mood snatch the bonnet from his hand and place it upon his head.[1]

To have the man of her choice recognized by foreign courts as her husband was now the chief object with Mary; and for this purpose she sent Robert Melvil as her envoy to Elizabeth, and the Bishop of Dunblane to France and Rome. Her choice of Melvil for England was unfortunate, as this gentleman, who wavered between his allegiance to his sovereign and his engagements to the confederate lords, carried the letters of both parties and laid them before the Queen of England. In their instructions the envoys were commissioned to excuse the precipitate marriage of their mistress chiefly in consideration of the noble qualities of Bothwell, his past services, and the satisfactory manner in which he had been cleared by open trial of every aspersion that had been thrown upon his character in reference to the late king's death. Bothwell also wrote to Charles IX. of France and to Elizabeth; and while his letter to the former was short and submissive, that to the latter was in a proud and almost kingly style, as if he had already taken his place among European sovereigns. He was aware, he said, that the Queen of England thought evil of him; but he protested that her unfavourable opinion had been unmerited. He declared that he would preserve the amity now subsisting between the two kingdoms, and be ready to do her majesty all honour and service.[2] After these proffers, which Elizabeth must have read with indignation and scorn, he concluded by observing that men of higher birth might have been advanced to the station he now occupied; but that none could have been chosen more zealous for the preservation of the Queen of England's friendship, of which she should have experience at any time it might be her pleasure to employ him. In this rash manner he indulged his pride at the expense of his interests. Had the superscriptions of these letters been reversed they would likely have been more acceptable.

While the queen and Bothwell were thus endeavouring to justify and recommend their marriage to foreign courts the conspiracy of the confederate lords had been matured. As their situation was one of peculiar difficulty their proceedings required more than ordinary caution. Morton, Argyle, Huntly, Lethington, and Balfour, the principal parties combined, might convict Bothwell of the murder of the king; but how had their knowledge of the fact been acquired? Should the trial proceed thus far it might be proved that they had previously been cognizant of the deed, if not consenting to its commission. It was safer to act upon the popular rumour, which had already judged and condemned him, than to abide the chances of a regular investigation. Even in the absence of personal motives, also, the danger of their young prince, whom Bothwell was bent to have in his keeping, required instant and decisive action. And here the old Scottish opportunity was not long wanting. The queen and Bothwell, finding themselves so unpopular with the citizens, had retired from Edinburgh to Borthwick Castle, the seat of the Laird of Crookston, about ten miles distant; and as disturbances had again commenced in Liddesdale the queen had issued a proclamation commanding the attendance of the nobles, with their feudal array, for an expedition to the disturbed quarter. On this occasion Bothwell was to command the army, and it may be with the hope of retrieving his late failure in that district and recovering his lost popularity. But none of the nobles repaired to the muster, and he returned disappointed to the queen at Borthwick.[3] The nobles in the meantime had their armed retainers in readiness, and with a detachment of a thousand horse under the command of Lord Hume they made a rapid march to Borthwick by night and surrounded the castle, hoping to seize Bothwell by surprise: but he escaped through a postern in the back wall and fled to his castle of Dunbar, where he was soon after joined by the queen, hooted and spurned, and in the disguise of a page.[4] Having thus missed their prey the disappointed lords marched back at four o'clock in the morning to Edinburgh; broke open the city gates, took possession of the town, and issued a proclamation that they were in arms to revenge the death of the late king, deliver the queen from Bothwell, and preserve the prince; commanding the citizens to aid them in their purpose, and threatening the punishment of traitors to all who refused. The citizens gladly responded to their call, and the lords were promised the support of the unprincipled Sir James Balfour, who commanded the castle for Bothwell, but who was now ready to join what promised to be the winning side.[5]

During these transactions the queen and Bothwell had been equally alert. A proclamation was issued from Dunbar denouncing the con-

[1] Drury to Cecil, State Paper Office, May 20, 1567.
[2] MS. Letter in State Paper Office, June 5th, 1567.
[3] Drury to Cecil; Buchanan, xviii. 42.
[4] Captain of Inchkeith's narrative; Teulet, ii. p. 161; James Beaton to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Laing, ii. p. 106.
[5] James Beaton to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Calderwood, ii. p. 361, and Appendix B.

federate lords as traitors and summoning all her majesty's faithful subjects to her standard. The call was obeyed by the Lords Seton, Borthwick, and Yester, and a considerable number of Border barons and gentlemen, so that in two days a force of 2500 men was assembled round her standard. The queen and the Duke of Orkney then left Dunbar on the 14th of June to encounter the insurgents; and at Gladsmoor a proclamation was read to the troops, denying the charges of their adversaries and justifying their conduct. The lords, it was announced, after their unsuccessful attempt at the castle of Borthwick, had made a seditious proclamation that they sought to revenge the murder of the late king, free the queen from captivity and bondage, and defend their prince from the dangerous designs of Bothwell; but that these were only false and forged inventions. None would be more ready to revenge the late king's death than the queen herself, if she could but discover his murderers. As for the Duke of Orkney, he had been cleared of the charge by the course of regular trial, by the law of arms, and by the deliverance of parliament, at which these lords themselves had been present. With regard to her pretended captivity, it was well known to all her subjects that her marriage with the duke had been publicly contracted and solemnized with the consent of the lords themselves as their own handwriting could testify. As for their zeal for the safety of the prince, this was but a pretext for the overthrow of her and her posterity, that they might rule all things at their pleasure, and without control. Finally, to encourage her troops to be faithful and increase the number of her adherents, the queen promised, in reward of their services, to divide the lands and possessions of the rebels among them according to the merit of each individual.[1] Having thus roused her troops by the strongest inducements the queen, dressed in a red gown which reached only to her knees,[2] and mounted on horseback, with the royal standard of Scotland borne before her, proceeded with her little army to Carberry Hill, and encamped on it within the old works which had been thrown up by the English previous to the battle of Pinkie.

At this near approach of the queen the confederate lords marched out of Edinburgh at two o'clock on Sunday morning, and soon reached Musselburgh, where they occupied a position on its heights within a mile of their adversaries. But instead of a royal banner to confront that of the queen, they had brought with them a standard on which was painted the body of the murdered king lying under a tree, and the young prince kneeling beside it, while beneath, as a motto, was the sentence, "*Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord.*" With this remarkable standard they had roused the citizens of Edinburgh in their cause, and with it they now inflamed the courage of their soldiers. The two armies were equal in numbers; but that of the queen already felt discouraged by the unpopularity of their cause and the general detestation of Bothwell. De Croc, the French ambassador, who was with the queen although his leanings had all along been towards the confederates, attempted to interpose his good offices in the name of the king his master, and repairing to the camp of the insurgent lords he offered to mediate between them and their sovereign; but they would not consent to disband their forces and return to their allegiance until the queen would separate herself from the "wretch who held her captive." To spare the effusion of blood, however, they offered, if Bothwell would come out between the armies, to meet him with a champion from their ranks, who would maintain against him in combat that he was the murderer of the late king; and that if he required two, four, ten, or twelve opponents they should be forthcoming. The ambassador expressed his opinion that the queen would never assent to these terms, upon which the lords replied that nothing else could be done, and that they would rather consent to be buried alive than suffer the truth concerning the death of the late king to remain concealed. On his return to Mary, whom he found seated on a hillock, she expressed her indignation at the terms of the confederates. "They show their affection very ill," she cried, "by running counter to what they have signed; and by accusing the man whom they acquitted, and to whom they have married me!" At this moment Bothwell came up; and in a loud voice, that all his soldiers might hear and derive courage from his words, he expressed his alacrity to join in combat between the two armies with any one of the opposite ranks who was a gentleman. "What they are doing," he exclaimed at the top of his voice, "is from envy of my greatness. Fortune is free to any one who can receive her; and there is not a man among them who would not wish to be in my place." To his offer of combat the queen refused her consent, declaring that his quarrel was hers also.[3]

A movement was now apparent among the confederate troops, which showed that they were preparing to cross the brook that ran between the two armies and become the assailants. At this sight Bothwell put himself at the head of

[1] Keith, pp. 398–400.

[2] Narrative of Captain of Inchkeith; Teulet, ii. p. 162; Buchanan, xviii. 49.

[3] De Croc; Letters to Charles IX.; Teulet, ii. p. 174.

his array, while de Croc, still desirous to prevent extremities, went back to make a last appeal. He promised the Earls of Morton and Glencairn their sovereign's pardon if they would return to their duty; but the offer was received with scorn. "We have not come here," said Glencairn, "to crave pardon for ourselves, but rather to give it to those who have offended." "We are in arms," added Morton, "not against our queen, but against the murderer of our king. If she will give him up to punishment or separate herself from him we will continue in due obedience; otherwise there can be no reconciliation." These answers convinced the ambassador that further negotiation was useless, and he retired to Edinburgh.[1]

Preparations for immediate battle were made; the horsemen according to custom had dismounted and sent their horses to the rear on either side, and the confederate army was steadily advancing towards the entrenchments on Carberry Hill. But already there was a wavering among the queen's troops, and some were stealing over to the enemy. A cry had also arisen among them that some means must be found to avoid a conflict. The challenge, lately offered and refused, must be accepted; and Bothwell hastily sent forward a herald to demand a champion from the other side. The gage was gladly taken up by James Murray, Laird of Tullibardin, the same person, as was supposed, who had affixed his challenge at midnight to the Cross of Edinburgh, and who now supported his claim by alleging that he was of a more ancient house than that of James Hepburn; but Bothwell refused him as an antagonist because he was not a peer, and invited Morton himself to meet him in the lists, the combat to be fought on foot and with two-handed swords. The defiance was accepted, but Lord Lindsay interfered, claiming the combat as his right, being the relative of the murdered king. His demand was granted; Morton armed him with the two-handed sword of Bell-the-Cat, and Lindsay, ready for battle, knelt down and prayed that God would strengthen his arm for the punishment of the guilty and protection of the innocent. But his antagonist was not forthcoming, for the queen, dreading the danger of such a strife, prohibited the combat.[2] It needed but this to dissolve the royal army, which was fast withdrawing in whole bands, while Mary wept, implored, and reviled them for their cowardice but in vain. None were left but sixty gentlemen and a band of hagbutters, while Kirkaldy of Grange was seen wheeling round the hill with a strong force of cavalry to intercept their retreat to Dunbar. Thus, hopeless alike of flight and resistance, the queen's only anxiety was for Bothwell, and she demanded an interview with Kirkaldy, who told her that if the man who stood near her, and was guilty of the king's murder, was dismissed, and if she would consent to follow them to Edinburgh, the lords would return to their allegiance. This stipulation the lords themselves afterwards repeated, and Mary, trusting to their promises, retired to hold a short conversation with Bothwell. What words passed between them could not be heard; but they were observed to speak together with great agitation, and to separate with tokens of grief and anguish.[3] Thus mournfully had their marriage of a few weeks terminated only to be followed by an everlasting separation, a life-long bondage of ignominy and suffering, and the relief of death by a close at which humanity shuddered. The short interview being ended Bothwell mounted his horse and rode off at a gallop towards Dunbar, attended by not more than a dozen of his followers; and the queen, seeing that he was safe and unpursued, committed herself to the laird of Grange upon the faith of the assurances which he had brought to her from the confederates.

On coming before the lords Mary endeavoured to enhance the value of her surrender by addressing them in these words: "My lords, I am come to you not out of any fear I had of my life, nor yet doubting of the victory if matters had gone to the worst; but I abhor the shedding of Christian blood, especially of those that are my own subjects; and therefore I yield to you and will be ruled hereafter by your counsels, trusting you will respect me as your born princess and queen." The lords received her on their knees, while Morton in name of the rest replied: "Here, madam, is the true place where your grace should be, and here we are ready to defend and obey you as loyally as ever nobility of this realm did your progenitors." Different, however, was the greeting she received when she passed to the rearward, where the scum of the army was collected. The soldiers with outcries demanded that she should be burned as an adulteress and the murderer of her husband, so that Kirkaldy had to compel them to silence by drawing his sword. Encouraged by her courteous reception from the nobles, and believing that she had only to speak to be obeyed, Mary expressed her purpose to repair to the Hamiltons, who had mustered their forces for her defence and advanced to Linlithgow; but apprehending that this would only rekindle the war, the confederates refused to let her pass

[1] De Croc in Teulet; Keith, p. 401.

[2] Buchanan; Captain of Inchkeith in Teulet, ii. p. 164.

[3] Letter of Scrope to Cecil, June 17, 1567; S. P. O.

forward. Indignant at this opposition, and perceiving that she was no longer a queen but a prisoner, she burst into reproaches and demanded why they dared to detain her; and calling for Lord Lindsay, the fiercest of her opponents, she ordered him to give her his hand. On his complying she said, "By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this!"[1] Not content with this worse than useless outburst of resentment, she extended her threats to the Earls of Morton and Athole, whom she vowed to hang as traitors.

The evening arrived and she was conducted to Edinburgh, but not in triumph, for the terrible banner, displaying the picture of her murdered husband and her son kneeling beside him crying for revenge, was borne before her, while the citizens received her with shouts of scorn and rage. Although it was ten o'clock, an hour when the streets of the capital were usually deserted, they were now so thronged that the soldiers were obliged to march in single file; and Mary herself, covered with dust and her face disfigured with tears, was led to the provost's house, which for the time was to be her prison. Although she had already fasted twenty-four hours she refused to take any nourishment, and during the night she often threw up the window and cried for rescue to ears that were deaf and hearts that were impenetrable. When the morning light dawned she again repaired to the window, but the first spectacle she saw was the horrid banner which the soldiers held up before her, at the sight of which she shrieked like a maniac, and half-naked as she was, with her dishevelled hair raised wildly like that of a pythoness, she implored the people for the love of God to deliver her from the hands of her tyrants. But still none pitied, or only pitied in silence.[2] Even yet, however, an attempt for her rescue was apprehended, and from one of those chances with which the streets of Edinburgh hourly abounded. On that day a quarrel between two men occurred, and one of them shouted, "A Hume! a Hume!" This commencement of a feud-fight raised alarm, the town-bell was rung backward as the signal of an uproar, and a public affray might have commenced had not Lord Hume with a party of his friends taken possession of the street and kept it clear for three hours. It was thought that this tumult had been purposely devised to favour Mary's escape.[3]

Alarmed at these symptoms, and fearing a reaction of the popular sympathy, the lords removed the queen to Holyrood, where she could be more strictly guarded, and proceeded to deliberate upon her further disposal. This was the more necessary as they had intercepted a letter she had written to Bothwell filled with terms of unalterable affection, and vowing that she would never forget or forsake him.[4] On the same day she had also held a conversation with Lethington about Bothwell, in which she declared that she would be happy to live and die with him, and that she only wished to be embarked with him in the same ship and carried wherever fortune might lead them.[5] Her strange passion for the man was evidently incurable, so that she would recall him even at the price of a civil war. The deliberation of the lords was characteristic of the men and of the interests at stake. Morton would have the queen's life spared on provision being made for the security of religion. To this it was answered that as long as she was alive attempts would be made to set her free; and that as soon as she was liberated she would break her promises, as being made under fear and compulsion. Some even denounced Morton himself for his lenity, and told him that for arresting the stroke of God's justice it would descend upon himself. It was argued also that if it was unlawful to execute her it was also unlawful to detain her, and that for what they had already done they were liable to be called in question.[6] It was a dangerous consultation for Mary: even already her own subjects were about to denounce the doom which, years afterwards, Elizabeth trembled to inflict. It was at last resolved to commit her to prison in the castle of Lochleven. The order to that effect was signed by Athole, Glencairn, Morton, Mar, Graham, Sanquhar, Semple, and William Ochiltrie, and on the 10th of June Mary was removed from Holyrood during the night, mounted on a sorry hack, and conveyed by the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven to the place of her captivity. The castle, standing in the midst of a lake half a mile on every side from the shore, was strong enough to resist a sudden attack and sufficiently isolated to prevent an escape; all its inmates were to be on the watch upon their prisoner, and no letters or communications of any kind were either to be sent or received without undergoing a careful scrutiny. As if to make the queen's imprisonment the more hopeless, the lady of the castle was Margaret Erskine, daughter of Lord Erskine, formerly the mistress and who claimed to have been the lawful wife of James V., to whom, she alleged, she had been secretly mar-

[1] Drury to Cecil, June 18, State Paper Office.
[2] Keith, p. 402; Buchanan. [3] Calderwood, ii. p. 365.
[4] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 185.
[5] Letter of De Croc to Catherine de Medicis, June 17; Teulet, ii. p. 170. [6] Calderwood, ii. p. 366.

ried, and who hated the queen not only as a malignant Papist but as the daughter of her rival, Mary of Guise, and the supplanter of her son, the Earl of Moray, whom she bore to James, and who should have succeeded his father in the throne. These high pretensions, which she was unable to make good, only embittered her the more against the unfortunate queen, whose comfort she was so little likely to study, and whose escape she was so interested to prevent.[1]

Having thus imprisoned their sovereign, the confederates found it necessary to justify their proceedings to the courts of England and France. Their letters to Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici, the queen-mother, required little explanation or apology, and chiefly consisted of professions of amity and good-will. The rash, eccentric, and culpable conduct of Mary had been too much even for the moral latitude of the French court, and they were therefore willing to leave her to her fate. They had also entertained a hope that amidst these dissensions the Scottish infant prince would be sent to France for safety, and Scotland retained in its old alliance with their country notwithstanding Mary's deposition. It was for this that de Croc, although their ambassador to the queen, had sympathized with the proceedings of the confederate lords, and was even now persuading them to make her captivity close and sure. Their letter to Elizabeth was more ample and apologetical. They declared that their only motive in having recourse to arms was to inflict punishment upon the king's murderers; and this being accomplished, their sovereign should be set free. They denied the purpose of crowning her son, and declared that it had never entered their thoughts. They then concluded with a statement of their want of money and an appeal to her generosity, declaring that if she would send them three or four thousand crowns for the levying of soldiers they would reject the offers of France and maintain the alliance with England.[2] There was much in this explanation that jarred upon the feelings of Elizabeth. The imprisonment of the Scottish queen was the personal cause of sovereigns, among whom she was the proudest, and in the troubled state of her kingdom, divided by religious contests, it was difficult to tell how far the contagion of such a near example might extend among her own subjects. But at the same time the cause of Protestantism was at issue, on which the stability of her reign depended, and to strengthen it in Scotland it was necessary to abandon the cause of the Scottish queen. In this difficulty she had recourse to her old expedient of temporizing with both parties; and therefore while she sent Robert Melvil, then in England, with a sympathetic letter to his mistress, she also despatched Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to watch the proceedings in Scotland, and to encourage or restrain the confederates as expediency might direct.

While the lords were thus explaining and attempting to justify their conduct an incident occurred of the utmost importance to their cause. We allude to the detection of what has been called the "fatal casket." It was a silver casket overgilt with gold, surmounted with the cipher of Francis II., the gift of that young sovereign to his queen, which she had presented to Bothwell, and in which the latter was wont to keep the letters he received from Mary during the period of their courtship. These fatal documents also he had carefully preserved, as was thought, to be a hostage for her fidelity and his own safety should her fickle affections change in favour of another. It was now time to reclaim such a dangerous pledge, and while he was still skulking as a fugitive in Scotland he sent an emissary to the castle of Edinburgh to demand the casket from Sir James Balfour and George Dalgleish, to whose keeping it had been intrusted. Balfour transmitted it accordingly; but either through accident or secret warning to the lords from Balfour himself the messenger was apprehended and the casket secured. Its contents were love sonnets and letters written in French by Mary, in which her complicity with Bothwell in the murder of Darnley was established beyond the power of denial or doubt, and which could only be rebutted by establishing the charge that they were the forgeries of Mary's enemies. The seizure was made on the 20th of June; and the contents of the casket, instead of being publicly divulged, were retained as proofs to be brought forward in open court should such a step be found necessary. With what effect they were produced on the trial of the queen belongs to a later part of our narrative.[3]

In the meantime a search had been instituted against the murderers of the late king, and those who had not already escaped were apprehended and brought to trial. The confessions of two of them, Powrie and Dalgleish, upon their trial on the 23d and 26th of June, clearly established the guilt of their employer, Bothwell, and showed that he had been justly prose-

[1] Order of Council for Mary's imprisonment, Laing, ii. p. 116; Keith, p. 403, note.

[2] MS. letters of Sir J. Forster to Cecil, Drury to Cecil, Bedford to Cecil, &c., June, 1567, State Paper Office.

[3] Buchanan, xviii. 51; Knox, ii. p. 562; Keith, p. 426; MS. letter of Throckmorton to Cecil, 25th July, 1567; Caligula, c. i. f. 22.

cuted. But why had he been allowed to retire unpunished? And why, above all, had not the queen herself been brought to the bar as an accomplice in the deed? Among the people at large there was no doubt of her guilt; and with those ideas of the limits of monarchical power which were habitual to the Scotch beyond every other people not absolutely republican, there was no divinity that could hedge a king from the inflictions of offended justice. Nor had the Reformation itself introduced a more lenient form of judgment. Having nothing but the examples of the Old Testament to direct them in the punishment of royal iniquity, the reformers held that every murderer ought to die the death, or if a king, be deposed and thrust aside. About this time also John Knox, who had retired for safety immediately after the death of Rizzio, again made his appearance to give direction and consistency to their counsels. He had been in England at the time of the murder of Darnley, and was there in communication with Bedford and Cecil; but now that the Protestant lords had imprisoned their queen he had returned to protect the interests of the church, which were continually in jeopardy from the selfishness and inconsistency of its supporters. The effects of his return were quickly felt in the renewed vigour that was manifested in the progress of the Reformation in Scotland.[1]

While the proofs of Mary's guilt had been accumulating and when her fate was becoming more imminent, Robert Melvil returned to Scotland. His first visit was to the confederate lords, whom he assured of Elizabeth's acquiescence and support in their design of deposing Mary, if the deposition could be effected with her own consent. He then repaired to Lochleven on the 1st of July, and presented to her the letter of Elizabeth that sympathized in her imprisonment and assured her of support. This double-dealing was followed by the arrival of Throckmorton, whose mission was of a different kind. She had found that her interest consisted in allowing neither party in Scotland to prevail, so that both should be equally dependent upon herself; and the proceedings of the ambassador were in conformity with the instructions of his mistress. He blamed the Scottish queen for her imprudent marriage with Bothwell, and the lords for their rebellion. He then unfolded his plan by which the differences of both parties were to be reconciled. The queen was to consent that she should be divorced from Bothwell, and on doing this she was to be liberated and replaced in her royal authority. Bothwell and his accomplices in the late king's death were to be punished as traitors and murderers. For the future government of the kingdom the castles of Dunbar and Dumbarton were to be intrusted to the keeping of nobles inimical to Bothwell, and a parliament was to be assembled at which wardens of the marches and the governors of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Inchkeith, and other fortresses, were to be appointed. A great council was to be permanently established at which five or six of its members should always be present, without whose advice and consent no appointment of the queen should be valid; and finally, that a general amnesty should be proclaimed for the reconciliation of all parties. By this nice division of authority not only would the two parties be equally balanced, but an element of perpetual discord introduced that would warrant the interposition of the English queen. But happily for the national independence this insidious plan gave satisfaction to neither party, and it was justly characterized by Maitland of Lethington and his associates, to whom Throckmorton had revealed it at Fastcastle as soon as he crossed the Border. They complained of the duplicity of Elizabeth in thus departing from the promises she had held out to them by Robert Melvil, and declared that if they thus "ran her fortune she would leave them among the briers." As for the Queen of England's proposal to set their sovereign free, they declared that if she was sincere in this she only sought their destruction, as Mary being once at liberty it would be in vain to talk of the prosecution of the late king's murderers, or any condition whatever. But while this offer of England was rejected by the Scottish lords, as little were they disposed to close with that of France. This was that the young prince should be proclaimed, and that the government should be administered by a council of lords, attached, of course, to the French interests; while Mary herself was to be shut up in a convent in France. Such was the representation of Lethington, although it is probable that in this last statement he had somewhat overcharged the designs and exaggerated the offers of the French court.[2]

The condition of Mary's affairs was now apparently hopeless. The lords would neither listen to Throckmorton's proposals nor grant him an interview with their captive. The Hamiltons made a show of zeal in her behalf and discussed plans for her liberation; but their meetings were mere empty debates and useless threatenings, and it was suspected that by these

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Knox.*

[2] MS. Letters of Throckmorton, July, 1567; Throckmorton's instructions; Keith.

demonstrations they only sought to alarm the queen's enemies and accelerate her destruction, in order that their chief might succeed to her throne. To these obstacles were added the obstinacy of Mary herself, who refused every proposal to have Bothwell divorced from her even though it was the principal condition of her liberty, and who clung to him with an affection worthy of a better object. There was only one gleam of hope for her, which this unhappy resolution was certain to defeat, and it came from a quarter where she had least deserved sympathy. The Earl of Moray, disgusted with her conduct and kept in continual apprehension for his life from the open violence and secret machinations of Bothwell, had retired to France, where he had many enemies, rather than to England, where he was assured of a cordial welcome; and there, detached alike from all parties, he had been the remote spectator of those evils which he could not prevent. But in consequence of the queen's imprisonment he could remain passive no longer; and he resolved to return for the unpopular purpose of setting Mary free and restoring her to authority. As this would have been in accordance with the designs of France, the French king made him splendid offers to secure his services; but these Moray steadfastly rejected, "lest by taking gifts he should be bound where he is now free."[1] He despatched one of his servants, Nicholas Elphinston, to Scotland, charged with letters to Mary, which were to be delivered into her own hands, and not seen by any of the confederates, and who was also commissioned to remonstrate with the confederates in his master's name for their audacity in imprisoning their sovereign. Elphinston having taken England in his way, the object of his mission was made known to Elizabeth, and this purpose of Moray appears to have altered her sentiments both respecting the Scottish queen and the confederates. She appears indeed to have been won over to the purposes of the earl, and to have regretted her past conduct towards Mary. "Tell Cecil," she said to a gentleman of the court after her interview with Elphinston—"tell Cecil, that he must instantly write a letter in my name to my sister, to which I will set my hand, for I cannot write it myself, as I have not used her well and faithfully in these broken matters that be past. The purport of it must be to let her know that the Earl of Moray never spoke diffamedly of her for the death of her husband, never plotted for the secret conveying of the prince to England, never confederated with the lords to depose her; on the contrary, now in my sister's misery let her learn from me the truth, and that is, that she has not a more faithful and honourable servant in Scotland."[2] Elphinston came to Scotland soon after the arrival of Throckmorton; but on applying for leave of access to the queen for the purpose of delivering his letters he was met with a flat refusal from the confederates.

After these prohibitions of intervention both on the part of England and France, and even of the Earl of Moray, whose influence might have been still more influential, the fate of Mary appeared so desperate that she was ready to welcome an escape from imprisonment either to a French nunnery or to her kinswoman, the old Duchess of Guise.[3] But she was too closely watched for escape, and too proud to purchase a voluntary liberation. Once and again had Robert Melvil been sent to Lochleven with the terms of the lords, and on both occasions she had rejected them. They sent him a third time, and in addition to their offers he carried a letter from Throckmorton strongly urging her compliance. But the queen still refused to renounce Bothwell; she alleged herself to be with child by him, and that she would rather die than declare the infant illegitimate. She entreated at the same time that her unhealthy prison should be changed for the castle of Stirling, where she could be comforted by seeing her son. All she now demanded, if they would not obey her as their queen, was to be treated as the daughter of their king and the mother of their prince; as for the government of the kingdom, it might be committed either to the Earl of Moray alone or to a council of the nobility. At the close of this interview she requested him to convey a letter she had written to Bothwell, and on Melvil's refusal she threw it into the fire.[4]

But the time had come when the queen's deposition, or even imprisonment for life, would scarcely have satisfied the popular clamour, and the demand for her public trial was still unabated, in which case the result could be easily divined. As accessory to the murder of her husband, of which fact little doubt was entertained, both the political constitution of Scotland and the ecclesiastical laws of the Jewish theocracy, which were still held as binding, would have condemned her to the block. Of this state of public feeling the confederates were so well aware that they were eager to obtain a milder alternative by propitiating the kirk; and accordingly, at the General Assembly which was convened in Edinburgh on the 20th of July, they granted in full the demands of the clergy

[1] MS. Letters of Norris, July, 1567, from Paris, S. P. O.

[2] MS. Letter of Heneage to Cecil, 8th July, S. P. O.

[3] Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 16 and 18.

[4] Melvil's Declaration, *Hopetoun MSS.*

—"but," as Knox sarcastically adds, "how they performed their promises God knows." The chief of these were, that the acts of parliament passed in 1560 for the establishment of the reformed religion should be confirmed at the next parliament; that the thirds of the ecclesiastical revenues should go to the maintenance of the reformed clergy; that no persons should be appointed to teach in the universities, colleges, or schools without sufficient trial of their learning and integrity; that all crimes and offences against God should be punished according to the law of God revealed in his word; and that Popery and everything contributing to its encouragement should be destroyed and abrogated, and that the true worship of God and all that concerned the purity of religion should be established, and confirmed by arms if need should require. Glancing also at the present state of affairs, and the near prospect of a new succession in the throne, an article was confirmed, "That all princes and kings hereafter in this realm before their coronation shall take oath to maintain the true religion now professed in the Church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it." These being confirmed by the assent and subscription of the Earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, the Lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lindsay, Graham, Innermeith, Ochiltrie, many of the barons, and the commissioners of the boroughs, the Protestants were satisfied, and the confederates, or Lords of the Secret Council as they were now denominated, could proceed in their further measures without serious opposition.[1]

It was no easy matter, however, for the lords to agree among themselves about the future disposal of their sovereign; and three proposals on the subject had been offered, each of which had its advocates and supporters. The more moderate among them wished, that being divorced from Bothwell she should be restored to the exercise of her royal authority, and at the head of this party were Kirkaldy and Lethington. Another party, to which the Earls of Morton and Athole gave their countenance, were desirous that she should be set free, but to abdicate in behalf of her son, after which she should be compelled to retire to France. A third party demanded that she should be brought to public trial, condemned for murder, deposed, and punished by perpetual imprisonment. The most lenient of these plans had been defeated by Mary's own refusal to be separated from Bothwell, and the last being judged too severe, the middle course was adopted, and on the 25th of July Lord Lindsay and Robert Melvil were sent to Lochleven, with three instruments drawn up by the lords, to which the queen's signature was to be obtained. A due choice seems to have been made of their messengers, for Lindsay was as fitted to terrify into compliance as the swarth insinuating Melvil was to persuade. By the first of the three instruments Mary renounced the government of the kingdom, declaring that it was a burden too heavy for her to bear, and authorized her son's immediate coronation; and by the second and third she conferred the regency on Moray during the young king's minority, with a council composed of Chastelherault, Morton, Lennox, Argyle, Athole, Glencairn, and Mar, to govern the kingdom until Moray's return from France, and afterwards, should he refuse the office of regent. This was to be Mary's last opportunity, and if she refused to subscribe to these conditions the lords had resolved to indict her for three crimes and allow public justice to take its course. The first was the violation of the laws of the kingdom; the second, incontinency not only with the Earl of Bothwell, but with others beside; and the third was for the murder of her husband, of which they had evidence, not only by sufficient witnesses, but her own handwriting.[2]

On the arrival of the two messengers at Lochleven Melvil was first admitted into the presence of the queen. He fully informed her of the state of public feeling and the danger of a refusal. Unless she complied and signed these instruments a public trial would take the place of a voluntary abdication, and not merely her liberty but her life would be in peril. Nor did he forget the comfortable assurance so generally ministered on such occasions of royal difficulty by insinuating, that under a favourable change of circumstances her assent could be declared invalid, as being extorted from her in captivity and under fear of her life; and he carried to her an assurance from Athole and Lethington, and a letter from Throckmorton to the same effect. Mary declared that she would sooner renounce her life than her crown, and was still unpersuaded, when Lord Lindsay entered the apartment. The sight of this grim nobleman, the fiercest and most relentless of all her enemies, whom she had so uselessly defied and provoked at Carberry, terrified her into compliance; and when he unrolled the documents and laid them before her she hastily subscribed them with a trembling hand, and eyes that were almost blinded with tears. Having thus effected their purpose the messengers returned to Edinburgh;

[1] Knox, ii. pp. 364, 365; Calderwood, ii. pp. 378–384.

[2] Letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 19; Keith, 420; Calderwood, ii. p. 371; Buchanan, xviii. 53.

and as it was necessary that these documents should pass the privy seal Lindsay went to the house of Thomas Sinclair, the keeper, to have it adhibited. Sinclair protested and refused, declaring that the queen being a prisoner, her resignation was invalid; but Lindsay, who had been thus far successful, was not to be stopped by such formalities; he made a forcible entry into the house, tore the seal from the keeper's hands, and compelled him to attach it to the instruments.[1]

There were no further obstacles to the coronation of the infant prince except the opposition of the Hamiltons, and the protest of Throckmorton, who condemned the proceeding as a contempt of his own royal mistress; but the Hamiltons were satisfied with the promise that it should not prejudice the right of succession belonging to the Duke of Chastelherault, and the English ambassador's protest was disregarded. The 29th of July was the day appointed for the coronation; the place was Stirling, where the baby sovereign of thirteen months old resided under the guardianship of Mar. It was typical of the future reign of James VI. that his coronation was prefaced by a theological controversy about the anointing with oil, the Protestants, with Knox at their head, "repining at the ceremony," declaring it a Jewish observance incompatible with the gospel dispensation, and that the crown itself was sufficient for the purpose. The oil, however, was used. Morton took the oaths in behalf of his sovereign, who was carried in the arms of the Earl of Mar; and the lords laid their hands upon or over the unconscious head on which such honours had been bestowed, and offered their homage and vows of allegiance. Such a transition from the cradle to the throne had been too frequent in the stormy annals of Scotland either to excite surprise or provoke merriment; and it speaks much for the unpopularity of Mary, that the event should have been welcomed as a relief instead of deplored as a calamity. The coronation of James VI. was signalized in the evening of the 29th in Edinburgh as a subject of national triumph by dances, bonfires, and illuminations.[2]

These proceedings, by which the Scottish lords not only invaded the divine rights of royalty, but showed their independence of England and its sovereign, could not be otherwise than unwelcome to Elizabeth. She may have thought also, and with a show of justice, that greater deference should have been paid to her wishes in the coronation of one who was likely to be her own successor. On the 27th of July, therefore, two days before the event, she wrote to her ambassador Throckmorton, expressing her indignation in the strongest terms. Subjects, she said, had no warrant nor authority by the law of God or man to sit as superiors, judges, or vindicators over their prince or sovereign; but in defiance both of law and Scripture, and with no better warrant than some examples which they had put forth in the form of seditious ballads, the Lords of Secret Council had deposed their queen and crowned the prince royal of Scotland. This he was to announce to such of them as pretended to be carried away in their actions by the authority either of religion or justice. As to the others, that only regarded their own advantage, they would do well to pause and make sure of their past proceedings rather than increase their peril by more dangerous doings to follow. "We detest and abhor," she continued, "the murder committed upon our cousin, their king, and mislike as much as any of them the marriage of the queen, our sister, with Bothwell. But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not lawful nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance is their superior and prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force; for we do not think it consonant in nature that the head should be subject to the foot." She then charged Throckmorton to inform them that "if they shall determine anything to the deprivation of the queen, their sovereign lady, of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some just and probable cause to think the like of other princes of Christendom, that we will make ourselves a plain party against them to the revenge of their sovereign, and for example to all posterity."[3]

It was even for the welfare of Mary herself that the Lords of Secret Council persisted in their course notwithstanding these formidable threatenings. This was apparent when Throckmorton had announced to them the message of his mistress. They assured him that their late violent proceedings had been the only means of saving Mary's life; and when he expressed his wonder and scepticism they revealed to him such a design of treachery on the part of her false friends as filled him with horror. The chief of her pretended adherents were the Hamiltons; it was they who, with their crafty leaders, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Kilwinning, had, by their seditious meetings and noisy threats, precipitated the deposition of the one sovereign and the coronation

[1] Communication in *Blackwood's Magazine* of October, 1817.

[2] Calderwood, ii. 384.

[3] Letter of Elizabeth to Throckmorton; Keith, pp. 428–430.

of the other; who, when they had brought matters to this issue, had actually proposed that the queen should be put to death, declaring that this was the only means of establishing the new government by the reconciliation of all parties; and this being done, had promised to join the lords and bring Argyle and Huntly along with them. On Throckmorton expressing his doubts of the truth of such a revelation, and his opinion that the life of the queen was more for the interest of the Hamiltons than her death, the secret of this apparent inconsistency was thus explained by Murray of Tullibardin: "My lord ambassadors, these matters you speak of have been in question amongst them; but now they see not so good an outgate by any of those devices as by the queen's death. For she being taken away they account but the little betwixt them and *home* [he meant the throne] who may die. They love not the queen, and they know she hath no great fancy to any of them; and they fear her the more, because she is young, and may have many children, which is the thing they would be rid of." Unable to credit such wickedness and double-dealing, the ambassador continued to express his doubts, but was answered with such statements that his incredulity was overcome. He was now only anxious to save the life of Mary, but was answered by the question, "How can you satisfy men that the queen shall not become a dangerous party against us, in case she live and come to liberty?" "Divorce her from Bothwell," he replied. He was told that this was impossible, as she would listen to no such proposal; and thus the conversation ended.[1]

The arrival of the Earl of Moray, the elected regent, was now impatiently expected in Scotland. During his stay of four months in France the Lords of Secret Council had been in frequent correspondence with him; but the sufferings and imprisonment of his sovereign and step-sister had enlisted his sympathies on her side. This he had shown by his letter to the queen in her captivity and his stern message to the lords in her behalf. He had resisted the tempting offers of the French court, and was now ready to resist those of Elizabeth also, and maintain the liberties of his country inviolate, whether they should be invaded by France or England. But his benevolent purposes in Mary's behalf, when on the eve of leaving France, were shaken by Elphinston's return, who revealed the proofs he had received of her guilt as the accomplice of Bothwell in her husband's murder. His envoy had even seen and read a letter from her to Bothwell, in which her privity to the deed was proved beyond a doubt. This new view of matters made him less hostile to the Lords of Secret Council and more averse to the wishes of Elizabeth to proceed against them, so that when he held an interview with her on his way to Scotland they parted with mutual displeasure. Accompanied by M. de Lignerolles, who had been sent with him from the French king, ostensibly with a message to the Scottish lords, but in reality to watch and report the earl's proceedings, Moray arrived at Berwick on the 8th of August, where he was met by Sir James Makgill, lord clerk-register, and Sir James Melvil, the first belonging to the violent party who sought the queen's death, and the other to the moderate class who advocated milder measures. They made their respective statements; but Moray, without committing himself, entered Edinburgh on the 11th of August, where he was joyfully welcomed by all the citizens as their favourite and future governor.[2]

The first proceedings of the new regent-elect were honourable and prudent. Instead of siding with any of the contending parties he spent two days in examining their statements, besides holding a long interview with Throckmorton, a disinterested witness, who belonged to neither faction. The result was an accumulation of proof against the queen which no partiality could reject, or brotherhood itself excuse, while the violent resolutions which now predominated of bringing Mary to trial with a view to her execution convinced him of the difficulty he should experience in effecting any milder alternative. One step also was necessary at the very outset of his administration; this was the voluntary consent of the queen herself to his assuming the office of regent, as her concession had been extorted by threats and violence. This he peremptorily demanded before proceeding further; and overcome by his decision, the lords reluctantly assented to his having an interview with the queen at Lochleven, while, as if to counteract her own statement of the case, Athole, Morton, and Lord Lindsay accompanied him.

This interview could not be otherwise than mournful from the relative position of the two parties; it was no longer the meeting of sovereign and subject, nor even of brother and sister, for while the queen held the position of an accused and all but condemned culprit, circumstances had compelled the other to be arbiter and judge. It was no wonder, therefore, that while Mary was ready to cling to him as her best refuge and hope, the conduct of Moray was cold and

[1] MS. Letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth, S. P. O., 9th August, 1567.

[2] State Papers; Buchanan.

guarded. After she had wept and complained of her wrongs supper followed, a stern, silent, unsocial banquet; and this being ended the queen and earl withdrew to hold their interview in private. Mary was anxious to learn what fate awaited her, whether death, captivity, or exile, and adjured him to tell her all without disguise; and Moray, thus entreated, commenced the dreary list of offences for which her subjects had abandoned her, and were now clamouring for her death. At each charge she interposed with extenuation, apology, or denial, so that the interview was protracted till past midnight; and when they parted Moray was so little satisfied with her statements that he bade her seek her chief refuge in the mercy of God. On the following morning she sent for him, when his language assumed a milder form, assuring her that to save her life he was ready to sacrifice his own, but that the decision did not lie with him alone, but with the lords, the church, and the people. He warned her of the danger of any attempt to escape, or of intrigue for bringing in the interference of France or England; of her inordinate affection for Bothwell; and assured her that by avoiding these errors and repenting of her past deeds she might hope that her life would be spared by her incensed subjects. In the meantime her liberty, he said, was out of the question, as his own good-will was too limited for such a purpose, nor would it be for the present her interest to desire it. Even to Mary herself his statements carried nothing but conviction; they were nothing worse than the most devoted friend and subject would have given, to show her the real state of affairs and warn her of her danger; and, impressed with this belief, she threw herself into his arms, beseeching him to accept the regency as the best course that remained to save herself, her son, and her kingdom. On his declining the offer she became more urgent, and when he assented she suggested that he should get all the forts into his hands and take all her jewels and articles of value into his keeping as the only means of preserving them in safety. Thus Mary freely invested him with the regency as the only means of saving her life, and when no other person could have rescued her from a Scottish scaffold.[1]

On leaving the queen, Moray and his companions proceeded to Stirling to visit the prince; and on the 22d of August he was solemnly inaugurated regent in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The office was an old and frequent one in Scotland, but now the oath of office was new. Laying his hand upon the gospels, the earl in a strong, clear voice uttered the following words:—"I, James, Earl of Moray, Lord Abernethy, promise faithfully, in the presence of the Eternal, my God, that I, during the whole course of my life, will serve the same Eternal, my God, to the uttermost of my power, according as he requires in his most holy Word, revealed and contained in the Old and New Testaments; and, according to the same Word, will maintain the true religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of his holy Word, and due and right administration of his sacraments, now received and practised within this realm; and also will abolish and withstand all false religion contrary to the same; and will rule the people committed to my charge and regiment during the minority and less-age of the king, my sovereign, according to the will and command of God revealed in his aforesaid Word, and according to the lovable laws and constitutions received in this realm, noways repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal, my God; and will procure to my uttermost, to the kirk of God and all Christian people, true and perfect peace in all time coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges of the crown of Scotland, I will preserve and keep inviolate; neither will I transfer nor alienate the same. I will forbid and repress in all estates and degrees, reif, oppression, and all kind of wrong. In all judgments I will command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures without exception, as he be merciful to me and you that is the Lord and Father of all mercies; and out of this realm of Scotland and empire thereof I will be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true kirk of God of the aforesaid crimes. And these things above written I faithfully affirm by this my solemn oath."[2] The seventy-third Psalm was then sung,[3] and Moray was proclaimed regent at the Market Cross with the trumpets of heralds and amidst the acclamations of the people.

[1] Throckmorton to Elizabeth; Keith, pp. 444-446.

[2] Keith, 453.

[3] Teulet, ii. p. 194.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY—REGENCY OF MORAY (1567-1568).

Appeal of the English ambassador to the regent in behalf of Mary—Lethington's reply—His answer confirmed by the regent—The ambassador unsuccessfully renews his appeal—The regent's final resolution—Attempt to propitiate the ambassador at his departure—Difficulties of the regent's position—Fate of Bothwell—Apprehension of the agents in Darnley's murder—Their trial and execution—Vigorous proceedings of the regent—Parliament opened—Lethington's opening harangue—Acts passed in favour of the church—Political proceedings of the parliament—An attempt of Mary to escape from Lochleven frustrated—A second attempt—It is successful—Mary repairs to Hamilton—Gathering of her party—Perilous situation of the regent at Glasgow—His refusal to retreat—He prepares for war—The queen directs her march to Dumbarton—Selfish designs of the Hamiltons—The regent's preparations to encounter the queen's army—Battle of Langside—Total defeat of Mary's forces—Her flight to Dundrennan Abbey—She crosses into England—Her appeal to Elizabeth—Elizabeth's preparations to secure her as a prisoner—Mary brought to Carlisle—Her remonstrances on her detention—Perplexity of her keepers—Their letters on the subject to the Queen of England—The resolution to detain her as a prisoner confirmed—The regent offers to justify himself before Elizabeth—Negotiation of Elizabeth's envoy with Mary and the regent—They consent to submit their cause to the Queen of England's arbitration—Mary's unsuccessful appeals to foreign courts—Terms offered by Elizabeth to Mary—Mary on these terms accepts Elizabeth as umpire—The regent repairs to England with his commissioners—Subtle manœuvres of Lethington—The Duke of Norfolk adopts the cause of Mary—Difficulty at the commencement of the trial—It is removed by the spirited answer of Lethington—Accusation of Mary's commissioners and the regent's reply—He withholds the charge of Mary's participation in her husband's murder—Cause of the regent's reluctance—His interview with the Duke of Norfolk and the duke's warnings—The regent privately imparts the proofs of Mary's guilt to the English commissioners—Symptoms of an agreement between Mary and the regent—Elizabeth's alarm—She resolves to remove the trial from York to London—Her warning to the Duke of Norfolk.

In Moray's acceptance of the regency was involved the question, Will the peace with England be undisturbed? It was an important question, which, from Elizabeth's late conduct, it was not easy to settle. Immediately after his installation the new regent invited Throckmorton to a conference; and on repairing to Moray the ambassador found him in company with Maitland of Lethington. The conference was commenced with an earnest and vehement appeal by Throckmorton, in the name of his mistress, against their late proceedings. The answer was made by Lethington, and with his usual boldness and ability. He first disclaimed any purpose of harm in these proceedings either to the person or honour of Mary. "So far from it, Mr. Ambassador," he said, "that we wish her to be queen of all the world; but now she is in the state of a person in the delirium of a fever who refuses everything that may do her good, and requires all that may work her harm. Be assured nothing will be more prejudicial to her interest than for your mistress to precipitate matters. It may drive us to a strait and compel us to measures we would gladly avoid." He then talked of the possibility of Elizabeth attempting to restore their queen by force of arms, and treated it with scorn. "For your wars," he said, "we know them well. You will burn our borders, and we shall burn yours; if you invade us we do not dread it, and are sure of France." Nor did Elizabeth's inconsistency escape the rebuke of this keen, sharp-witted political disputant. "The queen, your mistress," he said, "declares she wishes not only for our sovereign's liberty and her restoration to her dignity, but is equally zealous for the preservation of the king, the punishment of the murder, and the safety of the lords. Why does not her majesty fit out some ships of war to apprehend Bothwell, and pay a thousand soldiers to reduce the forts and protect the king? When this is in hand we shall think her sincere; but for her charge to set our sovereign forthwith at liberty and restore her to her dignity, it is enough to reply to such strange language that we are the subjects of another prince and know not the queen's majesty for our sovereign." This complete denial of Mary alarmed Throckmorton, who, turning to the regent, expressed his hope that as he had not been joined with the confederate lords nor a partaker in their proceedings his sentiments must differ from those expressed by Lethington. But Moray's reply disappointed him. "Truly, my lord-ambassador," he said, "methinks you had reason at the Laird of Lethington's hands. It is true that I have not been at the past doings of these lords, yet I must commend what they have done; and seeing the queen, my sovereign, and they, have laid on me the charge of the regency—a burden I would gladly have avoided—I am

resolved to maintain their action and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it will cost me my life."[1]

Throckmorton now saw that his mission in Scotland had ended, and without effect. This was shown five days afterwards, when, in bringing the subject before the regent once more, he was cut short with the reply that he had already been answered. He then asked permission to visit the queen at Lochleven, but was told that this had been refused to the French ambassador, who had made the same request before his departure. On being blamed by Throckmorton for his acceptance of the regency Moray replied: "That is now past; and as for ignominy and calumniation, I have no other defence against that but the goodness of God, my upright conscience, and my intent to deal sincerely in my office; and if that will not serve I cannot tell what to say, for now there is no other remedy except to go through with the matter." He also justified himself for his accepting the office in consequence of Mary's own consent expressed by her own words. To Elizabeth's demand for the queen's enlargement, and her inquiry as to the time when this should be performed, he answered that the lords could not decide, as both the act and time of performance depended upon casualties; "although, for my own part," he added, "I could be contented that it were done without delay." When the ambassador asked what would be the queen's condition and estate after Bothwell should be apprehended and executed, he was answered by Moray with the homely apologue that they should not traffic for the bear's skin before they had got him. Throckmorton suggested that they could at least tell what might be their conduct after the supposed event had happened, and to this express demand the regent gave the following answer:—"As far as I can perceive, the queen's liberty then will chiefly depend upon her own behaviour and considerate doings; for if the lords should perceive that she digests well the execution of Bothwell, the punishment of his adherents, and does not discover a wrathful and revengeful mind towards these proceedings; and likewise if the queen, your sovereign, will so deal that we may have cause to think that she seeks the quietness of this realm and not the trouble of it, by countenancing and nourishing certain factions, then these lords will seek to do all grateful things to the queen, our sovereign, and to the queen's majesty of England. Marry, to fish so far before the net and to tell now what shall be done then, neither do I nor they think convenient to give any determinate answer."

[1] Letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth; Keith, p. 448.

In consequence of these replies Throckmorton resolved to leave Scotland the same day and demanded a safe-conduct, but was induced to delay that he might be the bearer of despatches which were to be written to his mistress. The lords were anxious to mitigate the harshness of their refusals in the manner of his reporting them to his sovereign. On the 30th of August, therefore, when about to take his departure, he was received by the regent and lords, and the chief theme of the latter was their gratitude to the Queen of England for her past services to their country, especially at the time of the siege of Leith, when their liberty and religion were in danger; and how desirable it was that England and Scotland should be in mutual amity, as professors of the same Protestant faith. After these declarations, which he does not seem to have greatly valued, they led the ambassador into an adjoining room, where they had prepared a present of plate, which Moray requested him to accept "by way of present as from the king, their sovereign lord;" but as this involved a recognition of the sovereignty of James VI. and the lawfulness of his mother's deposition, the ambassador rejected the offer, declaring that he could not accept a present from any person within that realm but from *the queen, their sovereign*, if she were in condition to bestow any. They besought him to desist from such questions, which could only breed contention, and again urged him to accept the plate as a royal gift; but he steadfastly refused it, although Lethington afterwards followed him to his lodging and urged his acceptance "with many persuasions." Having thus escaped a diplomatic snare, for which he appears to have valued himself not a little, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton returned to England.[2]

From a review of past proceedings the trouble and danger of Moray's position will be easily surmised. Seldom if ever, even in Scotland itself, had parties been so numerous or difficulties so complicated. Menaced on one side by the Queen of England, coerced on the other by powerful lords who scarcely recognized him as their superior; with a sovereign imprisoned whom it was equally dangerous to retain in custody or to set free, and with every political faction and family feud throughout the land sharpened by religious wars and controversies, he was hemmed in without an opening and opposed at every point. And yet he has been reproached for not instantly setting Mary at liberty! It was not thus that the country was to be preserved from anarchy and even her own life from destruction, and her only safety lay in

[2] Throckmorton to Elizabeth; Keith, p. 448.

the quiet obscurity of Lochleven. But still he was prepared to dare and do his duty, let the consequences to himself be what they might. This spirit in which he had accepted office struck Throckmorton, who described him as "resolved to imitate those who had led the people of Israel." His first proceeding was directed against Bothwell, the chief of the offenders, for whose apprehension the Lairds of Tullibardin and Grange were sent in pursuit. After his flight from Carberry Hill the baffled fugitive, perceiving that he could no longer be safe in the castle of Dunbar, had in his capacity of High Admiral equipped three or four vessels with which he endeavoured to establish himself among the Orkney and Shetland Islands. But from this bleak lair he was soon driven by the hot pursuit of Kirkaldy of Grange, who took two of his ships and nearly succeeded in capturing himself also. Escaping from his pursuer, Bothwell addressed his course towards the coast of Norway; but falling in with a rich Turkish vessel, and being now destitute, he turned pirate, boarded the vessel, and plundered it. He then landed in Denmark; but having no regular ship's papers to show, and being recognized by some merchants as the notorious Bothwell of Scotland, as well as the fact of his piracy having probably come to light, he was arrested and thrown into prison in the castle of Malmoe. Here he lay, haunted with the dread that he would be given up to his enemies and brought to the scaffold; but notwithstanding the demands both of Moray and Elizabeth that he should be surrendered to them, Christian II. refused. It would have been better, indeed, for Bothwell if such a short and sharp fate had befallen him, instead of a long, wasting captivity of ten years, under the miseries of which and the upbraidings of his own conscience he became insane and died unpitied and neglected.[1]

Although the principal offender had thus escaped the hands of justice, but only to be reserved for a more severe retribution, several of the agents in Darnley's murder were apprehended and brought to trial. These were John Hepburn of Bolton, whom Kirkaldy had seized in one of Bothwell's vessels, and John Hay of Tallo, James Dalglish, and Thomas Powrie formerly examined. Others also were brought to trial at the same time, whose names were Durham, the king's page, black John of Spens, John Blackadder, and James Edmonson; and from their confessions it appeared that some of the instigators were too powerful even for the regent to punish. Not only was the manner of the king's death described; but the names of the nobles given who consented to it; and according to their account, when it was resolved that Darnley should be put to death in the field, each of these noblemen was to send two men for the deed, so that all might equally bear a share of the blame; also, that when this plan was abandoned the explosion by gunpowder was adopted in its stead. Hay's examination was suppressed for the present, and Durham was kept a close prisoner. The people murmured at the concealment of these revelations, and were clamorous for the instant execution of such notorious offenders, little guessing the difficulties by which Moray was beset, and the impossibility of full compliance with such demands. On the 3d of January, however, of the following year Powrie, Dalglish, Hay, and Hepburn, the principal actors in the murder, were brought to the scaffold, and died confessing their guilt and the justice of their sentence. The last words with which Hepburn of Bolton addressed the people before he suffered were significant of the extent of the crime, and who were the chief criminals. "Let no man," he said, "do evil by the counsel of great men or their masters, thinking they will save them; for surely I thought, on the night that the deed was done, that although it might become known, no man durst have said it was evilly done, seeing the handwritings of those who approved it, and the queen's consent thereto."[2]

Finding it impossible to execute justice upon such a powerful coalition of iniquity Moray, before the execution of these culprits, turned his arms against the disturbers of the public peace, in which his vigorous exertions were crowned with success. He repaired to the castle of Dunbar, which was held by one of Bothwell's captains, and on a refusal to surrender the castle was bombarded, and in a few days given up. The regent also quelled the rebellious attempts of the Hamiltons and their ally, the Earl of Argyle, who were compelled to submit; and about the same time the Earl of Huntly and Lord Herries were obliged to give in their adherence to the new government and recognize the king's authority. He then directed his attention to the troubles on the Borders and made an inroad into Liddisdale, accompanied by Morton, Hume, and Lindsay. A host of malefactors, chiefly Elliots, were swept up in this expedition, brought to Hawick, tried and condemned on the 30th of October, being the market-day; and of these eleven were hanged and seven drowned according to the stern fashion

[1] *Les Affaires du Comte de Boduel* (Bannatyne publications); Calderwood, ii. p. 386; Buchanan, xix. p. 2.

[2] Anderson's Collections, ii. p. 160; Keith, 467.

of Border justice.[1] Having thus restored quietness for a short period to the district the regent summoned a parliament to meet on the 15th of December.

The attendance upon this parliament gave a satisfactory indication of the strength of the new government. The ecclesiastical estate indeed had but a small party who represented it, consisting only of the Bishops of Moray, Galloway, Orkney, and Brechin; but of the inferior dignitaries there were fourteen abbots. The Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, and Rothes, the Lords Seton and Fleming, and two or three others withheld their presence; but this was more than counterbalanced by the attendance of twelve earls, sixteen lords, and twenty-seven commissioners of burghs.[2] The parliament was opened with prayer, and an address from John Knox, who exhorted the lords to begin with the affairs of religion, and this advice was followed by Lethington in his opening speech, of which a copy still remains in his own handwriting. After briefly noticing the several important subjects on which they were called to legislate he thus adverted to the principal topic: "As to religion, the quietness you presently enjoy declares sufficiently the victory that God by his word has obtained among you within the space of eight or nine years; how feeble the foundation was in the eyes of men, how unlikely it was to rise so suddenly to so large and huge a greatness, with what calmness the work has proceeded, not one of you is ignorant. Iron has not been heard within the house of the Lord; that is to say, the whole has been builded, set up, and erected to this greatness without bloodshed. Note it, I pray you, as a singular testimony of God's favour, and a peculiar benefit granted only to the realm of Scotland, not as the most worthy, but chosen out by his providence from among all nations, for causes hid and unknown to us, and to foreshow his almighty power, that the true religion has obtained a free course universally throughout the whole realm, and yet not a Scotsman's blood shed in the forthsetting of the whole quarrel. With what nation in the earth has God dealt so mercifully? Consider the progress of religion from time to time in other countries, Germany, Denmark, England, France, Flanders, or where you please. You shall find the lives of many thousands spent before they could purchase the tenth part of that liberty whereunto we have attained, as it were sleeping upon down beds." Making allowance for oratorical exaggeration in this harangue the statements were substantially true. In no other part of Europe had Protestantism been established with fewer martyrdoms, and so little struggle and opposition. Even the war of Leith, in which the chief part of the conflict consisted, had been so limited in its sphere, and so quickly terminated, as to be almost unfelt in the neighbouring districts; while the religious disorders that followed had scarcely exceeded those family and political feuds which were of yearly occurrence in Scotland.[3]

The acts of this parliament were both numerous and important. The queen's demission of the crown, the coronation of the infant prince, and the appointment of Moray to the regency, were confirmed. The acts of the parliament in 1560, establishing Protestantism as the religion of the state and nation, and the Confession of Faith, were ratified anew. Such as opposed the Confession of Faith, or refused to partake of the holy sacraments as they were then administered, were declared to be no members of the church established in the realm. All kings, princes, or magistrates on receiving office were to take the great oath to maintain the religion now established and its ordinances, to resist everything opposed to them, and root out such heretics and enemies to the true worship of God as should be convicted by the true kirk of such offences. No other ecclesiastical jurisdiction was to be acknowledged within the realm than that of the kirk, and no person was to be allowed to hold office in universities, colleges, and schools, except such as were tried and allowed by the same authority. The appeals of lay patrons against persons presented to them by superintendents, or those having commission from the kirk to that effect, were to be conclusively settled by the decisions of the General Assembly. While the spiritual interests and ecclesiastical authority of the church were thus recognized there was still the same reluctance to restore to it the temporalities of which it had been so long deprived; the ecclesiastical possessions which had been seized at the commencement of the Reformation were held with too firm a grasp by their powerful lay occupants to be easily reclaimed either by church or state, or even by both united, while every year that elapsed made the chance of resumption more hopeless. Nothing more than the thirds of the old benefices were granted, and even these were conceded with reluctance; and it was enacted that these "in time coming shall be paid first to the ministers, notwithstanding any discharge given by the queen to whatsoever person or persons of the thirds, or any part thereof ay and until the

[1] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 198; Calderwood, ii. p. 388.
[2] Anderson's Collections, ii. pp. 228-230.
[3] MS. oration of Lethington, State Paper Office, December, 1567.

kirk come to the full possession of their own proper patrimony, which is the tithes"—a time which was not likely soon to arrive. Much, however, had been obtained, and the historian of the church has characterized these concessions as "the worthy acts and proceedings of this parliament."[1]

After these acts in behalf of the church the chief political measure that demanded attention had reference to the queen, and the war that had been levied against her. An act of indemnity was proclaimed in favour of all who had taken arms against her, apprehended her at Carberry Hill, and detained her in Lochleven. Everything spoken, written, or done against her was declared to be justified, "in so far, as by divers her private letters written with her own hands and sent by her to James, sometime Earl Bothwell, chief executor of the horrible murder of her husband, as well before the committing thereof as after, and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding to a pretended marriage suddenly and unprovisedly thereafter, it is most certain, she was privy art and part of the actual device and deed of the forenamed murder of the king, her lawful husband, and father to our sovereign lord, committed by the said James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, his complices and partakers." Here the contents of the casket were alluded to as authorities generally known, and establishing the queen's complicity in the murder of her husband beyond all doubt or disputation. By a further act it was declared, that William Douglas, the keeper of the fortalice and islet of Lochleven, to whom the keeping of the queen in secure custody had been committed, had done his duty in obeying this charge.[2]

That custody, however, was not to be needed long. In the dreariness of her prison, and amidst the careful watch by which she was surrounded, Mary had formed an intimacy with George Douglas, the youngest son of the Lady of Lochleven, and brother of William, the castellan. The intercourse commenced by his joining her in a game with which she amused her solitude; but, allured by the beauty and winning arts of the royal captive, and the favour with which she treated him, he was encouraged to cherish the most ambitious hopes, in which his mother was supposed to have participated. As nothing could be done while she was a prisoner the means of her escape were devised. Being accustomed to rise at a late hour in the morning a suit of apparel was conveyed to her by the laundress whom she employed, and in a homely disguise Mary, while she was thought to be still in bed, glided unquestioned to the shore, and entered a boat that was to row her to the opposite side, where George Douglas, Semple, and Beaton were lurking in Kinross waiting her arrival. The skiff had already made some way when one of the rowers in a spirit of rude curiosity exclaimed, "Let us see what kind of dame this is," and attempted to pull down the muffler with which the queen's face was concealed. She resisted; but, in raising her hand to secure the covering, its whiteness and delicacy betrayed her; and although she charged them on peril of their lives to row her ashore they disregarded her threats and brought her back to the castle.[3]

This discovery caused George Douglas to be dismissed from the castle; but beyond this no other precaution was adopted. The unsuccessful attempt was made on the 25th of March (1568), and the following month was spent by Mary in the bitterness of disappointment. Her only resource was secretly to write and transmit letters appealing for aid to quarters from which no aid was to be expected. To Catherine de Medici she thus made her appeal: "I have with great difficulty despatched the bearer of this to inform you of my misery and entreat you to have pity upon me." To Elizabeth she addressed a similar entreaty on the 1st of May, and upon the same day she wrote to Catherine de Medici and Charles IX., telling them, "Unless you deliver me by force I shall never leave this place."[4] It was not indeed from these distant potentates, but from her friends who still lurked at the village of Kinross, that help was to arrive. Although baffled they had continued their plots, and, tutored by their instructions, a young page of the lady of Lochleven, about sixteen years old, commonly called Little Douglas, was the means of effecting the queen's deliverance. It was the custom for the inmates of the castle of Lochleven to take their meals together, with the gates shut, and the keys placed beside the castellan. On Sunday evening, the 2d of May, at supper, Little Douglas, in placing a plate before the laird, managed to drop his napkin over the keys and carry them off unperceived. Mary, on being apprised of the circumstance, disguised herself in the dress of one of her waiting-women: they reached the outer gate, which they locked behind them; and throwing themselves into a little boat which belonged to the castle, they soon rowed themselves over to the mainland. There Lord Seton, George Douglas, and other friends of the queen, who had been watching the castle from a neighbouring hill, had witnessed with breathless

[1] Calderwood, ii. p. 388. [2] Ibid.

[3] Drury to Cecil; Keith, p. 469; Buchanan, xix. 5.

[4] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 68; Id. p. 64.

interest the departure of the fugitives from the castle, the embarkation, and the voyage so short but important, in which pursuit had been so wisely prevented; and no sooner did the skiff touch the shore than Mary felt herself free, and in the midst of her brave defenders. The whole party at full speed rode to Niddry Castle in West Lothian, the residence of Lord Seton; and after a short rest there, during which Mary sent a messenger to Denmark to carry tidings of her escape to Bothwell, they again took horse and galloped to Hamilton, in the strong fortress of which the queen could best feel herself in safety and muster her adherents for her defence.[1]

The news of this wonderful escape, and the fresh hopes it inspired, not only collected the queen's party together at Hamilton, but brought to it all who were discontented with the regent's administration, or who hoped to profit by a change. A court was soon collected of the Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, Rothes, Argyle, the Lords Yester, Somerville, Livingston, Fleming, Ross, Herries, and Borthwick, with several barons of note and influence, while their military retainers formed an army of six thousand men. So rapid indeed was this warlike gathering, that the French ambassador, who waited on the queen at Hamilton, declared he had never seen so many men so suddenly assembled. Before the nobles Mary declared that her resignation of the government and consent to the coronation of her son had been extorted from her by violence and under the fear of death, and for the truth of this she appealed to Robert Melvil, standing beside her, who confirmed her statement. An act was then passed by these lords in council declaring the proceedings of Moray's government treasonable, and of no effect; and a bond was drawn for the defence of the queen and restoration of her authority, which was signed by eight earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and nearly one hundred barons.[2]

By this sudden change the situation of Moray was one of the utmost danger. He was at Glasgow holding a justice-court when the news of the queen's escape arrived, but it appeared so incredible that few were inclined to believe it. It was not long, however, until the formation of the hostile camp at Hamilton, only eight miles distant, which had sprung up as if by magic, warned them of the truth and also of their own peril. And then was to be seen the effect upon the selfish, the timid, and the wavering; some stole off to Hamilton and others into concealment, so that the regent was almost wholly deserted except by his personal train. In this state of affairs he was advised to retire for safety, but with equal bravery and wisdom he rejected the advice. "Retreat," he said, "must not for a moment be contemplated. It is certain ruin: it will be construed into flight, and every hour's delay will strengthen the queen and discourage our adherents. Our only chance is an instantaneous attack before Huntly, Ogilvy, and the northern men have joined the royal force." Events were not long in showing the justice of his decision. Notwithstanding her present advantages Mary was unwilling to put her cause to the issue of battle, and tried the effect of accommodation, so that on the second day of her arrival at Hamilton she sent to the regent an offer of indemnity for the past if he would return to his allegiance. While he was gaining time by appearing to deliberate on these overtures he was sending out messengers to his adherents in every quarter; the king's party were rallying for the conflict; the chiefs joined him with their retainers, and Edinburgh and Stirling furnished troops, stores, and cannon, so that in ten days he had an army of four thousand men. He then broke off the negotiation and resolved to become the assailant.[3]

These active preparations on the part of her enemies increased the queen's reluctance for an encounter, and she resolved to avoid it by a rapid march to Dumbarton, the strong castle of which, commanded by her faithful adherent, Lord Fleming, would afford her a secure shelter until her party was strong enough to extinguish all opposition; and as matters stood this plan was the wisest and the one which Moray was most anxious to prevent. Another reason also had equal weight with the queen: it was the discovery that she was still little better than a prisoner among the pretended friends who surrounded her. On her escape from Lochleven she had been met on her way to Niddry Castle by Lord Claud Hamilton, the second son of the duke, with a guard of fifty horse, who had protected her on the way, and at least a third part of her present force was composed of the retainers of the house of Hamilton; but all this show of zeal was that they might get her within their power, compel her to marry Lord Claud, and rule all things at their pleasure. Of this Mary had become aware, and hence her purpose of a retreat to Dumbarton notwithstanding the clamours of the Hamiltons, who were confident in their strength and impatient for instant battle.[4]

As soon as the queen's army was put in motion the regent, although greatly inferior to his

[1] Labanoff, vii. p. 135; State Papers, an. 1568.
[2] Keith, pp. 472, 473.
[3] Keith, 474; Calderwood, ii. p. 404; MS. letter of Drury to Cecil, May 10, 1568.
[4] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 200.

enemies, resolved to oppose their march and force them to an engagement. For this purpose he drew out his little army on Glasgow Moor, in the neighbourhood of the town; but on perceiving that the enemy conducted their march on the south side of the Clyde, by which they might have given him the slip, he sent a party of horsemen across the river under Kirkaldy of Grange, each man with a hagbutter mounted behind, who strongly fortified themselves in a narrow lane through which the queen's army must pass. Then crossing the river with his main army by a neighbouring bridge and marching through knolls and valleys by which his troops were concealed from the enemy, he took his station at Langside, now in the southern suburbs of Glasgow. These arrangements were scarcely completed when the queen's army advanced, and the Hamiltons, two thousand strong, composing the vanguard, entered the lane and attempted to carry it, but were met from cottage, hedge, and plantation with such a heavy fire from the ambushed hagbutters as sent them reeling backward. In a few moments they were rallied by Lord Claud Hamilton and led hurriedly up the steep of the hill; but when they had well-nigh reached the top, wearied and breathless with their hasty ascent, they were encountered by the main body under Moray, composed of Border pikemen fresh for action. It was here that the conflict commenced in earnest: the Hamiltons, who had boasted that they were sufficient of themselves to win the victory, advanced and closed with their opponents until the long pikes of the front ranks on both sides were interlaced with each other like a floor, each man fastening his spear-point in his antagonist's corslet and endeavouring to bear him to the earth, while those who were behind hurled pistolets, spear-heads, and stones, by which severe wounds were inflicted, until the levelled platform of spears was bestrewn with these missiles. In this desperate push of weight and strength the two armies remained swaying to and fro for half an hour, the king's army still keeping possession of the hilltop, which the other was desirous to win. At one time the regent's right wing gave way, but was rallied and reinforced by Kirkaldy of Grange and successfully led back to the charge. At another the chief of the Macfarlanes and two hundred of his Highlanders fled from the post assigned to them by the regent; but their place was occupied by Lord Lindsay, who coolly exclaimed, "Let them go! I shall fill up their place better myself." In this doubtful contest the superior generalship of Moray, Morton, and Hume, and especially of Kirkaldy, who superintended the battle as marshal, at last prevailed over greater numbers; the king's army became the assailants, and a decisive charge of the regent with the main body broke through the ranks of the queen's forces and hurled them in hopeless confusion down the hill. At this instant also the runaway Macfarlanes returned to complete the disorder and pursue the flying enemy, in which they showed an activity that made amends for their former cowardice. The defeat of the queen's army was complete after the battle had lasted three-quarters of an hour; and although they only lost three hundred this was chiefly owing to the clemency of the regent, who when the flight commenced sent orders everywhere to spare the fugitives. On his own side only one man was killed. In such a desperate hand-to-hand engagement of ten thousand brave men, where there was neither flight nor panic, where a crown itself was the prize at issue, and where the keen, merciless edge of civil war was sharpened by religious as well as feudal hatred, the smallness of the loss on both sides is an anomaly which the historian cannot well understand or explain. On the queen's side there was no lack of noble prisoners, men who were not likely to yield themselves cheaply, the chief of them being the Lords Seton and Ross, and the eldest sons of the Earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, besides a considerable number of barons and gentlemen.[1]

During this trying period of suspense Mary, with her female attendants and a small escort, stood upon a small eminence about half a mile distant viewing the changes of the field. Every movement brought to her heart a thrill of transport or agony of dread until all was overwhelmed in despair by the fall of her banner and the flight of her supporters. The courage which had never deserted her was gone at last, and accompanied by a few trusty friends she rode off at full speed, never closing her eyes until she was sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle. Her first attempt was to take the road to Dumbarton, that she might shelter herself in the castle; but finding that all the ways were occupied by her enemies, she was counselled by Lord Herries to continue her flight into Galloway, where she could not only find present safety but a passage to England, or even by sea to France, should circumstances make either retreat necessary. She unfortunately adopted this timid advice and directed her course in the direction of Dumfries, never pausing until she reached the abbey of Dun-

[1] Melvil's *Memoirs*, pp. 200-202; Buchanan, xix. pp. 9-12; Calderwood, ii. p. 414.

drennan. Here, however, she could not long remain in safety, and to which of the two countries she should betake herself was now the question. She declared that she would not return to France like an exile and a fugitive, where she had formerly been a queen, but would seek an asylum in England, and to this she was the more induced by the flattering assurances and promises held out to her by Elizabeth during the period of her late captivity. It was in vain that her friends deprecated this fatal resolution: Mary persisted in it, and by her command Lord Herries wrote a letter on Saturday, May 15, to Mr. Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle, informing him of the disaster at Langside two days previous, and inquiring whether his mistress, the Queen of Scots, if she should be compelled to seek refuge in England, might come safely to Carlisle? The answer of Lowther was that the governor, Lord Scrope, being absent in London, he had no authority of himself to give such assurance, but would send by post to London for the orders of his sovereign. But Mary was too impatient for escape to await such delay, and hastily embarking in a fishing-boat with eighteen or twenty persons, she crossed to the English shore and landed at Workington in Cumberland. Here she wrote to the Queen of England, whose territory she had thus entered without license or safe-conduct, and after describing the defeat at Langside and her own escape she ended with the following sad appeal: "It is my earnest request that your majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for a queen but even for a simple gentlewoman. I have no other dress than that in which I escaped from the field; my first day's ride was sixty miles across the country, and I have not since dared to travel except by night."[1] It was a picture of royal desolation such as the Greek drama would have chosen for its climax in the pathetic. And how often it was to be repeated in the history of the fated house of Stuart!

On the reception of this letter Elizabeth, who was little accessible to tender feelings when her political interests were at stake, resolved to take advantage of such an opportunity. The rival queen and rival beauty by whom her throne had been endangered and her charms eclipsed was at her mercy; and however events might afterwards turn out, in the meantime she would keep hold of her victim. On the 19th of May, therefore, she sent her letters of condolence by Sir Francis Knollys, but at the same time despatched orders to the sheriffs of Cumberland commanding them to treat the Scottish queen and her party with due respect, but to keep a strict watch over her and prevent her from escaping. Lady Scrope was also sent to wait upon the royal fugitive and provide her with all necessary attendance. In compliance with the instructions of Elizabeth the Queen of Scots was removed with the observances due to a royal guest from Workington to Cockermouth, and subsequently to Carlisle, where she would be more securely protected from danger and more effectually prevented from escape. But these dilatory and equivocal proceedings were little suited to the impatience of Mary. Harassed by months of uncertainty, and now at the crisis of suspense, she was anxious to learn her fate; and in a second letter to Elizabeth she demanded immediate permission to see her for the purpose of vindicating her conduct and clearing herself from the charges which her enemies had brought against her. If this was not granted she demanded that at least she should be permitted to depart from her sister's dominions as freely as she had entered them. She had already, she said, been detained in the condition of a prisoner for fifteen days—a proceeding which she found somewhat hard and strange. Her request was at the same time seconded by Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys, who waited upon and watched her, but who were moved to compassion by her sufferings and determined courage. They thought it would be more honourable for their sovereign, they suggested, that a free choice should be given to the Queen of Scots either to go back to her own country without hinderance or to remain in England at her majesty's disposal. The probability, they thought, was that she would pass over to France rather than return to Scotland. They stated also that she could not be kept so rigorously as a prisoner, but that, "with devices of towels or toys at her chamber window or elsewhere, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the Border."[2]

The perplexity of Knollys and Scrope at the unexpected office conferred upon them by their sovereign, the difficulty of detaining such a prisoner except in bonds, and not only the disgrace but the danger of such a proceeding, are fully expressed in the letters they wrote at this period. If she repaired to France it would be to stir up that country in her behalf, and an invasion of Scotland by French auxiliaries would only rekindle the war which had been terminated by the surrender of Leith. If she was suffered to return to Scotland, England would lose the alliance of the regent and his party, as Mary had declared to them that she would

[1] Anderson, iv. p. 33; Labanoff, ii. pp. 76, 77.

[2] Anderson, iv. pp. 56, 57.

rather have all her adherents hanged than that they should submit themselves to the Earl of Moray; and that if not detained by force, she would rather go to Turkey than have any peace or agreement with him. What was to be done in such a trying dilemma? The behaviour of Mary under these adverse circumstances, and the bold spirit by which she alternately daunted and perplexed her English guardians, are fully described in the following extract of a letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, written on the 11th of June:—"And yet this lady and princess is a notable woman: she seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate royal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies. She showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. She desireth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she concealeth no cowardness even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminished either by the sword of her friends or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrels raised among themselves; so that for victory's sake pain and peril seem pleasant unto her, and in respect of victory wealth and all things seem to her contemptuous and vile. Now, what is to be done with such a lady and prince, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment."[1]

This choice of difficulties by which Scrope and Knollys were perplexed was still more trying to those on whom the responsibility rested. Elizabeth and her counsellors were now to learn the daring spirit of the Scottish queen, and the readiness with which she would peril all for the recovery of her crown, whether she repaired to France or Scotland. They were equally aware of the dangers arising from her present residence in the north of England, where the Catholics who were there the predominant party regarded her not only as their sovereign but as a martyr. They were already crying out against her unjust captivity, and at a signal were ready to rally round her as their head. Still it was thought safer to detain her in England, where her designs could be watched and her proceedings hindered, than permit her departure, by which a religious war might be kindled with Catholic Europe combined against Britain, or even the two parties in Scotland and England arrayed against each other. It was thus that during the sixteenth century the religious zeal of cabinets was combined with the worst principles of political expediency, and the good end in view supposed to give its sanction to all the means that advanced it. A pretext also had already been afforded for this unjustifiable resolution. After the victory of Langside the regent had employed himself in the restoration of order with his wonted vigour and clemency, setting his prisoners free upon fine instead of sending them to execution, and reducing the castles that held out for the queen, when he was made aware of her proceedings at Carlisle, and her offer to clear herself before Elizabeth of the heavy charges upon which she had been deposed. Finding his own character and the safety of the kingdom thus endangered, he lost not a moment in offering his defence to the judge whom Mary herself had selected. He sent his secretary, Wood, to Elizabeth, offering to appear before her in person along with the Earl of Morton, whom Mary had inculpated as cognisant of the plot against Darnley; to clear himself of the imputations of injustice and traitorous conduct; and even to submit to imprisonment in the Tower of London if he failed to prove that Mary herself was a guilty party in the murder of her husband.[2]

Being thus freely chosen as umpire and judge by both parties the chief difficulties in the way of the Queen of England were removed; she might now detain Mary for the demanded trial, and act upon the proofs to which Moray so confidently appealed. She therefore despatched her agent, Mr. Middlemore, to signify her wishes to both. On arriving in Carlisle Middlemore obtained an audience of Mary on Sunday, the 8th of June. With much courtly language he stated the reluctance of his mistress to grant a personal interview until she had received some proof that the Queen of Scots was innocent of the foul crime laid to her charge, and that by this scrupulosity the innocence of the accused would only be made the more apparent in the end. Otherwise, also, his mistress could not act, as the suspicion of Mary's guilt was at present so strong and general throughout Europe, and many eminent princes concurred in the feeling, more especially as she had been so remiss in punishing the murder of her husband, and had married the man who was chiefly suspected of the deed. He then alluded to Mary's choice of Elizabeth as judge, and the necessity of the latter thus remaining aloof, so that the opposite party

[1] Anderson.

[2] Anderson's *Collections*, iv. p. 61; Letters of Drury to Cecil, State Paper Office, 22d May and 17th June.

might not charge her with partiality. "If it could please you," he added, "to forbear with patience your coming to her majesty until some good trial is made of your innocence, then you shall see with what love, with what heart, with what joy her majesty will both receive you and embrace you, yea, and do every way for you that which you could desire." At the words *judge* and *trial* Mary was indignant. In offering to submit her cause to Elizabeth it was as one sovereign to another, and in a private personal interview; but to be produced in open assize, with her subjects for her accusers and the Queen of England as irresponsible arbitrator, had never entered her imagination. "I have no other judge than God!" she proudly exclaimed, "and no other can take upon them to judge of me." She had offered, indeed, she said, to make Elizabeth her judge; but how could that office be discharged while she thus refused to see her? She meant to have uttered such matters to her as she would have done to no other, and had never yet done to any. On understanding that Moray had offered to appear on trial against her she indignantly declaimed against him and his party, saying she was a prince, and they only subjects and yet traitors, and that there could be no equality betwixt her and them, to make themselves a party against her. "But," she continued, "if they will needs come, desire my good sister the queen to write that Lethington and Morton (who are two of the wisest and most able of them to say most against me) may come, and then to let me be there in her presence, face to face, to hear their accusations, and to be heard in my defence"—and then added sarcastically, "but I think Lethington would be very loath of that commission." Having given this qualified assent to a trial Middlemore proceeded to the last article of his instructions, which was to obtain Mary's consent to her removal into the interior. As long as she remained so nigh the Border she was in the neighbourhood of her friends, and might easily escape; but the plea used for a change of place was, that she should thereby have greater liberty and comfort, and be safer from her enemies. She eagerly asked if she was to be removed as a prisoner or by her own choice, and expressed her preference to remain in Carlisle as long as a personal interview with the queen was denied. She at last gave the assent which she had no power to withhold in the following mournful words: "Alas! it is a small piece of comfort to me to be removed hence, and not to be brought to the queen, my good sister; but now I am in her hands, and so she may dispose of me as she will."[1]

Having executed his own commission at Carlisle Middlemore's next negotiation was with the regent. Moray still expressed his readiness to repair to England, accompanied by Morton, and produce the evidences of Mary's guilt. But on several questions he was anxious to be resolved. Nothing, he said, would be more ruinous for himself than first to accuse the queen, the mother of his sovereign, and afterwards to have to enter into composition with her for thus treating her as a culprit. Should he bring forward his allegations and make them good he was anxious to know what was likely to follow. He had already forwarded translations of Mary's letters by which she was inculpated, and he asked whether, in the event of these translations being found to agree with the originals, they would of themselves be sufficient to establish her guilt. On these queries being communicated by Middlemore to Elizabeth her answer was, that she neither meant to promote accusations nor proceed to condemnation against Mary, but that all she wished was to have her fully absolved, the disputes settled, and the controversy brought to a happy termination; and that she would consider no proofs sufficient until both parties had been heard. In this way Elizabeth was reducing both parties under her control, that they might submit the case to her judgment, and be dependent on her decision. A whole month was spent in these negotiations before Mary and the regent could be persuaded to submit the question to her disposal.

During this dreary interval of suspense Mary had repeatedly endeavoured to move the Catholic powers of Europe in her behalf. But, however deep might be their sympathy, they were unable to give her aid. This was especially the case with France and Spain, on which she placed her chief reliance. Charles IX. was about to commence a fresh war with the Huguenots, while Philip II. was occupied with a revolt of the Moors in Spain and the insurrection in the Netherlands, so that he could spare neither forces nor money. All that they could use for the present were gentle entreaties, and these were little likely to avail with Elizabeth. In the meantime the close ward over the Queen of Scots had been increased rather than remitted, as the following account of her residence and mode of life in the castle of Carlisle, given by Montmorin, the envoy of the King of France, may sufficiently testify. "The room which she occupies," he said on returning from Carlisle, "is gloomy, being lighted only by one casement, latticed with iron bars. You go to it through three other rooms, which are guarded and occupied by hagbutters. In the last of these, which forms the antechamber to the

[1] Middlemore to Cecil; Anderson's *Collections*, iv. pp. 81–89.

queen's apartment, resides Lord Scrope, the governor of the Border districts. The queen has only three of her women with her. Her servants and domestics sleep out of the castle. The doors are not opened until ten o'clock in the morning. The queen is allowed to go as far as the church in the town; but she is always accompanied by a hundred hagbutters. She requested Scrope to send her a priest to say mass; but he answered that there were no priests in England."[1] Elizabeth might pretend that all these close precautions were necessary for Mary's own safety, the town being so nigh the Scottish Border; but what shall we say of the parsimony with which she treated her royal cousin, whether as guest or captive? The following moving appeal, which Mary wrote to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, although somewhat overcharged, appears to have been substantially true: "I entreat you to have pity on the honour of your poor niece, and to procure for me the support I need. Meanwhile, I beseech you to send me some money; for I have none wherewith to buy either food or clothing. The Queen of England has sent me a little linen, and supplies me with one dish. The rest I have borrowed, but I can get no more. You will share in this disgrace. God is subjecting me to a hard trial; nevertheless, rest assured that I shall die a Catholic. God will quickly remove me from these miseries, for I have suffered insults, calumnies, imprisonment, hunger, cold, heat; flight, without knowing whither to go, for ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or dismounting, and then being obliged to sleep on the hard ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread; and at last I am come into this country, where, as a reward, I am nothing better than a prisoner; and meanwhile the houses of my servants are pulled down, and I cannot assist them, and my servants themselves are hanged, and I cannot recompense them."[2]

The removal of Mary to a safer residence having been decided she was transferred to Bolton Castle in Yorkshire; and in consequence of her agreement and that of the regent to submit their cause to the award of the Queen of England, Lord Herries, her resident at the English court, waited upon her with the terms which Elizabeth proposed for the approaching trial, and which he was careful to deliver in the presence of Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys, as witnesses of the accuracy with which they were repeated. The terms were the following: "If she (Mary) would commit her cause to be heard by highness (Elizabeth's) order, but not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as to her dear cousin and friend, to commit herself to her advice and counsel,—if she would thus do, her highness would surely set her again in her seat of regiment and dignity regal in this form and order: First her highness would send for the noblemen of Scotland, that be her adversaries, to ask account of them before such noblemen of England as this queen herself should like of, to know their answer why they have deposed their queen and sovereign from her regiment; and that if in their answers they could allege some reason for them in so doing (which her highness thinks they cannot do) that her highness would set this queen in her seat regal conditionally, that those her lords and subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities to them appertaining: but if they should not be able to allege any reason of their doings, that then her highness would absolutely set her in her seat regal, and that by force of hostility if they should resist, upon condition that this queen should renounce to claim, or have any present title to the crown of England during the continuance of her highness and the issue of her body; and also upon condition that this queen, leaving the straight league with France, should enter into league with England; and also upon condition that this queen should abandon the mass in Scotland and receive the Common Prayer after the form of England." We have been thus particular in stating the terms, that it may be seen how much was promised to the ear and broken to the sense. Lord Herries repeated them seven or eight times in presence of the witnesses, and from the letter of one of them the foregoing statement is extracted. To these conditions after some hesitation Mary gave her assent. That she should have consented to abandon her creed notwithstanding her often-repeated declarations that she would live and die in it, and even if necessary be a martyr for it, was not one of the least surprising of her concessions; but of late she had begun to show a liking to the English Church service, had taken an English chaplain into her service, and had listened with apparent satisfaction to his sermons against the doctrine of justification by works and the other errors of Popery.[3] If in all this she was sincere, which may be reasonably doubted, these promises of a conversion to Protestantism were soon extinguished by the severity of her enemies and the utter hopelessness of her deliverance.

In consequence of this acquiescence of Mary to receive Elizabeth "not as a judge over her, but rather as a dear cousin and friend," it was

[1] Mignet's *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, chap. vii.
[2] Labanoff, ii. p. 117.
[3] Anderson, iv. p. 109.

necessary that the regent should be ready with his justification. Since the battle of Langside he had been occupied in restoring order to the distracted country; and as he levied fines on those who had been taken in arms instead of sending them to the scaffold, his clemency was absurdly traduced because he did not allow them to go wholly free and unpunished. He was now reducing the northern and western parts of Scotland that still held out for the queen, when the joint summons of Mary and Elizabeth, requiring him to prepare for the approaching trial at York, arrested his military operations. His first thought was to appear by commission; but the general reluctance to accept the office of accuser decided him in personally appearing at the trial. He selected four commissioners to accompany him, who were the Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, and the commendator of Dunfermline, and to these were added as assistants, George Buchanan, the poet and historian, James Makgill of Rankeillour, Mr. Henry Balnaves, and Maitland of Lethington. This last person was reluctant to be joined in the commission; but the regent, who feared his restless intriguing spirit if left behind, induced him by promises of high rewards to accept the office.[1] The attached friends of Mary were already trembling for her reputation, and Lesly, Bishop of Ross, hastened to Bolton Castle, to adjure her if still possible to bring about some amicable arrangement without the necessity of trial or accusation. But Mary bade him be of good cheer, as the judges were in her favour, especially the chief of them, the Duke of Norfolk, of whose attachment to her cause she was already assured.[2] The bishop was immediately followed by Robert Melvil, who arrived with a message from Lethington. That wily politician, whom Mary had accused of complicity in the murder of her husband, and who perhaps dreaded the trial in which that charge might be substantiated, had of late veered round to the side of the queen, with whose fate his own was now so closely connected. He had surreptitiously obtained copies of the letters found in the silver casket, which Moray intended to produce on the trial, and these he forwarded by Melvil, wishing her to inform him in what way she would wish him to prove his attachment to her at the conference. After a careful examination of these letters, which were translations from the original French into Scotch, Mary requested him to "stay the vigorous accusations of Moray," confer with the Bishop of Ross, and labour with the Duke of Norfolk in her favour.[3] Had these letters been forgeries, or even interpolated documents, would Lethington have been so alarmed, or Mary so silent? And yet after seeing these translations probably for the first time, and subjecting them to a rigid scrutiny, the queen brought no such charge against them, and was only anxious that their contents should be suppressed.

A more effectual attempt for the suppression of these dangerous evidences is said to have been made by the Duke of Norfolk. This weak but ambitious young man, now a widower, had shown such attachment to the cause of the Queen of Scots, that his design to marry her was even already the subject of common report. He was also at the head of the commission appointed for the trial, and as such was resolved to omit no endeavour in behalf of the accused. But going still further he resolved to have Moray himself intercepted, and the letters destroyed. For this purpose he prevailed upon the Earl of Westmoreland to lay an ambush for the regent on his crossing the Border, which probably would have been successful, had not the duke's arrival in the neighbourhood, and the suspicion which might have involved him in the deed, caused the ambuscade to be withdrawn.[4] Moray therefore arrived in York on the 4th of October, unmolested, and on the same day the duke entered the town. The commissioners, chosen by Mary to represent her cause, were the Bishop of Ross, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, the Abbot of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling.

The unprecedented circumstance of the trial of a crowned head could not even be commenced without the occurrence of a difficulty, and this was interposed by the Duke of Norfolk, the president of the court, who observed that the Scottish regent, having consented to plead before Elizabeth, should do homage in the king's name to the crown of England. At this unexpected revival of the old national controversy Moray was silent with indignation; but the answer was taken up by the ready Lethington: Let Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, he said, be restored again to Scotland, and homage would be gladly made for these lands, as had been done by the Scotsmen of old; but as for the crown and kingdom of Scotland, it was more free than England had lately been when it paid St. Peter's penny to the pope.[5] This difficulty being surmounted the trial commenced with the complaint and accusation given in by Mary's commissioners, who detailed the circum-

[1] Buchanan, xix. 16.

[2] Examination of the Bishop of Ross; Murdin's *Collection*, p. 52.

[3] Murdin, Ibid.

[4] Buchanan, xix. 16.

[5] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 206.

stances of the late rebellion in Scotland, Moray's usurpation of the regency, the queen's imprisonment, escape, and defeat, her flight into England, and her confident hope that through the mediation of Elizabeth she might be peacefully reinstated in her kingdom.[1] These charges, written in energetic language, were given in upon the 8th of October, and the regent's reply was anxiously expected; but, to the astonishment of all, instead of accusing his sovereign, he requested a previous conference with the English commissioners. Uncertain of Elizabeth's real intentions, and aware by past experience of the readiness with which she might disown and abandon him unless he obtained her public guarantee for his proceedings, he wished to have from the commissioners an assurance that she would pronounce the Queen of Scots guilty or not guilty according to the proofs he laid before them; and if Mary should be convicted of her part in the murder, that Elizabeth should sanction his proceedings, maintain the king's government, and support him in his office of regent.[2] After the English commissioners had referred these questions to their mistress Moray delivered his defence on the 11th of October. He recapitulated the events of the queen's seizure by Bothwell and her marriage to him, the universal odium which this union with one who was notoriously the murderer of her late husband had excited, and the combination of the Scottish nobles for the protection of the young prince now their king. He mentioned also the queen's obstinate attachment to Bothwell, which had compelled them to seclude her for a season from holding intercourse or correspondence with him, her voluntary demission of the royal authority, and her consent to the accession of her son, with the appointment of himself to the regency. But not a word or hint the while was uttered in this accusation of the regent inculpating Mary herself in the murder of Darnley! The worst offence with which she was charged was her marriage with Bothwell, and her devotedness to him notwithstanding the evidence that he was the murderer of her former husband; and the chief justification he offered for her deposition, and his own assumption of the regency, was the instrument she had subscribed to that effect.[3]

All men were astonished at this unexpected forbearance of Moray: his own justification depended on a full proof of Mary's guilt, and with this proof he was presumed to be sufficiently provided. But why had he thus imperilled his party and brought his own loyalty and integrity into question? Much of this reluctance might indeed be attributed to his natural relentings both as a brother and a subject; but after what he had already done, and considering the position which he now held, these feelings seemed out of place and overstrained. But an undercurrent had been at work to drift him from his original purpose. Confirmed in his design to marry the Queen of Scots, the Duke of Norfolk was using every device to have the proofs of her guilt suppressed and her innocence established. For this purpose he sought a conference with Lethington, to whom he expressed his astonishment that he should come before a foreign tribunal to accuse his own sovereign, as if England were judge over the princes of Scotland! Thus taken upon his own ground, Lethington assured the duke that he had come in compliance with the wishes of many good men in Scotland to arrest rather than further these charges against the queen; and he advised him to confer in private with the regent for the suppression of the evidence. On being assured, also, that Moray could be trusted and would not reveal the interview, the duke took the regent aside; and after reminding him of their familiarity and friendship as companions-in-arms at the siege of Leith, he spoke of his own sovereign, to whom he professed all homage and fidelity. "But she is a woman," he added, "over-careless what might come after her anent the weal and quietness of her country, and heeds not what blood may be shed after her for the right and title of the crown of England, which consists only in the persons of the Queen, and King of Scotland, her son." These matters, he declared, might have been happily settled ere now according to the wishes of several of the English nobility but for the late unhappy events in Scotland. Such being the state of affairs, the duke wondered that he should come to England to accuse his sovereign. Even if she had done harm or allowed harm to be done to her husband, respect was to be had for her son and his right of succession to the crown of England, which would be endangered if his mother was accused or dishonoured. Having thus announced a consequence of such high import to every Scotsman, and which might well make Moray pause, the duke next proceeded to show how the evil might be avoided. "I am sent," he said, "to hear your accusation, but neither will the queen nor I decern or give sentence upon it. And that you may understand the verity in this point more clearly you shall do well, the next time that I require you before the council to give in your accusation, to demand again my sovereign's seal and handwriting, that in

[1] Calderwood, ii. p. 433. [2] Goodall, ii. p. 130.
[3] Moray's answer to the queen's commissioners; Calderwood, ii. p. 435.

case you accuse she shall immediately convict and give sentence. This if her majesty refuses to grant, which she will undoubtedly do, then assure yourself that my information is right, and take occasion thereupon to stay further accusation."[1]

This advice, of which he could not but see the justice, the regent communicated in confidence to Lethington and Sir James Melvil, who seconded the suggestions of the duke; and it was in consequence of these admonitions that he was so urgent for a guarantee under the Queen of England's hand and seal, and so sparing in his accusations when it was withheld. It was necessary, however, for the vindication of his own character that the proofs of his sovereign's guilt, upon which he had acted, should be submitted in private to the knowledge of the English commissioners; and he accordingly showed the contents of the casquet to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. Of these contracts, love sonnets, and letters of Mary to Bothwell, and which had been attested as genuine by the oaths of the Scottish commissioners, Norfolk drew up a summary, which he transmitted to Elizabeth, with the question whether these evidences were sufficient to convict Mary as the murderer of her husband; expressing also his own conviction and that of his coadjutors, that if really written by her own hand they were conclusive evidences of her guilt.[2] But a mere personal knowledge or private conviction was not enough. She wished that Mary should be publicly accused of the murder, and the mysterious hesitation of the regent had filled her with disappointment and rage. But of this public accusation there was now less prospect than ever. Moved by the representations of the Duke of Norfolk on the one hand and the design of Elizabeth to make him the scape-goat of the proceeding on the other, Moray's reluctance to become the accuser had daily increased, and the effect of it was a negotiation which he opened with Mary at Bolton through Robert Melvil. His proposals were that she should ratify her demission of the crown, confirm him in the regency, and be content to reside in England with a provision suitable to her royal dignity; on which conditions he was willing to be silent and withhold the proofs with which he was furnished. Mary demurred, but, moved by the arguments of Melvil, who assured her that such an arrangement was the best for her honour, she consented to the regent's proposals. In consequence of this agreement she wrote to Elizabeth expressing her satisfaction that her cause and honour were intrusted to her keeping, where she most wished them to be, and sent four of her commissioners to London to await further proceedings.[3]

Hitherto the course of these events had been unsatisfactory to Elizabeth. The regent had not only refused to criminate the queen, but was now apparently in accord with her. But the cause of this hesitation was made known to her through the treachery of a confidant of Mary having betrayed the interview between Moray and the Duke of Norfolk to Morton, who, thinking himself overreached in this transaction, indignantly revealed it to Cecil. In consequence of this revelation Elizabeth resolved to remove the trial from York to London, where the proceedings would be more directly under her own inspection and superintendence. To prevent, also, the further machinations of the Duke of Norfolk she told him that she had heard somewhat of his intention to marry the Scottish queen, though she could not believe it. The duke with many oaths denied such a purpose, and added: "Why should I seek to marry so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress and murderer? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow. By your majesty's favour I count myself as good a prince at home, in my bowling-alley at Norwich, as she is though she were on the throne of Scotland. Besides, knowing as I do that she pretendeth a title to the present possession of your majesty's crown, if I were about to marry her your majesty might justly charge me with seeking to take your own crown from your head."[4] The queen appeared to be satisfied with this denial; and Norfolk, unwarned by his narrow escape, persisted in those designs which ultimately brought him to the block.

[1] Murdin, p. 53; Melvil's *Memoirs*, pp. 206–208.
[2] Anderson, iv. part ii. pp. 58–64.
[3] Declaration of Robert Melvil; Hopetown MS. Letter of Mary to Elizabeth, 22d Oct., 1568; Anderson, iv. part ii. p. 95.
[4] Murdin, pp. 179, 180.

CHAPTER XIII.

QUEEN MARY—REGENCY OF MORAY (1568–1569).

Difficulties of Moray on the transference of the trial to London—Mary's new instructions to her commissioners—The trial opened at Westminster—The regent presents his charges against Mary—Their direct character—His written accusation seized and delivered to the judges—The Earl of Lennox seconds the accusation—Answer of Mary's commissioners—They accuse the regent's party of the murder of Darnley—They demand a personal interview for their mistress with the Queen of England—Elizabeth's perplexity at the demand—She assigns reasons for rejecting it—Protest of Mary's commissioners against the further prosecution of the inquiry—Their attempt to compromise the cause with the Earl of Moray—The astonishment it occasions—Causes assigned for this offer—The attempted compromise negatived by Elizabeth—Mary's advocates dissolve the commission—Its proceedings continued—The regent required to prove his charges against Mary—He produces the papers found in Bothwell's casket—Their effect upon the English privy-council—Elizabeth rejects the demand of a personal interview with Mary—Her letter to Mary to that effect—The Queen of Scots rejects every proposal of concession—Complication of Elizabeth's difficulties—She attempts to induce Mary to a compromise—The terms and mode of it communicated to her agent Knollys—Mary's resolution to live and die a queen—She becomes the assailant—Her counter-charges against Moray and his associates—Her demands for a copy of the proofs brought against her in trial evaded—She rejects the proposal to abdicate—The trial ended—Elizabeth pronounces the verdict—Its strange and equivocal character—Denial of Moray and his party of any share in the murder of Darnley—Final appeal of Mary's commissioners to Elizabeth—Their demands for the liberty of their mistress rejected—Inconclusive result of this trial of the Queen of Scots—Attempts of Mary to stir up hostilities in Scotland against the regent—Her statements contradicted by a proclamation of Elizabeth—Difficulties in the way of Moray's return to Scotland—Manner in which he surmounts them—The departure of Mary's commissioners delayed—Continued intrigues of Mary to regain her crown unsuccessful.

The decision of the Queen of England to remove the trial from York to the capital was not likely to give satisfaction to Mary's commissioners; and therefore when they waited upon her she gave them such assurances of her good intentions to their mistress as were best fitted to remove their scruples. She told them that after a careful examination of the proceedings it appeared to her that the enemies of the Queen of Scots had failed in their defence; and that as far as they had yet pleaded their only course was to acknowledge their offences, return to their allegiance, and throw themselves upon the mercy of their queen. It was for these purposes, she added, that she had removed the conferences to London.

While Mary's commissioners, deceived by these assurances, imagined that their course would be a smooth and easy one, it was different with Moray and his associates. In company with Lethington and Makgill he had gone to London satisfied with the new arrangement he had made with Mary, and resolved neither to accuse her nor break faith with the Duke of Norfolk. But his first interview with Elizabeth disturbed his calculations by showing that she was aware of his dealings with the duke. His difficulties were increased by a letter from Mary informing him that she revoked her late agreement with him, as Norfolk had forbid her to resign her crown, and that without his consent she could not agree to the proposal of her demission.[1] The regent was at a loss how to proceed. By accusing Mary he would violate his pledge to Norfolk, and by refusing to accuse her he would offend Elizabeth, who had already hinted the possibility of punishing him by turning her patronage to the Duke of Chastelherault, whose claim to the regency was superior to his own. Nor would this be the worst effect of his silence. From his reluctance the nobles of his party already suspected that he meant to betray them, as they regarded the proofs of the queen's guilt which he withheld as their own vindication. He resolved to wait and watch and be governed by circumstances; and while he should have the accusation drawn up in readiness, he was resolved not to produce it without an assurance from Elizabeth that her definite sentence would follow.

The dilemmas by which this strange trial was to be prefaced were not yet exhausted. From Hepburn of Riccarton, a follower of Bothwell's now in London, intelligence had been sent to Mary that Elizabeth was unfavourable to her cause, and would probably compel Moray to become her accuser.[2] This gave a new turn to the instructions forwarded to her commissioners. They were now told that if an accusation was brought against her they were not to reply to it. They were not to allow her adversaries to

[1] Hopetoun MS., Tytler, vol. vii. p. 249.

[2] Letter of Knollys to Cecil, 21st Nov., 1568: State Paper Office.

act otherwise than as defendants. She was still ready to forgive her erring subjects and receive them with the affection of a mother, and therefore she authorized the commissioners to extend her offers of clemency towards them in presence of Elizabeth, and the terms she would offer would be such as should do no prejudice to her honour, title, or authority, which she had no idea of submitting to any prince in the world. Having thus limited their commission to the mere act of announcing the willingness of their mistress to forgive, they were ordered, in the event of an accusation being brought forward, to demand her personal admission to the presence of Elizabeth, and if this was refused, to break up the negotiation.[1]

Upon the 22d of November intimation was given to the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, Lord Boyd, and the Abbot of Kilwinning that the trial was to be held at Westminster, and to commence on the 25th. To this they objected that Westminster, being a judicial place where civil and criminal cases were tried, was unfit for arbitration in the cause of their mistress, who was a free princess, and who recognized no superior on earth. To this reasonable objection it was replied that the place should be a chamber where no trial had ever yet been held; and for the purpose the *camera depicta*, or painted chamber, was selected. The commissioners of the Queen of Scots then demanded that as the Earl of Moray, since his arrival in London, had been admitted to the presence of Elizabeth, the same liberty should be granted to their mistress; but this, they were told, could not rightly be accorded until the cause had been tried and ended.[2] On the 25th of November the important conference was opened; and after Mary's commissioners had read a protest drawn up in conformity with her latest instructions the Lord-chancellor Bacon, who acted as president of the conference, addressed himself to Moray. The defence, he said, which he had made at York was considered inconclusive, and he asked him if he could urge anything farther in his behalf. "Her majesty principally wisheth," he added, "that upon the hearing of this great cause the honour and estate of the Queen of Scots may be preserved and found sincerely sound, whole, and firm; but if she shall be justly proved and found guilty of the murder of her husband, which were much to be lamented, she shall either be delivered into your hands, upon good and sufficient sureties and assurances for the safety of her life and good usage of her; or else she shall continue to be kept in England in such sort as neither the prince, her son, nor you, the Earl of Moray, shall be in any danger by her liberty. And for the time to come her majesty will maintain the authority of the said prince to be king, and the government of the realm by you the Earl of Moray, according to the laws of Scotland."[3] Thus urged and assured by these declarations, the regent presented a paper called "an eke" to the answer presented at York, subscribed by himself and his commissioners, in which, after justifying their former reluctance to accuse Mary, they now boldly declared her to be of the "foreknowledge, counsel, device, persuader, and commander" of the murder of her husband, and "maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and stopping of the inquisition and punishment due for the same."[4]

These assertions it was necessary to follow up by a direct accusation; and apprehensive that at last he might be driven to such extremity, he had drawn up a specific accusation only to be produced at the last moment, and which his secretary, Wood, who sat beside him, for greater safety kept in his bosom. Even now, however, the regent refused to produce it unless he had an assurance under the Queen of England's hand and seal that she would pronounce judgment. Cecil answered that the word of their sovereign, a true princess, was warrant enough. The whole council joined in the cry, and even the regent's assistants, who were impatient of the delay, were equally urgent. "Have you the accusation here?" demanded Cecil: "Yes," cried John Wood, starting up and plucking the document from its concealment; "but I will not deliver it until her majesty's handwriting and seal are delivered to my lord." At this moment the Bishop of Orkney made a spring at the secretary, whipped the paper out of his hands, and exclaiming, "I shall present it!" made his way to the head of the table with his prize, although pursued by Wood, who looked as if he would have torn the prelate's garments from his back. At this strange spectacle the hall rang with laughter, while Lord William Howard, a bluff seaman, who officiated as chamberlain, shouted, "Well done, Bishop Turpie [a nickname of the prelate], thou art the frackest fellow of them all!"[5] In this strange irreverend way was a document secured and handed up on which the character and fortune of a sovereign were at stake. Amidst this unseemly uproar Lethington, who saw with chagrin this fatal interruption to his scheme of uniting the Queen of Scots and the

[1] Goodall, ii. pp. 184–187. [2] Ibid. pp. 187–189.

[3] Goodall, ii. pp. 201, 202; Anderson, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 109–113.

[4] Anderson, iv. part ii. pp. 119, 120; Calderwood, ii. p. 451.

[5] Melvil's *Memoirs*, pp. 210, 211.

Duke of Norfolk, advanced to the regent and whispered in his ear that he had now disgraced himself for ever and put his life itself in danger by the loss of so good a friend as the duke. Moray was already of the same opinion, and endeavoured to repair the blunder of his secretary by demanding to have the accusation returned, as he had something to add to it; but he was told by the court that they would retain it in their possession, and that he might follow it with what additions he pleased. These additions were made at the next sitting of the conference; but it was by the Earl of Lennox, who came before the commissioners to demand justice upon the murderers of his son; and for this, he said, he must appeal to the Queen of England, as his son was by birth her subject. He then presented a paper in which the queen was charged with the murder, and four letters as confirmations of the charge.[1]

The accusation of the Earl of Moray and his associates, which had been so abruptly seized, was now by their consent delivered to the Bishop of Ross and Mary's commissioners, that they might prepare their answer. This was forthcoming on the 1st of December, only two days after, and it was an entire and indignant denial. Nay, it was more than this, for it charged the accusers themselves with the crime which they endeavoured to fasten upon their mistress. "My lords," said they in their reply, "we are heartily sorry to hear that our countrymen intend to colour their most unjust, ungrateful, and shameful doings against their natural liege lady and mistress. Her grace has been so beneficial to them, that from mean men she has made the greatest of them earls and lords; and now, without any evil deserving on her part to any of them in deed or word, she is thus recompensed with calumnious and false reports, and slandered in so great a matter to her reproach, whereof they themselves that now pretend herewith to excuse their open treasons were the first inventers—writers with their own hands of that devilish bond, the conspiracy of the slaughter of that innocent young gentleman, Henry Stewart, late spouse to our sovereign, and presented to their wicked confederate, James, Earl of Bothwell—as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution of certain principal offenders in Edinburgh." These men, it was added, of whom even the highest and best had not the first voice in parliament out of eighteen nobles of the realm, had engrossed the greater part of the royal patrimony; and to escape restitution by preventing their sovereign from revoking her liberal grants, as she was by law entitled to do when she reached the age of twenty-five years, had slandered her character, murdered her secretary in her presence, rebelled against her, deposed her, and crowned her infant son. Thus it was not the punishment of Darnley's slaughter "that moved them to this proud rebellion, but the usurping of their sovereign's authority, and to possess themselves with her great riches and her true subjects." They concluded their denial by protesting that their mistress, being an independent sovereign, could not and would not be judged in this cause, and that she had put it into the hands of the Queen of England upon her promises, and trusting in her honour, having no other tribunal to which to appeal.[2]

It was natural that such a form of protest should be succeeded by the demand for a personal interview with Elizabeth; and their desire was forwarded to Hampton Court, where the queen at that time resided. On leave being granted they presented to her a review of the past proceedings, indignantly complained of the injustice with which they were characterized, and demanded for their sovereign the same personal hearing on the part of the Queen of England which she had granted to Moray and his assistants. It was to be no merely personal and private interview also, but that of an independent sovereign with a sovereign, before the queen and the nobles of England, and all the ambassadors of foreign states, that Mary might make known to them her innocence and lay open the calumnies of her rebellious subjects. This they alleged was the more necessary, as the enemies of their mistress had presented their formal accusation, which required a specific answer. Elizabeth was perplexed by a demand so just and reasonable, and yet so adverse to her interests: the regent's accusation must be followed by the proofs of Mary's guilt; and when Elizabeth had these in her possession she would know how far the Queen of Scots should be humbled and subdued without occasioning a recoil that would be dangerous to her own throne. In the meantime she was aware of the danger that would accrue from such an open court, with Mary herself as the principal pleader, and she parried the demand with her usual duplicity. Their mistress had been charged with the crime of murdering her husband, a charge to which she had given no credence, and which could be best removed by trial before the interview had been granted. And since, she added, a formal accusation had lately been presented, it would neither stand with Mary's

[1] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 211; Anderson, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 119-121.

[2] Anderson, iv. part ii. pp. 129-133.

honour nor her own that the case should be taken up in personal communication between them until the evidence of the accusers had been examined. "And therefore," said Elizabeth, "I will send for them and inquire of them concerning it; for I think it very reasonable that she should be heard in her own cause, being so weighty; but to determine before whom, when, and where, any time before I understand how they will verify their allegation, I am not as yet resolved; but after conferring, shall give you an answer of every point in reasonable form." The commissioners indignantly complained of the injustice of a proceeding by which rebels were allowed to accuse their sovereign and be heard, to the exclusion of the accused; and declared, that according to the orders of their mistress they would give no answer to the charges until she was first admitted into the Queen of England's presence. They finally protested against any further hearing being given to their sovereign's rebellious subjects, or anything being done prejudicial to her honour and rights, and that whatever should be done hereafter was without their consent. With this decisive protest the interview closed.[1]

It might have been thought that the decision of Mary's commissioners was now confirmed beyond the chance of wavering, and that their only answer to further proceedings would have been that of indignant silence. But on the same day that they protested so stoutly they endeavoured to establish a compromise with the regent and his commissioners. They announced their most unexpected purpose to Cecil and the Earl of Leicester in the following form: "That although the Earl of Moray and his accomplices had delivered in writing a grievous accusation against the queen their sovereign, and that they were prohibited to make any further answer to any such matter, but only to desire that the Queen of Scots might come in person to the presence of the queen's majesty to make answer thereto as was contained in their request exhibited yesterday—yet they having considered with themselves their mistress's intention to have been always from the beginning that these causes should be ended by some such good appointment betwixt her and her subjects as might be for her grace's honour and the common weal of the country, with surety also to the Earl of Moray and his party notwithstanding their former doings—thought good to declare thus much to the said earl and Sir William Cecil, and to require that this motion might be signified to her majesty, and her pleasure therein known before any answer should be given to their former request." The Englishmen were so astounded that they desired the proposal to be slowly and deliberately repeated, and when this was done they still seemed to doubt the testimony of their ears.[2] Whence had arisen this unprecedented clemency of the Queen of Scots to rebels who had so offended? The crisis had arrived at which the proofs possessed by Moray must be produced; but if these were forgeries why should their appearance be as earnestly deprecated as if they were genuine documents? Conscious innocence would rather have rejoiced, and demanded their production as the best chance of vindication. Careful to save the honour of Mary, the commissioners declared that this offer was made without any communication with their mistress; but it is scarcely to be thought that they would have ventured so far without her own consent either expressed or understood. Their cause was at the last struggle, and this its death-bed repentance was to be tried by an earthly tribunal that cares not for such evidence. They must have felt it safer that these letters should be suppressed at the risk of Mary's cause and reputation than to have them subjected to a strict scrutiny in the hope of proving that they were counterfeits. Such was the view presented of it by Elizabeth herself when the proposal was laid before her. She trusted, she said, that the accusations against the Queen of Scots would be found to be false, in which case it would be necessary to punish the accusers. On repeating their demand she only re-echoed her declaration that "she thought it better for the honour of the queen her sister to have her cleared upon reproving the accusers, as she trusted she should, than to have the matter wrapped up by any appointment."[3]

The alternative so dreaded by Mary's supporters had arrived; Moray was to produce his proofs and abide the issue. The 6th of December was the day appointed for the purpose; but before he was called the Bishop of Ross and his coadjutors appeared to arrest the proceedings. After asking and obtaining admission the bishop, in the name of his fellow-commissioners, declared, that, understanding the Earl of Moray meant to produce proofs in support of his allegations, they protested that they would move no further in this case; and that unless their mistress was allowed to appear before the Queen of England and answer for herself, they must dissolve the conference. The bishop then read and gave in a paper to that effect, which Cecil refused to receive, on the ground that it mis-

[1] Goodall, ii. pp. 209–221.

[2] Anderson, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 135, 136.

[3] Goodall, ii. p. 222.

represented the Queen of England's answers; but the bishop only repeated the protest and then withdrew.[1]

Although the commission was thus legally dissolved its proceedings were continued, for Elizabeth was determined to obtain the proofs of Mary's guilt. The regent and his colleagues were therefore thus addressed by the lord-keeper: "My lords, the queen's majesty, on consideration held upon what you call your eke, being an addition to your former answer, has commanded us to say to you that she thinks it very strange that, being native subjects to the Queen of Scots, you should accuse her of so horrible a crime, hateful both to God and man, a crime against law and nature, whereby if you should prove it true she would be infamous to all princes in the world. She therefore has willed us to say to you, that although you in this doing have forgot your duties of allegiance towards your sovereign, yet her majesty means not to forget the love of a good sister and of a good neighbour and friend. What you are to answer to this we are ready to hear." Moray had now no alternative, and therefore, after stating his reluctance to bring forward the evidences of Mary's guilt, and the anxiety he had shown throughout for a peaceful compromise, by which such an unwelcome extremity might be avoided, the evidences were successively produced. They consisted of the letters and sonnets in Mary's handwriting found in the silver casket, which proved her foreknowledge of and consent to the murder of Darnley, and her acquiescence of the plan of her abduction, and marriage to Bothwell, with copies of the examinations and confessions of the various actors in the deed who had been executed in Scotland.[2] A solemn examination of Mary's letters and papers to verify their authenticity was next held on the 14th and 15th of December, and in addition to the ordinary council the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick, the first two of these nobles being of the Church of Rome, gave their attendance by the Queen of England's appointment. The letters of the casket were examined and collated with letters from Mary to Elizabeth; but neither in handwriting, orthography, or other minutiæ could any difference be detected to warrant the charge of forgery. Then followed the account of trials and confessions of the murderers, and the depositions of Nelson and Crawford, by which the subjects of these letters were verified and illustrated. The papers, which were voluminous, were laid upon the table, so that all might examine them freely and at leisure; and in their reading no particular order was observed, by which strength and consistency might be added to their intrinsic evidence. After this examination the assistant earls, whom we have already mentioned, were informed, that in consequence of these evidences Elizabeth was more resolved than ever to refuse a personal interview to the Queen of Scots, until by some reasonable answer these "horrible crimes might be avoided and removed." In this the earls severally declared their acquiescence. "They had seen such foul matters," they said, "as they thought truly in their consciences, that her majesty had just cause herein given to make to Mary's commissioners such an answer, being as reasonable as the case might bear, and the rather for that they could not allow it as meet for her majesty's honour to admit the said queen to her majesty's presence, as the case now did stand."[3]

Being thus supported by the decision of her privy-council and the chief nobility of the realm, Elizabeth, to the renewed demands of Mary's commissioners for a personal audience, returned a more decided negative than ever. She informed them, however, that the documents delivered by Moray would be communicated to the Queen of Scots if she would agree to give direct answers to them either by one or more trusty persons whom she should authorize, or to certain noblemen who should be sent to her, or finally, by her commissioners or any others who should give answer to the commissioners of England. These three modes of making her reply, Elizabeth said, were sufficient, and that Mary would not be justified by rejecting them in favour of her demand for an interview.[4] A few days afterwards she wrote a letter to the Queen of Scots in which, after blaming Mary's commissioners for breaking up the conference, she assumed the language of a sympathizing monitor and endeavoured to obtain her compliance to the proposal. "As we have been very sorry of long time," she wrote, "for your mishaps and great troubles, so find we our sorrows now doubled in beholding such things as are produced to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief therein is also increased in that we did not think at any time to have seen or heard such matters of so great appearance and moment to charge and condemn you. Nevertheless both in friendship, nature, and justice we are moved to cover these matters and stay our judgment, and not to gather any sense thereof to your prejudice, before we may hear

[1] Goodall, ii. pp. 227–230; Anderson, iv. part ii. pp. 144–149.

[2] Goodall, ii. pp. 232–237; Anderson, iv. ii. pp. 150–153.

[3] Goodall, ii. pp. 257–260; Anderson.

[4] Goodall, ii. pp. 261, 262.

of your direct answer thereunto, according as your commissioners understand our meaning to be, which at their request is delivered to them in writing. And as we trust they will advise you for your honour to agree to make answer as we have motioned them, so surely we cannot but as one prince and near cousin regarding another, most earnestly as we may in terms of friendship, require and charge you not to forbear from answering."[1]

To this insidious proposal it was not likely that Mary would assent. Before the production of the fatal proofs she had offered every concession, even to the surrender of her crown and royal dignity, so that the further prosecution of the cause might be arrested. But now that these proofs had been brought forward and recorded against her, every concession she might make would be interpreted into a proof of conscious guilt. She must now assume the bearing of indignant innocence and treat these evidences as forgeries and lies. But while she adopted this decisive course in the hour of her extremity, and when no other remedy was left to her, it was very different with Elizabeth. Dismayed at the odium she had already incurred by the treatment of Mary and the encouragement she had given to treason and rebellion, perplexed by the result of a trial in which she had made herself umpire and judge, and unwilling to pronounce sentence upon the evidence that had been pronounced conclusive, the Queen of England had deep cause to regret that for the purpose of maintaining her superiority and humbling a hated rival she had interfered between Mary and her subjects, and reduced both parties to dependence on her arbitration. This perplexity was evinced by Elizabeth on the very day after she had sent the letter to Bolton; and writing to Knollys, the vice-chamberlain, who had charge of the Scottish queen, she explained her desire to be quietly rid of the whole affair. For this purpose he was to treat with his royal charge before the return of the Bishop of Ross and his associates to Bolton, and persuade her to resign the government to the Earl of Moray and consent to the removal of her son to England for a time, to be preserved and educated under persons selected from the Scottish nation, herself also remaining in England during such time as should be found convenient. Knollys also was so to manage the negotiation as that these proposals should appear to come from himself, and the assent to them given by Mary's own will and choice. This piece of diplomacy was so carefully planned and so cunningly laid out that it is too important a specimen of Elizabeth's statecraft in her proceedings with the Queen of Scots to be omitted. "Forasmuch," the document proceeds, "as this motion cannot be well moved to her but either by some of her own, being only addicted to her, and whom she shall trust, or by some of ours, whom we also shall trust, we have thought to attempt the proof hereof by both means. First, we would have you, whom we have just cause to trust, to attempt her herein, and yet to do the same as of yourself, by way of communication and devising with her of her troubles, and also of her whole cause, and of the likelihood of some end that must needs follow. And because you shall perceive what reasons are by us thought meetest to be used in this matter, and for this purpose, you shall herewith receive a memorial in writing containing certain apparent reasons to move her to the same, as we ourselves, with the advice of our privy-council, have thought meetest: which memorial, being well perused and considered by you, we would have you as speedily as you may begin to deal with her therein; always so preparing your speech as coming only of yourself and not by any direction, but rather seeming that you would be glad to deal herein for her; and, as you shall see cause, to use any other reasons to induce her to this purpose so to do, and of her disposition to send us answer with all the speed that you may. And lest she may have some speech hereof with the Lord Scrope, we think it good that you inform him of the same also with great secrecy, that he may agree with you in opinion if cause be given him by her to talk thereof. And this we would have done before the Bishop of Ross shall come thither, whom we have caused to be stayed a day or two upon another pretence; meaning to cause this matter to be so indirectly broken with him as he shall have cause to deal with that queen herein at his coming thither. And therefore we would have her mind not only understood herein beforehand by you, but also prepared by this purpose; and in any wise not to be known that you are directed from us in this cause."[2]

After receiving such a charge and such minute instructions for the performance of his task, it is unfortunate that we have no account of his proceedings. That he attempted it both with zeal and dexterity may be safely presumed, and that he was unsuccessful we are certain. This is evident from a letter written by Mary a few days afterwards to her commissioners, who probably had by this time been tampered with by Elizabeth according to the plan she had laid down, by which they were to be unconsciously

[1] Anderson, iv. part ii. pp. 183, 184.

[2] Goodall, ii. pp. 278–280.

fitted to second the arguments of Knollys. Their mistress gave them to know that by yielding to the proposal of her enemies she would thereby judge and condemn herself and confirm the reports that had been spread against her, so that she would be held in abhorrence by all the people of the British island. "I pray you, therefore," she continued, "do not speak to me again about abdication, for I am deliberately resolved rather to die than resign my crown; and the last words that I shall utter in my life shall be the words of a queen of Scotland."[1]

But it was not merely by passive resistance that Mary was now prepared to answer her enemies; on the contrary, she resolved to become the aggressor and absolve herself of the alleged offence by transferring it to her accusers. So early, therefore, as the 19th of December she had written instructions to her commissioners to that effect. "Forasmuch as the Earl of Moray and his adherents, our rebellious subjects," she said, "have added unto their pretended excuses produced by them for colouring of their horrible crimes and offences committed against us, their sovereign lady and mistress, the charge that 'as the Earl of Bothwell was the principal executor of the murder committed on the person of Harry Stuart, our late husband, so we knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commanded the said murder'—they have falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto us maliciously the crime whereof they themselves are authors, inventors, doers, and some of them actual executors." As to their charge against her of delaying the course of justice against the murder, and her consent beforehand to her marriage with Bothwell, she referred to her answers given on those two points at York, which she considered to be sufficient. Their pretence of alarm for the safety of her son if he remained under her keeping after her marriage with Bothwell she treated with scorn, declaring that "the natural love which the mother bears to her only child is sufficient to confound them, and needs no other answer." It was rather from them, she declared, that the danger was to be feared, who even before his birth intended to slay both mother and child, and who now endeavoured to strengthen themselves with his name until their authority was better established. To make good these and other such criminations as she now brought against her adversaries she ordered her commissioners to demand the letters, or at least copies of the letters, to be sent to her, which Moray had produced in the trial. Thus provided, she doubted not, with God's grace, to make her innocence apparent in the crime with which she was charged, and to prove that her adversaries themselves had been the authors, inventors, and doers of the deed.[2]

The confusion produced by this unexpected change of tactics was as much as Mary could have expected; it perplexed Elizabeth and her counsellors, and drove them to the necessity of self-defence against a demand which was nothing more than reasonable and just. The demand of Mary's commissioners for the production of the letters was evaded; it was repeated by the Bishop of Ross on the 7th of January (1569) with greater pertinacity, but again evaded.[3] This reluctance in furnishing evidence to the party accused, and who had already suffered so deeply from the accusation by the loss of crown, country, and reputation, from whatever motives the reluctance might arise, was enough to enlist the sympathies of the disinterested in behalf of the Queen of Scots, and establish a presumption in favour of her innocence under which Elizabeth and the regent's party were certain to be the sufferers. When she was urged by the bishop the English queen proposed that Mary should willingly resign her crown in favour of her son and remain privately in England; but to this the prelate declared that the queen, his mistress, would never consent to such a resignation, and had commanded him to declare the same if the proposal should be suggested. He was urged to write to her, but he refused: apparently he had discovered this to be his vantage-ground, and was resolute in maintaining it; and when summoned with his colleagues to a conference with the English council he still rejected the proposal of a compromise, and reiterated the resolution of his sovereign that she would live and die a queen.[4]

By this determination of Mary the trial was ended. She was now as resolute to retain her crown and reject every proposal to resign it as Elizabeth was not to supply her with the letters or admit her to a personal conference. As Moray also was eager to return to Scotland, where the critical state of affairs required his immediate presence, it was necessary that the Queen of England, as the recognized umpire of both parties, should pronounce a definite sentence. She had heard both parties during eight long months of trial. She had perused every charge and counter-charge, and examined every syllable of evidence; and through her own personal knowledge as well as the sagacious counsellors by whom she was aided it might be

[1] Labanoff, ii. pp. 274–277.

[2] Labanoff, ii. pp. 257–260. [3] Goodall, ii. pp. 297, 298.
[4] Goodall, ii. pp. 301–304.

supposed that the whole case was patent to her understanding, and that a true verdict was not of difficult finding. But to the astonishment of the world and posterity it was delivered in the following oracular mode:—

"Whereas the Earl of Moray and his adherents came into this realm at the desire of the Queen's majesty of England to answer to such things as the queen, their sovereign, objected against them and their allegiance: forasmuch as there has been nothing deduced against them as yet that may impair their honour or allegiance; and on the other part there had been nothing sufficiently produced nor shown by them against the queen, their sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen, her good sister, for anything yet seen; and there being alleged by the Earl of Moray the unquiet state and disorder of the realm of Scotland now in his absence, her majesty thinketh meet not to restrain any further the said earl and his adherents' liberty, but suffer him and them at their pleasure to depart, relinquishing in the same estate in the which they were of before the coming within this realm till she hear further of the Queen of Scotland's answer to such things as have been alleged against her."[1]

It was a strange judicial deliverance. Mary was not convicted of the crime of murder, while those who had risen against her as a murderess were not guilty of the crime of rebellion. The evidence that was not enough to condemn the queen, was sufficient to absolve her disobedient subjects. Some one of the two parties must have been in the wrong, and yet both were somehow in the right. Equivocal and uncondemning, however, as this Delphic declaration might be, it lacked the healing power of the simple, well-known compromise, "Much may be said on both sides." Still, absurd and inconsistent though such a termination might be, the purposes of Elizabeth had been fulfilled. The proofs of Mary's guilt had been dragged into open day; and if conviction had not followed, the brand of suspicion had been impressed upon her character too deeply to be erased. By forbearing to condemn, the Queen of England had cheaply won the character of clemency and disinterestedness, even if she continued to favour the Scottish regent and retain Mary as a prisoner. It will be noticed, also, that the last clause of the verdict entitled her to await further proofs in behalf of the Scottish queen, and if need should be, to try the cause anew. By this proviso she established a check upon Moray and his party, now at the head of the Scottish government, and retained them in the interests of England, whatever overtures might be made to them from France. Such political advantages as these were enough to reconcile Elizabeth not only to the injustice but even the absurdity of such a sentence.

But one more scene was necessary to be gone through before the curtain had fallen upon this strange tragi-comedy. The regent had asked and obtained permission to return to Scotland; but not only he but Morton and his assistants had been charged by Mary's commissioners with participation in the murder of Darnley. As they could not depart under this foul imputation a privy-council was called at Hampton Court on the 11th of January, where the two parties were brought face to face. After announcing the intended departure of Moray and his company Cecil then demanded of the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning whether they would accuse these men, in their mistress' name or their own, of the crime they had laid to their charge. Mary's commissioners answered that they had the written charges of their queen to accuse the regent and his adherents as the "principal authors, inventors, doers, and some of them proper executors of the aforesaid murder;" that they had communicated Mary's letters to that effect to the Queen of England; that they had offered to vindicate the innocence of their mistress if copies of the proofs brought against her were supplied to them, which, however, still continued to be withheld; and that on the receipt of these copies they would not only undertake her defence but specify by name and accuse those persons present who had been accessories in the murder, and make good the charge by sufficient proof. This knowledge, they added, had not been obtained until long after, and from the confessions of some who had been publicly executed for the deed. At this Moray and the rest declared their innocence of the crime, and offered to go to Bolton to abide Mary's accusation in person; but her commissioners replied that the journey was unnecessary, as her written accusation had been already produced before the Queen of England and her council.[2]

On the 12th the Earl of Moray and his party received license to return to Scotland; and on the following day Mary's commissioners were again called to Hampton Court before the privy-council. This was designed as an act of grace, and the subject at issue was the delivery of copies of letters and other documents on which their mistress had been accused, the originals being in the possession of the Earl of Moray.

[1] Goodall, ii. p. 305.

[2] Goodall, ii. pp. 307–309.

Cecil stated to them that Elizabeth was ready to furnish these copies on receiving a previous promise from her good sister, subscribed with her own hand, that she would give answer to all of these writings without exception. The commissioners replied that their mistress had already offered once and again under her own hand and seal to answer these evidences, but under certain conditions, which had not been complied with. They also complained of the injustice of allowing the regent to leave England without waiting to hear the proofs of their queen's innocence and his own guilt; and asserted that if it was equitable to allow his departure the same right should be accorded to their mistress, instead of detaining her in England. To this just appeal the cold answer was returned, that the Earl of Moray had promised to return whenever he should be summoned; "but in the meantime the Queen of Scotland their mistress could not be suffered to depart for divers respects." In the meantime they would move their queen to grant license to themselves to return to Scotland, believing that she would not detain them, as they had come to England under her warrant of safe-conduct. The commissioners indignantly told them that they could do no less than desire that the queen their mistress should be sent to her own country among her faithful subjects, as they had often demanded before; and if this was now refused, that they protested solemnly that "whatsoever thing she did within this realm, being detained here, should not prejudge her honour, estate, person, authority, nor her good subjects, as being against her will and liberty detained." Upon this needful protest they also took the usual instruments.[1]

Such was the end of this strange trial upon the question of Mary's innocence or guilt. That much injustice was used against the Queen of Scots; that she was borne down and oppressed, with little power to defend herself and none to retaliate; and that it was the aim and interest of the prevailing parties to find her guilty, none, however prejudiced against her, can deny. But even with full acknowledgment of the duplicity of Elizabeth, the subservient cunning of her counsellors, the ambition of the regent, and the unscrupulous hostility of the Protestant party in Scotland, there is much in Mary's conduct throughout these singular proceedings both at York and Westminster that lay her open to suspicion. When she heard that the contents of the casket were in the regent's hands, and would in all likelihood be brought forward, why was she so ready to resign her crown as the price of their suppression? And when they were produced, why were they not denounced as forgeries and proved to be such? Mary, indeed, had offered to vindicate her innocence before Elizabeth herself; but the world, before which she had been accused, should also have heard her vindication. That her guilt was so great as to be unfit for exposure, may be admitted; that her enemies failed by attempting to prove too much seems also equally certain. The precise nature and amount of her criminality it has ever been, and perhaps ever will be, impossible to determine; and her character serves as one of those debatable points of history in which the interest never fails, and where arguments on either side are never found wanting. It is one of those rare subjects which possess such an imperishable vitality that its settlement by the discovery of positive proof, if such could be found, would be deprecated by all parties, as the extinction of one of those great questions on which all disputants can encounter on equal terms, and over which the most unimpassioned can muse and marvel. And let us regret it in the meantime as we may, it is in this unsatisfactory manner, and with this pointless conclusion, that our history must dismiss the subject.

While Mary had been conducting her defence with policy and craft, and matching Elizabeth herself in insincerity, she had not lost sight of her interests in Scotland. During the course of the trial she had therefore encouraged her adherents by representing the proceedings at York as a triumph of her cause and discomfiture of her accusers. For the purpose also of making Moray and his government odious to the whole nation she had transmitted such reports of the interviews between him and the English queen as were best adapted for her purpose. The young king, she declared, was to be surrendered into the hands of Elizabeth to be nourished as she thought good. The castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton were to be surrendered into her hands. The Earl of Moray was to be declared legitimate, and to succeed to the crown of Scotland should the young king die without children, in which case the earl was to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Queen of England.[2] Such, Mary alleged, was the compact they had established, and which more than any other was calculated to rouse the alarm and indignation of every Scot whatever might be his party or creed. To counteract the effect of these assertions, which were everywhere propagated by Mary's party, Elizabeth was obliged to make a proclamation on the Borders, declaring their falsehood on the word of a queen, and that there had been no negotiation between her and the Scottish regent

[1] Goodall, ii. pp. 310–312.

[2] Goodall, ii. pp. 314–326.

either by word or writing to any such effect.[1]

The suspicion and alarm which these rumours had excited, notwithstanding the proclamation, were not the only obstacles prepared for Moray's return to Scotland. His stay in England had involved him deeply in debt, while the Queen of England, still offended at his dealings with the Duke of Norfolk, refused to assist him. In consequence of his producing at Westminster the proofs of Mary's guilt, the duke, whose ambitious designs were injured by the revelation, had now become his enemy, and his indignation was shared by the popish Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who saw in the exposure an insurmountable barrier in her chance of succeeding to the throne of England. Thus united in their hatred of the regent the three resumed their plot against his life and resolved to have him waylaid and assassinated as he crossed the Border. Beset with such difficulties the regent had recourse to stratagem, and having employed the mediation of their mutual friend, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, he soon obtained an interview with Norfolk, to whom he expressed his regret that matters had so fallen out, and explained the devices by which he had been driven forward to become an accuser. He declared that he had only embarked in this painful affair to preserve the life of his young sovereign, and he expressed his hope that God would so touch the heart of Mary that she would repent of her past conduct, and the impious unlawful marriage into which she had entered. It was easy from this to make a transition to the designs of the Duke of Norfolk; and Moray expressed his earnest desire that one so well affected to the Protestant religion should become the husband of the Queen of Scots, his sister, whom he still loved, and whose welfare, which he earnestly desired, would be so highly promoted by such a union. The duke was assured by these professions, more especially when Moray also expressed them to the Bishop of Ross, and sent Robert Melvil to Mary herself expressing his concurrence in her proposed marriage with the duke and his readiness to obtain for it the consent of the Scottish nobility. It has been assumed that in all these professions Moray was insincere; but when it is remembered that by this union the connection between England and Scotland would be drawn closer and the interests of the Reformation advanced—the two subjects which he had most at heart, and which he now assigned as the motives of his acquiescence—his sincerity is at least probable. Of this at any rate the duke was so persuaded that he trusted him implicitly, with the declaration, "Earl of Moray, thou hast Norfolk's life in thy hands." He obtained for him a loan of five thousand pounds from Elizabeth, himself becoming the surety for repayment, and sent injunctions to his allies to offer no molestation to the regent on his return to Scotland. Mary, also equally convinced of his fair dealing in the matter, sent orders to the Duke of Chastelherault and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, whom she had constituted her lieutenants in Scotland, to abstain from hostilities. Finding his difficulties thus removed the regent entered Scotland at the end of January, 1569.[2] It was now time for Mary's commissioners to apply for their dismissal, which they did on the 2d of February. This, however, they were not immediately to obtain, as it was feared that their entrance into Scotland simultaneously with the regent would impede his attempts for the restoration of the public tranquillity. Of this indeed he was so fully aware, that when he had reached Berwick on the 30th of January he wrote a letter to Cecil, in which, besides notifying his safe arrival, he stated in a postscript "that if the Lords Boyd and Herries and the Bishop of Ross could be delayed for a season in England, it would do great good."[3] Mary had now been removed from Bolton to Tutbury Castle, where, instead of Lord Scrope she had the Earl of Shrewsbury for her keeper and guardian. On her commissioners waiting upon her to take their leave she thought it advisable that the bishop, Lord Livingston, and Lord Boyd should remain in England as her counsellors, to which they consented, so that only Lord Herries returned to Scotland.[4]

Although all had thus been so adverse to the Queen of Scots; although her infamy had been blazed abroad, and her captivity made more strict and certain, she did not give way to despair. The worst was known, suspense was at an end, and whatever change might now occur in her eventful fortunes could scarcely be otherwise than in her favour. She might yet regain her crown, extinguish the calumnies brought against her by the destruction of her calumniators, and even strengthen her chances of the English succession through her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. For these ends, therefore, she thenceforth laboured with a singleness of aim and pertinacity of purpose which made her, though a prisoner and in the heart of England, more dangerous to Elizabeth than when she was seated upon the Scottish throne. But the greater part of these intrigues, which extended over the

[1] Goodall, ii. pp. 328, 329.

[2] Murdin's *State Papers*, p. 51; Anderson, iii. p. 40; Melvil's *Memoirs*, pp. 212–214.

[3] Goodall, ii. p. 333.

[4] Ibid. p. 336.

whole course of her remaining life, belong to English history rather than that of Scotland, where her name was nothing more than a political watchword. There she had ceased to reign, and the succession of her son was established beyond the chance of overthrow.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF RELIGION (1542-1569).

State of religion in Scotland at the entrance of the Reformation—Wealth of the church—Its effects on the clergy—Insufficiency of their teaching and preaching—Their attempts to oppose the Reformation by miracles—John Scott's wonderful fasts—Thomas Doughty and his chapel of Loretto—Pilgrimages encouraged—Their corrupt tendencies—Flagitious lives of the clergy—Their general inferiority to the laity—A great change inevitable—Effects produced on the coming Reformation by the revival of learning—Powerful agency of poetry on the Reformation—Adaptation of poetry to the state of the age and people—Poetry of Sir David Lyndsay—Its adoption for family reading and instruction—Its effect in the school of Perth—The teacher's conversion by it to Protestantism—The clergy have again recourse to miracles—Attempt of this nature at the chapel of Loretto—Detection of the fraud—Favourable effect of the detection upon the Reformation—Confession of Faith drawn up by the reformers—Shortness of time occupied in producing it—Its character—Specimens of its articles—Its concessions to the civil power—Tolerance of the reformers contrasted with their denunciations of Popery—Polity of the church afterwards drawn up—The First Book of Discipline presented to the government—Its unfavourable reception by the Scottish rulers of the period—Causes of this dislike—Principal heads of the First Book of Discipline—Doctrines enjoined to be preached—Errors to be denounced—Right administration of the sacraments—Demands for the destruction of idolatry—Ministers and their call by the people—The offices of superintendents and readers—Due provision demanded for the ministry—Plan of national education—Endowment of colleges and schools—Course of education prescribed—Ecclesiastical discipline—Its strict and comprehensive character—Occasional collision of the civil and ecclesiastical offices—The sentence of excommunication—Previous opportunities given to avert it—Lay element in the government of the church—Elders and deacons—Mode of conducting divine service—Of administering baptism, the Lord's supper, and burial—Prophesying—Its nature, and rules for its exercise—Causes for the adoption of Presbyterianism as the form of church government in Scotland—Presbyterian character of the early Culdee church—Amalgamation of its character with the Romanized Church of Scotland—Antimonarchical spirit of the Scottish prelates—The tendency confirmed by the national war of independence against England—Presbyterianism continued in the church till the establishment of archbishops in Scotland—The establishment immediately followed by the Reformation—The office of superintendent adopted through necessity—That of bishop only tolerated by the Scottish reformers—Limitation of their powers—Their offices to be temporary—General Assemblies—Lay element introduced into them—The Scottish church made the church of the people—Effect of its church courts in preserving its internal unity—Attestation of James VI. about its exemption from heresy and schism—Jewish spirit evinced by the Scottish reformers—Their ideas of a Christian state modelled on the principles of a theocracy—Their assumption of the office and authority of the ancient prophets—Their difficulties in reforming the lives of the people—Severity of the church demanded by the crisis—Instance in cities from the case of Aberdeen—Enactments of the kirk session of the town—Offences prohibited—Their nature set down in the order of the decalogue—Penalties to be inflicted on the several offenders—Checks to the early triumph of the Reformation—Clerical offenders—Paul Methven excommunicated—His entreaty to be restored—His public humiliation previous to absolution—Case of John Kello, minister of Spott—His temptations through avarice—He murders his wife—His remorse and dreams—He confesses his guilt and surrenders himself to justice—His repentance and execution.

The arrival of the reformation of religion into Scotland could scarcely have been delayed, and it found the country ripe for its entrance. The predominant elements of the national character, derived from a Saxon ancestry, fitted it, as they had fitted England, to respond to the movement in Germany; and the preaching of Luther was felt as a signal over the whole British island for both nations to be up and doing: they had already been pervaded with the principle of life, and, as in all great revolutions, nothing was wanting but the hour and the call to action. And yet, even in the absence of such aggressive causes, the corruptions of the church in Scotland, as elsewhere, were of themselves sufficient to ensure its downfall. This part of the subject, however, has been so often and so amply illustrated and is so generally understood that it may be dismissed with a summary notice.

In glancing over those evils the first circumstance which arrests our notice is the enormous wealth of the Scottish Church contrasted with the poverty of the country. The ecclesiastical property comprised scarcely less than a half of

the rental of the whole kingdom. Of these revenues of the church that part which was called the temporalities, consisting of the lands and civil rights, superiorities and jurisdictions, comprised little less than a fourth, while that of the spirituality, which included the tithes, churches, churchyards, glebes, and manses, were more than a fourth of the national rental. This enormous allotment, which so far transcended that of the tribe of Levi even when Israel was a theocracy, and when the expenses of the functions of government, the administration of public justice, and the duties of public instruction, as well as the superintendence of religion, were to be defrayed from the mere tenth of the national property, was very far from being devoted in Scotland to its original purposes. The monasteries were no longer the schools and colleges of public instruction, the promoters of useful arts, the examples of agricultural industry and improvement; the secular clergy were no longer the wisest, the most learned, and most virtuous of the community, whom their flocks would be willing to follow and obey; the high dignitaries of the church, who had been set in place before the nobles themselves that they might be the leaders of the nation and the first in every good work, had ceased to be the ministers of peace, the disinterested guardians of the public interests, and the patrons of moral and religious excellence. Few, indeed, of the higher clergy were able or willing to preach. The fifty-three seats which they possessed in parliament, and the important offices in the state which by long prescription they had learned to regard as their right, were more alluring to their ambition than the duties of the pulpit, even had they been able to discharge them; and whenever a political intrigue was to be conducted or a factious controversy decided by the appeal of arms, we generally find a prelate occupying the foreground as his legitimate sphere of action. What was the church, and what could become of it under such guardianship?

While the bishops themselves had thus abandoned their chief office and ceased to be spiritual guides and instructors, their example was not lost upon the rest of the secular clergy, who, instead of being the apostles of peace and teachers of righteousness, were more generally the partisans of feuds and disturbances and hunters after place and pre-eminence. The great mark of their ambition was a bishopric; and as this office was the representative of secular power, wealth, and station, they knew that it could only be won by correspondent qualifications. While the important duty of spiritual instruction by the pulpit was thus generally neglected by those to whom it chiefly pertained, it was taken up by the begging friars; but with them the work of preaching, instead of assuming its legitimate form and being directed to its proper effect, was too generally made the ready instrument of their avarice and sensuality. We have already mentioned the helplessness of Archbishop Dunbar when he tried to outpreach Wishart in the town of Ayr, and the profound clerical ignorance of the Bishop of Dunkeld, who thanked God that he knew nothing either of the New Testament or the Old. Too much akin to this was the theological knowledge and preaching of these friars, so that their sermons were little fitted to yield instruction or even to afford amusement. Much, indeed, of their public ministrations appears to have consisted in fulminating the censures of the church against paltry offences, and for the restitution of stolen goods; and this, it appears, they were ready to do on any occasion and for the meanest hire. Even one of their own number, who thoroughly knew and had the hardihood to expose this venality of the preaching friars, thus characterized them in one of his public discourses: "Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dike? And that keeps our corn better than the sleeping boy that will have three shillings of fee, a sark, and a pair of shoon yearly." Of their curses the following example was given by the same fearless preacher. "Cursing," he said, "if rightly used, is the most fearful thing upon the face of the earth, for it is the very separation of man from God; but it should not be used rashly and for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners. But now the avarice of priests and the ignorance of their office has caused it altogether to be vilipended; for the priest, whose duty and office is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday and cries, 'Ane has tint a spurtle;[1] there is a flail stolen from those across the burn; the goodwife of the other side of the gate has tint a horn spoon: God's malison and mine I give to them that know of this gear and restore it not!'"[2]

While the offices of the altar were so desecrated and the style of preaching became so contemptible and so far behind the growing intelligence of the people, recourse was had to miracles, as more convincing arguments than sermons and more convenient to the intellectual poverty of the clergy. Accordingly new and powerful relics were imported from abroad, and new places of pilgrimage were discovered endowed with miraculous virtues; but these vulgar at-

[1] A stick for stirring up hasty-pudding or porridge while in the act of boiling to prevent it from being burned.
[2] Knox.

tractions, the desperate rally of a tottering church, served only to betray its weakness and accelerate its downfall. The eyes of a duped community being at length opened, looked on with a watchfulness that was sharpened by a just suspicion, and a single fraud detected sufficed to lay open the whole system of legerdemain, so that it could deceive no longer. Leaving out of account the numerous instances of pardoners, pilgrims, and palmers, who wandered through the land with their tales of foreign wonders and their budgets of holy relics—men who fell sorely under the lash of the poets before they vanished at the entrance of the Reformation—we shall briefly notice two instances illustrative of the nature of these attempts.

In the latter part of the reign of James V. a person named John Scott, having been worsted in a lawsuit, the expenses of which he was unable to defray, took refuge within the limits of Holyrood and commenced a course of fasting in which he wholly abstained from food for thirty or forty days. Tidings of this miracle being conveyed to the king, he caused Scott to be subjected to a trial of abstinence in the castle of Edinburgh; and there, in close confinement and with meat and drink placed before him, the man fasted an equal length of time, professing that he did this by the help of the Virgin Mary, and that through the same divine aid he could fast as long as he pleased. Some were so struck with this wonderful display that they regarded it as a veritable miracle; but by the majority to whom Scott was known, and who were aware that his previous life had not been of a very saintly description, he was looked upon as a madman or downright impostor. Finding that he could obtain no honour in his own city and among his own countrymen, who had not been accustomed to reckon fasting a proof of sanctity, Scott betook himself first to Rome and afterwards to Venice, in each of which cities he astonished the people by his marvellous continence of stomach; and after making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, for which he was furnished with money by Pope Clement VII., he returned by the way of London, bringing with him a scrip full of stones, which he alleged he had taken at Jerusalem from the pillar at which Christ was scourged. He now commenced his vocation in the English metropolis by inveighing against the divorce of Henry VIII. from his queen, Catherine, and the separation of the kingdom from the see of Rome; but being thrown into prison, he attested the truth of his mission by a fast of total abstinence for fifty days. Here, too, he was dismissed as a madman with contempt; and on returning to Scotland he endeavoured to enter into partnership with Thomas Doughty, the hermit of Loretto, a more dexterous miracle-worker and deceiver than himself. Doughty, however, being in no mood to endure a rival or share his gains with a partner, Scott retired to a house in the suburbs at the west end of Edinburgh, where he resolved to set up business on his own account. For this purpose he erected an altar in his dwelling, and having a daughter of considerable beauty he arrayed her in a glistening dress and set her on the altar surrounded with a blaze of tapers and torches. The bait at first took with the more credulous of the people, who believed her to be the Virgin Mary, and worshipped her as such; but the imposture being too rank to escape detection, Scott shut up his chapel, abandoned his wonder-working pretensions, and afterwards ate, drank, and demeaned himself like any other man. If we measure his example by similar attempts in Popish countries in the present day we shall see cause to wonder, not at its contemptible grossness, but that it should have so utterly failed.[1]

The other impostor, Thomas Doughty, was a more cunning deceiver than Scott. He had travelled in Italy, and been, by his own account, a prisoner among the Turks—an assertion sufficient to excite the sympathies and arrest the notice of his ignorant, untravelled countrymen. Having laid claim to a character of extraordinary sanctity, he founded in 1533, with money which he had begged in his travels, the Chapel of our Lady of Loretto, at the east gate of Musselburgh, near the Links, and set up in it for worship an image of the Virgin which he had brought from Italy. At this new shrine miracles were wrought in abundance, and some knavish confederate was never wanting to proclaim the wonderful cure that had been wrought upon him, or the blessings that had been vouchsafed to him by the Virgin at the intercession of her chosen servant Thomas. The reputation of Doughty's piety and the marvels he performed soon made him a favourite with the clergy; and they blazed abroad his praises although they knew him to be a deceiver and a fellow of worthless life, as they found that the doctrines of purgatory, pardons, and prayers to saints were beginning to be doubted or disregarded. Such at length was the high reputation of this new chapel of Loreit or Aloreit and its holy hermit, Thomas, that a pilgrimage thither became a fashionable recreation with the citizens of Edinburgh, and both building and priest were enriched with their donations. And among these pilgrims was no less a personage than James V., who might have been

[1] Spottiswood, i. pp. 136, 137; Calderwood.

thought superior to such superstitions. When he undertook his matrimonial voyage to France in July, 1536, and was driven back by a storm, he landed on the coast of Galloway; and after resting a short time at Stirling he went on foot to this chapel of Loretto in gratitude for his safety, and to intercede for favourable winds in a second voyage which he contemplated and afterwards successfully executed.[1]

In these two instances we have specimens of the modes in which the priesthood attempted to prop their falling church. A miracle was more intelligible and convincing to the simple than any argument, however sound or conclusive. A pilgrimage to some chapel or hermitage, such as that of St. Anthony near Salisbury Craigs, or of our Lady of Loretto at Musselburgh, was a more pleasant mode of fulfilling the requirements of religion than the practices of self-denial and a virtuous life. In the cases we have instanced Scott seems to have failed only because a more popular rival had already occupied the field. And the nature of these pilgrimages, which all could justify as a holy act or a necessary duty—the trysts of the young and giddy of either sex for the performance of this religious pastime—the jaunt through silent fields and among the shadowy coverts of rocks and dells and lonely mountains, often at evening and midnight, with a confessional and its absolution at the end of it—it needs little knowledge of the national vice of the period or the writings of the poets who revealed it to predict what consequences must have ensued. This imposture and its tendencies, and the purpose of its reverend patrons who encouraged it, were well exposed in a declamation of that bold friar from whose sermons we have already quoted. Preaching at the parish church of St. Andrews, the head-quarters of the superstition, he thus fearlessly exposed the iniquities of these pilgrimages: "The greediness of the priests not only receives false miracles but also they cherish and fee knaves for that purpose, that their chapels may be the better renowned and their offerings may be augmented. And thereupon are many chapels founded, as if our Lady were mightier and that she took more pleasure in one place than another; as of late days our Lady of Carsegrange has hopped from one green hillock to another. But honest men of St. Andrews, if ye love your wives and your daughters hold them at home, or else send them in honest company; for if ye knew what miracles were kythed there ye would neither thank God nor our Lady." Such was the disinterested testimony of a friar, who, after being chased into England by the Scottish clergy for exposing their malpractices, was there imprisoned by Henry VIII. for advocating the cause of Popery and the Roman pontiff.

Amidst this general decay of religious knowledge and abuse of church ordinances the insufficiency of the clergy as spiritual teachers and guides was not their heaviest offence. It would have been well indeed for the cause they represented and the people who relied upon them if they had been nothing worse than ignorant, inert, and passive; mere nonentities as unfit for evil as for good. But they were positive evils, and that too of the worst description, not only failing to teach their followers what was right, but consecrating by their example what was sinful and corrupt. Few historical truths are better authenticated than the general flagitiousness of the priesthood at the commencement of the Reformation; and in this respect the clergy of Scotland were not a whit better than those of any other country. The evil was most conspicuous in the heads of the church, who openly and avowedly lived in concubinage, thrust their illegitimate sons into profitable state offices and church livings, and by large dowries endeavoured to purchase husbands for their daughters from among the ranks of the nobility. Such a one was James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; such was Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray and commendator of Scone, who had nine bastard children by different mothers legitimated under the great seal; and such above all was Cardinal Beaton, who was as notorious for his amours as he was distinguished by his abilities, wealth, and ambition. While such were the practices of the prelates they served as exemplars to the inferior clergy, who copied their iniquities without shame or scruple and carried the arts of seduction and the practices of immorality into those houses of the citizens and cottages of the peasantry where they were trusted guides, and of which they ought to have been the guardians. Greatly, therefore, was such a priesthood interested in debarring the entrance of religious knowledge into the country, whether it might be in the form of a small portion of Scripture, a religious tractate from France or Germany, or the daring sermon of some friar who had discovered that the right way had been forsaken, and could not be silent; and although the importation of Lutheran books was prohibited, and such preachers punished as heretics, the spirit of alarm and inquiry could not be thus satisfied. It was a natural inference of the people, that such an immoral priesthood could not be veritable teachers of righteousness; and every attempt to suppress such surmises only

[1] Spottiswood, i. p. 137; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 17; Buchanan, xiv.

made them more anxious to have their doubts resolved. Nor were the means of such a solution wanting. Already the universities were producing their natural fruits. Priests themselves were becoming reformers, and students were in training to follow their footsteps. The laity were becoming more wise and learned than the clergy, and imparting that religious instruction to the people which its constituted teachers were withholding. It was soon evident that a change, a reformation must follow, whether the church should aid or oppose it, and that the national spirit, braced with independence and trained by centuries of successful action, would move onward though throne and altar should oppose it. Had Cardinal Beaton never existed, or though there had been ten such as he combined against the movement, the result would have been the same. The whole soul of the land was on the advance with that resistless march which had trodden down greater obstacles than a despised and hated hierarchy; and the death of Beaton himself, struck down in his place of security like the death of the red Comyn before the altar in Dumfries, proclaimed that the new war of religious liberty had commenced, and that it would be carried on until the victory was won.

Among the powerful auxiliaries of the Scottish Reformation mention has been made of the literature of the day. The revival of learning in Europe was itself the dawn of Protestantism; no sooner was religion emancipated from its dark imprisonment than it imparted double light and energy to literature; and thereafter the processes of intellectual and spiritual freedom went onward hand in hand, each supporting and inciting the other. And such also, though in a modified measure, was the case in Scotland. In preaching and disputation the superior scholarship of its reformers made them more than a match for their adversaries; the introduction of learned treatises from abroad created a national literary spirit in a country whose history had hitherto been a mere struggle for existence. While the learned tongues were studied chiefly for the elucidation of Scripture, and logical dialectics for the defence and illustration of religious doctrine, the country was the while producing a literature of its own so national as to be endeared to the popular spirit, and withal so intelligible as to be of general comprehension. This revival, as very generally happens, was in the first instances manifested in poetry, the weapon nearest at hand, and the fittest for such a crisis. In a language which all could understand, and with arguments which the simplest could appreciate, it exposed the vices of the clergy, ridiculed their fraudful devices, and appealed in behalf of the new and better faith; and although these productions might now in many cases be regarded as wretched doggerel they were suited to the rudeness of an illiterate age which as yet had learned no better. In this way a song that refuted Popery by ridicule was more intelligible and acceptable with the many than a grave erudite sermon, so that while the latter might number its converts by tens the former could comprise them in hundreds. Among the most popular of these ditties were Wedderburn's "gude and godly ballates," by which the old favourite but very questionable songs of the common people were "changed out of profane language into godly songs, for avoiding of sin and harlotry." Happen what might, Wedderburn and his compeers knew that the people must and would sing; and they concluded that instead of a licentious carol it would be better to substitute a pious hymn, in which nothing of the old should remain but the tune and the chorus. It was a perilous experiment, that with a more refined age would have been denounced as an absolute desecration; but the Scottish Protestant virgins of the sixteenth century could warble "John, come, kiss me now" according to the spiritualized version, without being contaminated by the profane suggestions of the old.[1] Nor was it merely to cottages and the homes of the lower orders that such productions were confined; they were carried by travelling merchants and pedlars into the public schools; and the ingenuous youths of the day, while employed in their new studies of Latin and Greek, had their labours lightened and their Protestant tendencies confirmed by these pious anacreontics. An incident of this kind, which may serve as a specimen of many others, is recorded by James Melvil. While he was at school in Montrose about the year 1570 one of those travelling chapmen, whom he calls a post, was accustomed to bring from Edinburgh psalm-books, ballads, and other such productions, among which was this choice collection of Wedderburn; and with its songs he was so highly delighted, that he learned several of them by heart, tunes and all. From the same distinguished divine we learn how such kind of poetry was employed in domestic education, and what virtuous and religious lessons were derived from it. Sir David Lyndsay, as a pure-minded decorous bard, is so wofully defective, that few of the present age, except its sturdy antiquarians, would care to boast of an acquaintanceship with his writings. And yet they furnished healthy nourishment to the soul of a pious, gentle-minded maiden. Melvil, in his boyhood being

[1] Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 6.

detained a whole winter from school, thus affectionately describes his training at home:—

"We were reminded of our books but now and then, as our father had leisure, which was but very seldom. Yet the Lord suffered not that time to be fruitless neither, but I remember therein two benefits; one, the reading the story [histories] of the Scripture that winter, which stuck in my mind; and of David Lyndsay's book, which my eldest sister Isabel would read and sing, namely, concerning the latter judgment, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven, whereby she would cause me both greet [weep] and be glad. I loved her, therefore, exceeding dearly, and she me beyond the rest. She showed me one day among others, a ballad set out in print against ministers that for want of stipend left their charge, beginning:

"'Who so do put hand to the pleuche,
And therfra backward goes;
The Scripture maks it plean aneuche,
My kingdom is not for those, &c.'

With this she burst forth in tears, and says, 'Alas! what will come of these at that latter day? God keep my father, and Mr. James Melvil, and Mr. James Balfour from this!' And after she cries out the verses of David Lyndsay:—

"'Alas! I tremble for to tell
The terrible torments of the hell;
That painful pit who can deplore?
Whilk sall endure for evermore.'

With her speeches and tears she made me to quake and shout bitterly, which left the deepest stamp of God's fear in my heart of anything that ever I had heard before."[1]

In this way the poetry of the period, notwithstanding its startling offences in the eyes of modern judges, could not only deter from the vices which it seemed to foster, but train the young mind in the path of truth and virtue. Nor need we wonder at its innocuous tendencies when we consider the time and occasion that called it forth. It was a plain-spoken age, in which a speciality of description and rudeness of language that now excite astonishment and disgust were common both to peer and peasant; and even within the court—nay, even in the pulpit—expressions were used as right and appropriate which would scarcely now be tolerated among the rudest of our communities. At the commencement of the Scottish Reformation also an Augean stable was to be cleansed, which men could not enter in dainty white linen and silken slippers, but in the attire of veritable scavengers; and those writers who undertook the task were obliged circumstantially to describe what they were so anxious to expose and sweep away. This apology may suffice for the general character of the literature, and especially the poetry of the Reformation over Europe at large. Who has ever dared to allege that the chaste, noble mother of Henry of Navarre, and the pure maidens who attended her, were to be measured by the language and descriptions of her *Nouvelles*, in which the crimes of priestly and monastic life were so ruthlessly chastised?

Of all the Scottish poets of this age none was so popular as Sir David Lyndsay, and this because he was the great advocate and champion of the religious movement now in progress. He avowed it at its commencement, when the poet's wreath might have been exchanged for the martyr's crown; he was its sturdy uncompromising laureate through all its subsequent stages; and he lived to see it established as the religion of the land and the promise of a better era for his country. His long morality play of the *Three Estates*, which exposed the vices of the churchmen and let in the light which they were so anxious to exclude, was acted through a course of years beginning with 1535 at Cupar, Perth, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh before assembled thousands; and at these exhibitions the guilty were dismayed, the ignorant roused to inquiry, the timid encouraged, and the doubting recovered and confirmed. Of the effect of the *Three Estates* when printed the following instance has been recorded. At first it was circulated privately, the inquisitorial ban being laid upon it. A copy, however, had come into the hands of a craftsman of Perth, and he not only studied it diligently, but taught its contents to his children; while his children taught them to their school companions. While matters were in this state a friar came to preach in the church of Perth on Sunday during the time of Lent. At the end of his sermon he was proceeding to give an account of certain miracles and inveigh against the Huguenot preachers, as he termed them, who had lately appeared in Scotland, when all at once his ears were assailed with a whirlwind of hisses deepened with shouts of anger, at which he was so dismayed that he fled from the pulpit, and was glad to escape out of town. It was remarked, too, that these dissentient sounds proceeded not from the adults of the congregation, but from about three hundred boys belonging to the grammar-school, who had been inoculated with Lyndsay's play through the communications of the craftsman's children. Another friar arrived to confront the danger, but first lodged a complaint before the magistrates at the interruption of the preceding Sunday, on which Mr. Andrew Simson, the teacher of the school, was ordered to find out

[1] James Melvil's *Diary*, pp. 18, 19.

the ringleaders of the offence and subject them to corporal punishment. Simson, who was a zealous Papist, instituted a strict inquiry and discovered the chief culprit in a young lad, who actually had a copy of Lyndsay's play in his possession. This was a monstrous aggravation of his offence, and a terrible chastisement was about to follow; but the urchin stoutly stood to his defence, declaring that the book was not heretical and demanding an examination of its contents. This appeal could not be refused, and Simson, after a careful perusal, found that the *Three Estates*, notwithstanding the ecclesiastical brand, was nothing less than an exposure of religious error and an exponent of divine truth. He told the town-council that he had not discovered the malefactors; and changing his note, he added that the preacher himself had been in fault, as it was by his invectives that the interruption had been provoked. This view of the case appeared so reasonable, that the friar on Sunday made the following honest acknowledgment at the close of his discourse: "I will speak nothing against these new preachers, but I will speak against ourselves: if we had done our duty in our calling faithfully, and made you, God's people, to know God's truth, as we should have done, these new teachers had not done as they do; for what shall poor silly sheep do that are poinded in a fold where there is no meat, but break the dike, and go to their meat where they may have it? So we cannot find fault with you that are God's people to run and hear God's word taught you wherever ye may get it." This speech not only gladdened the people, but confirmed Simson in his new opinions, who became Protestant minister of Dunning and Cargill in Perthshire, and afterwards, in 1564, was translated to Dunbar, where he officiated in the double capacity of minister and schoolmaster. He gave a distinguished proof of his scholarship and fitness for teaching by his authorship of the grammar of the Latin tongue, called the *Dunbar Rudiments*, from the town where it was first used, and which, for nearly a century and a half, continued to be the standard school-book of its class in the education of the youths of Scotland.[1]

In this manner the new opinions were propagated, and thus strangely, from almost imperceptible causes, whole communities were leavened with their influence. And what the while could the clergy do? They could neither persecute nor refute. The outburst had been so sudden and its progress so rapid that their day of power was over before they had learned their danger, and their attempts at resistance by the temporal sword were a few blind strokes under which their weapon dropped from their hands. Nor were matters improved when they had recourse to argument; for they found that their opponents were as superior to them in learning and intelligence as they were in energy, force, and numbers. In this dilemma they once more betook themselves to miracles as their last and sole resource, forgetting that such legerdemain had no longer a chance of success, and would be almost certain to recoil upon themselves to their own ruin. Their final effort of this nature was so contemptible in its character and so mischievous to themselves in its reaction that it demands our particular notice.

Among the virtues attributed to that wonder-working chapel of Loretto of which mention has already been made, was its efficacy in giving relief to women in difficult or dangerous cases of parturition; and so high was its obstetric renown that its aid was invoked and its powers trusted when the medical skill of the period was unavailing. It happened that the Lady of Cleish, in Fifeshire, being in a strait of this nature, sent her servant post to Loretto with her supplications; and as it was useless to come to its shrine empty-handed he carried to it an offering of gold, and also her shift, which was usually sent in such applications. But although the lady was a devout Papist, her husband, Robert Colvil of Cleish, was as devout a Protestant; he was also master of the household of Lord James Stuart, afterwards the Regent Moray, and was distinguished for his zeal and activity among the reformers of the day. It was not wonderful that he should be anxious to intercept his wife's message; and as soon as he learned of it he set off in pursuit of the envoy, but could not overtake him until he had arrived at Musselburgh. He came, however, in time to witness a miracle, and one so important that it had been years in preparation. A blind man was to be restored to sight. The person on whom the marvel was to be wrought had when a boy acquired the faculty of turning up his eyelids and showing nothing but the whites of his eyes, so that he could pass for blind even on the closest inspection; and with this harmless trick he was wont to amuse the sisters of the nunnery of Sciennes, near Edinburgh, while he herded their sheep. To the priests, however, this faculty appeared a choice instrument for the restoration of their decaying credit; and they advised that he should be removed from public ken until he had outgrown the recognition of his contemporaries and could be produced as a really blind man. He was secluded accordingly in one of the vaults of the nunnery for seven or eight years, but otherwise well fed

[1] Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 447–456.

and entertained; and at the end of that time, when all remembrance of him had passed away, he was sent round the country to beg, with a guide to lead him, but under solemn oaths never to reveal the fraud. After playing his part so effectually, remaining blind all day, that even his guide was deceived, and never using his eyes but at night or when no one was present, all was thought ripe for trying the experiment upon the popular credulity.

An intimation was now trumpeted in Edinburgh and through the neighbouring counties that an astonishing token of the divine power and mercy was to be exhibited at the chapel of Loretto, and all were freely invited to come and witness the spectacle. Such a call was certain to attract the people in thousands, and among them stood Colvil of Cleish. A high stage was erected that all might witness the performance; the man, who was publicly known for years to have been blind, was brought upon it; and when the rites and adjurations of the priests were finished the white orbs of the sightless man were in an instant changed into eyes full of life and vision! The people shouted their conviction and evinced their piety by heaping gifts of money upon the honoured subject of the miracle, who supported the profane farce by loudly praising God, our Saviour, the Lady of Loretto, the saints, and all the priests and friars who had graciously restored him to the light of day. But this mummery was not suited to Colvil, whom Knox describes as "a man stout, modest, and wise," and whose anger must have been sharpened by the thought that his wife's inner garment was hanging up like a trophy in the neighbouring shrine: he was certain that the whole was a villainous trick, and he resolved to probe it to the bottom and expose it. He therefore bestowed upon the fellow a larger dole than the rest, and offered to engage him as his servant, to which the other gladly assented. But when Colvil had brought him to his lodging in Edinburgh he secured the chamber door, and after reproaching his new servant as a lying knave and impostor he drew his sword, said he was a magistrate commissioned to punish all such offenders, and threatened to strike off his head unless he made instant confession of the trick and the way it had been brought about. The man, awed by the grim, determined look and ready weapon of his master, after some demur revealed the whole story, and to confirm it whipped up his eyelids and walked about the chamber with the steps of a blind man. Here, however, Colvil would not stop: the poor, erring people must be undeceived also, and he instructed the man how it was to be done without bringing danger upon himself. Accordingly, at eight o'clock on the following morning, when the whole town was afoot and the streets thronged, he led his servant to the Cross, and stood over him with his sword drawn to protect him, while the man shouted "Oyez!" three times in the manner of a herald going to make a proclamation. The people thronged to the place, recognized the subject of yesterday's miracle, and expected to hear something more of it, but were astounded when he told them briefly and pithily, according to the laird's directions, that it was no miracle at all; that he had been enticed and tutored by the priests for years to feign himself blind; and he besought them to be no longer deceived by these churchmen, but betake themselves to the new teachers, who were showing the right way in all truth and sincerity. His auditors were thunderstruck, but before a hand could be raised or a blade drawn Colvil and the man dived down a neighbouring close and mounted the horses that were waiting for them in the Cowgate. A hot pursuit followed in which the friars and priests were the foremost, but they were a few moments too late; for when they reached the Queensferry they found that the fugitives were safely on their way across the firth to Fifeshire, where the army of the Lords of the Congregation was encamped.

Although this choice miracle of Loretto had thus been worse than useless, its detection was to do something more than undeceive the credulous multitude. A short time before this event Mr. John Row, a Scot who had distinguished himself by his attainments at the University of Padua, and to whom the highest prospects in the church were opened, had been sent by the pope, who greatly favoured him, as his legate and commissioner to Scotland, for the purpose of opposing the progress of the Reformation and vindicating the learning and authority of the ancient church; and this task he was zealously discharging by his disputations with Knox and the reformed preachers. When Colvil returned home he found Row a visitor of his lady; but undismayed by the erudition of the learned doctor, he resolved to hold a debate with him upon the great questions at issue. The commencement of the laird was amusingly characteristic. "Mr. John Row," he said, "you are a great scholar and lawyer; you have been bred at the court of Rome, where there is both learning and policy enough. I am but a country gentleman—unlearned—have not had breeding abroad: therefore I will not enter the lists of a dispute with you. I know I will be foiled, and what is worse, I will wrong my religion that way. But let me only confer and crack about some points of religion wherein you and me

differ." Row cheerfully accepted this modest invitation, and Colvil proceeded with such a string of seemingly simple queries as would have done honour to a professor of the Socratic school of reasoning. The chief theme was miracles, and Row was drawn out to allege that the power of working them was possessed by the pope and clergy, that they were veritable instead of lying wonders, that they were sure attestations and proofs of the veracity of the church in whose favour they had been wrought, and that the late miracle at Loretto, of which he had heard, was to be classed under the same category. "What can you say to it? what can any one say against the fact," he cried triumphantly, "that a man born blind is cured and has received his sight?" "But how know you that he was born a blind man?" said the host. "Has he not begged," replied the other, "through Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Leith, Musselburgh, &c., all his days, being a blind man?" It was now time to show that his argument was worthless and that he was but a dupe with the rest; and the servant was brought in, who went through his blind evolutions, to the great astonishment and confusion of the learned disputant. "Now, Mr. John Row," said his antagonist gravely and affectionately, "you are a great clergyman, a great linguist, and a great lawyer; but I charge you, as you must answer to the great God at the last day, that you do not now hold out any light that God offers you, but that as soon as you come to your study you will close the door upon you and take your Bible, and earnestly pray to God that you may understand the Scriptures and the truth of God revealed in them, that in his light you may see light. And then when you have prayed as the Lord by his Spirit, who is the Spirit of grace and supplication, will instruct and teach you, take your Bible and read Second Thessalonians ii., and if you do not there see your master, the pope, to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God, as now he and his deceiving and tricking clergy in Scotland have done lately at Musselburgh, you shall say Robert Colvil has no skill." The argument in itself might have passed for little, especially with such a practised scholar as Row: he had only mistaken a falsehood for truth, a likeness for the reality; and a cause may be still good though the demonstration that maintains it be a sophism. But there are certain moods of mind and circumstances of time, place, and occasion that are as steel-heads and feathers, by which a trivial stick is made a barbed arrow of conviction that can rend the strongest coat of mail. And thus it was now: a train of inquiry was awakened under which Row abjured his errors and became a Protestant. His history was thenceforth identified with that of the Scottish Reformation, in which he was an eminent leader, and its First Book of Discipline, of which he was one of the authors.

The events of that political warfare by which Popery was overthrown and Protestantism established have been narrated in the civil department of this history. In adopting those principles of belief which were to constitute the soul and spirit of the Reformation there was no difficulty or contrariety of opinion. At a period when men had newly escaped from the infallibility of the church to the infallibility of Scripture there was that general consent in opinion which such a deliverance was fitted to inspire. The church had made them perceive only too distinctly what was false in doctrine and corrupt in practice, while divine revelation was recognized by them as the only guide into that right way from which they had been perverted. Our Scottish reformers, therefore, equally preserved from those over-refinements in speculation which learned ease and a dreamy seclusion so naturally engender, and from those contentious divisions which grow up in a later age when the mind becomes weary of the beaten track and longs for the luxury of something new, adopted those principles of belief which had been simultaneously and by general consent adopted over the whole of Protestant Europe. Hence the facility with which the new creed was formulated and presented before the Scottish parliament in 1560. A national creed, and one professing to be for all time, drawn up within the short space of four days!—the fact has occasioned in modern times not only much wonderment but not a little contemptuous ridicule. But this promptitude, which might otherwise have been absurd, was nothing more than the natural consequence of the causes already stated. Men were not now to seek for those principles in which for years they had dared to live, and for which they were ready to die. The thoughts, the very words in which the creed was embodied, had been so long and so often studied, and had become so identified with their spiritual being, that the process of writing them out was nothing more than a simple act of transcription. It was likewise so concise, notwithstanding the profound character and importance of its subjects, that the whole could be comprised in twenty pages of ordinary printing. After it was drawn up and accepted by the parliament the creed was printed for general circulation by Robert Lekprevic [Lapraik], under the title of "The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of the realm of Scotland, exhibited to

the Estates of the same in Parliament, and by their public votes authorized as a doctrine grounded upon the Infallible Word of God."

This Confession, although so rapidly reduced to form and expressed in language every word of which was certain to be scrupulously watched for the purposes of cavil and debate, is a wonderful production of its class for simplicity, clearness, and comprehensiveness. In these respects it may be favourably compared with the best Confessions of Protestant Europe, which were drawn up by the most learned of its theologians amidst the advantages of leisure and literary tranquillity. The articles are twenty-five in number, the mere titles of which we subjoin to show the different subjects of which it treats.[1] For the information of those who are unacquainted with this Confession we transcribe the first article as a specimen of the clear, simple treatment which it applies to the most abstract and difficult of all subjects, and the manner in which its details are corroborated by the authority of Scripture:—

"Of God. Cap. 1.—We confess and acknowledge one only God, to whom we must cleave, whom only we must serve, whom only we must worship, and in whom only we must put our trust (Deut. vi., Isa. xliv.), who is eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invisible (Deut. iv., Matt. xxviii.), one in substance and yet distinct in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost (Gen. i.), by whom we confess and believe all things in heaven and in earth, as well visible and invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being and to be ruled and guided by his inscrutable providence (Isa.) to such end as his eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice has appointed them, to the manifestation of his own glory (Prov. xvi.)."[2]

As erroneous opinions have often been announced and received without inquiry regarding the political principles of our early reformers and the tendency of their Reformation, as if the former had encouraged the subversion of civil authority and the latter given countenance to a levelling republicanism, it is sufficient in reply to quote the 24th article, entitled "Of the Civil Magistrate," where the civil authority is recognized as fully as the most loyal heart could desire.

"We confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities to be established and ordained by God; the powers and authority in the same, be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, and of other magistrates in cities, to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of his own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind. So that whosoever goeth about to take away, or to confound the whole state of civil policies now long established, we affirm the same men not only to be enemies to mankind, but also wickedly to fight against God his expressed will. We further confess and acknowledge, that such persons as are placed in authority are to be loved, honoured, feared, and holden in most reverend estimation, because that they are the lieutenants of God, in whose sessions God himself doth sit and judge, yea, even the judges and princes themselves, to whom, by God, is given the sword, to the praise and defence of good men, and to punish all open malefactors. Moreover, to kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm that, chiefly and most principally, the conservation and purgation of religion appertaineth; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever, as in David, Josephat, Ezekias, Josias, and others highly commended for their zeal in this case may be espied."

Here it will be seen that the civil power, instead of being diminished, is sanctioned and enforced to the utmost of its claims. This is especially the case in the concluding clause, where, instead of too little authority being conceded to kings, rulers, and magistrates in judging what was superstitious and idolatrous, and punishing it with a strong hand, many will be of opinion that it grants them too much. In this case the best excuse for these reformers is, that the only examples which they possessed to direct them were drawn from the Old Testament; and that they regarded the divine commendations pronounced upon the reforming kings of Israel as their best warrant and authority. This part of the confession was so acceptable that the parliament approved of it, and on the following week decreed that the power of

[1] These titles are—1. Of God; 2. Of the Creation of Man; 3. Of Original Sin; 4. Of the Revelation of the Promises; 5. The Continuance, Increase, and Preservation of the Church; 6. Of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; 7. Why it behoved the Mediator to be very God and very Man; 8. Of Election; 9. Of Christ's Death, Passion, and Burial; 10. Resurrection; 11. Ascension; 12. Of Faith in the Holy Ghost; 13. The Cause of Good Works; 14. What Works are reputed Good before God; 15. The Perfection of the Law and Imperfection of Man; 16. Of the Kirk; 17. Of the Immortality of the Soul; 18. Of the Notes by which the True Kirk is discerned from the False, and who shall be judge of the Doctrine; 19. Of the Authority of the Scriptures; 20. Of General Councils—of their Power, Authority, and Cause of their Convocation; 21. Of the Sacraments; 22. Of the Right Administration of the Sacraments; 23. To whom the Sacraments appertain; 24. Of the Civil Magistrate; 25. Of the Gifts freely given to the Church.

[2] First edition of the Scottish Confession of Faith, printed in 1561; Laing's *Works of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 97.

the pope should no longer be recognized in Scotland, and that all acts which had been passed in favour of the Romish Church should henceforth cease, and be of no avail. But by a still more severe enactment of parliament it was also decreed, that all who assisted, or were present at the celebration of the mass, should be punished in the first instance with confiscation of their goods, in the second with banishment, and in the third with death. On this head the Scottish Reformation has often been unjustly branded with the charge of cruelty and intolerance; and it has been alleged that it superseded a persecuting church by another equally merciless and unsparing. But in this case, although our reformers only acted according to the examples of other reformed churches and the laws of the Jewish theocracy, they were too humane to put the last penalty into execution; they enacted the law to exonerate their consciences, and then hung it up *in terrorem* as a check to the incorrigible. Nay, they even tolerated Popery so far as to suffer Popish bishops to sit in parliament, and Popish doctors to be professors in the universities. It would be well, therefore, while reprobating the statute, to remember that the worst of it was allowed to remain a dead letter; and that notwithstanding past provocations, not a Papist was executed in Scotland for his creed. Of what other Protestant country can the same fact be alleged? The utmost indeed that was inflicted short of death was that of pelting a priest with rotten eggs for his defiance of the law; but even this was a sudden popular outbreak, while the punishment itself was administered by the mob not in cruelty but derision and contempt.

The doctrines of the new Protestant church of Scotland having been ratified, the form and polity of the church were the next subjects of consideration. But here the difficulties were to be increased, as it was no longer abstract belief but personal interests that were at stake. By this new legislative code the proud were to be reduced to obedience; the licentious to be corrected and repressed; the plunderers of the church compelled to refund and debarred from further spoliation. These restrictions, and especially the last, were distasteful to the higher nobility, many of whom had joined the movement as a profitable foray when the victory was already all but won, and who had exercised the right of the strong by seizing the larger share of the plunder. Accordingly, when the form of church government bearing the name of the *First Book of Discipline* was drawn up and presented, first a strong demur on the part of the nobility was expressed, afterwards a determined hostility, and "everything," says Knox, "that repugned to their corrupt affections was called in their mockage 'devout imaginations.'" Still a considerable part of the most influential subscribed to it, if not from conscience, at least for very shame; and among these were enumerated one duke (Chastelherault), six earls, five lords, two eldest sons of lords, four barons, a bishop, and a dean.

This *Book of Discipline*, which was so unwelcome to a great part of the nobility, is worthy of attention as the model constructed by our earliest reformers of a complete and perfect church. It was wholly drawn up by men who had themselves been Romish churchmen, namely, John Wynram, sub-prior of St. Andrews, John Douglas, John Spottiswood, John Willock, John Douglas, rector of St. Andrews, John Row, and John Knox. By the first head it required that the gospel should be truly and openly preached in every church and religious assembly of the realm, and that all doctrine opposed to it should be suppressed as damnable to man's salvation. The true doctrine thus preached was specified to be the whole word of God in the Old Testament as well as the New, in which all things necessary for the instruction of the church, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained, and sufficiently expressed. The doctrine to be condemned was whatever laws, councils, or constitutions had imposed upon the consciences of men without the express commandment of the Word of God; such as vows of chastity, forswearing of marriage, compulsory continence of men and women indicative of religious orders, superstitious observance of fast-days, difference of meat for conscience' sake, prayers for the dead, keeping of saints' days and other days of man's appointment, such as Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, &c.—"which things," it was added, "because in God's Scriptures they have neither commandment nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from the realm; affirming further that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate."

The ordinances of merely human authority being thus denounced and set aside, the second head treats of the rightful administration of the sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper. For this rightful administration it was held necessary that the people should be previously instructed by a lawful minister concerning their nature and uses, in a tongue which the people understood; and that nothing should be added, nothing diminished, nothing changed in these sacraments, but all observed according to the appointment of Christ and the practice of the holy apostles. In baptism nothing was to be used

but the element of water, while the Popish additions of oil, salt, wax, spittle, and conjuration or crossing, were declared repugnant to the institution of Christ, which was accused of imperfection by these devices of man's invention. As for the sacrament of the Lord's supper it was declared to be rightly ministered when it approached most nearly to Christ's own action. Sitting at a table was therefore announced as the most appropriate posture; bread and wine, after thanks had been given, were to be distributed among the communicants, and all were to partake of both elements; and the minister, after breaking the bread, was to impart it to those nearest him, who were to break it with each other, this being judged nighest to the perfect practice of the apostles as it is described by St. Paul. And during this action some comfortable portions of Scripture were to be read commemorative of the death of Christ and its benefits according to the discretion of the minister.

Having thus required that the gospel should be faithfully preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, the third head of the *Book of Discipline* required that idolatry should be proscribed, by which was understood the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, the keeping and retaining of them, and finally all honouring of God not appointed in his holy Word; and that all monuments and places of idolatry should be utterly suppressed, such as abbeys, monasteries, priories, nunneries, chapels, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, with the exception of such as were used as parish kirks or schools, and the palaces, mansions, and dwelling-places adjacent to these buildings, and the orchards and gardens belonging to them.

The next head is of ministers and their lawful election. No minister, it is stated, ought to preach or administer the sacraments until he had been regularly called to the office. This call consisted in election, examination, and admission; and in consequence of past abuses of the sacred office these three requirements are made the subjects of strict and specific explanation. And first, of the election of the minister to his charge; this, it was announced, belonged to the people of the congregation; but should they be found negligent in using their right the church, after forty days had elapsed, might present to them a man judged fit to be their pastor. This fitness the person chosen was to indicate in gifts, utterance, and knowledge by interpreting some portion of Scripture selected for him by the ministers before the congregation, and afterwards by open examination in all the chief points of controversy between the Reformed Church and Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, and its other confirmed enemies. If he passed through this ordeal and satisfied the judges of his soundness and ability, he was then to preach several times before the congregation, so as to give a confession of his faith in the doctrines of justification, the number, effect, and use of the sacraments, and other articles of belief which the Papists had corrupted; and having done this satisfactorily the church was to induct him into the charge as its minister, unless the congregation had elected some other previous to the trial. In every other case the call of the people was to precede the appointment of the minister, and in no case was a minister to be imposed upon them against their will. His moral character was also to be unimpeachable, and this fact attested in each place where he had resided; and no person whose life was stained with any public scandal was to enter the ministerial office or be suffered to remain in it. His admission was to be an open one before the assembled congregation, and accompanied with the public religious services; but at first the rite of imposition of hands was not judged necessary, the miraculous powers of the apostolic age having ceased; soon afterwards, however, it was adopted in conformity to the example of other reformed churches. No minister, after being admitted, might abandon the charge at his own pleasure, but was to continue in it permanently, unless the church should depose him or transfer him to another field of duty.

At a time when ministers were so few, and the whole land in need of religious instruction, other church office-bearers had to be added to meet this urgent necessity, and these accordingly were appointed, with the titles of readers and superintendents. The reader was a person qualified to read the Scriptures and *Book of Common Prayer* (supposed to have been that of the Church of Geneva), and who was commissioned to discharge this part of public worship in a parish not yet provided with a minister; but although he was encouraged to exercise his talents, so that in due time he might be qualified for a higher office in the church, he was not to administer the sacraments, or even to preach, until the church saw fit to ordain him. The same restraint was imposed upon him even in adding a few words of exposition or exhortation to the reading of Scripture—and the necessity of such a check was apparent not only from the temptations of such an office, but the frequency with which they were indulged. While this office might be called the lowest in the church, that of the superintendent was the highest. The office was designed for ministers pre-eminent in standing, influence, and attainments, and the person appointed to it, besides having the charge of a single congregation, was to over-

see the parishes of a whole district, planting churches where they were necessary and causing them to be supplied with a faithful and efficient ministry. For this purpose the kingdom was divided into ten provinces, although only five superintendents were appointed. The superintendent was to reside four months every year in his own particular parish. In his professional itinerancy he was not to remain more than twenty days in any place until he had gone over the whole of his charge. He was required to preach at least thrice a week both at home and in his periodical tours. In his visitations he was also to examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, the order maintained in their churches, and the manners of their parishioners; how the young were educated, the ignorant instructed, and the poor maintained; and besides this superintendence both of ministers and people, he was to note all heinous crimes throughout his diocese, sit in trial upon them, and exercise discipline upon the offenders. And should he be negligent in the discharge of these onerous duties he was subject not only to the censure of the General Assembly, to which he was obliged yearly to give an account of his administration, but even to the ministers and elders of his own province, by whose sentence he might be censured, suspended, or even deposed. The advocates of episcopacy have often endeavoured to identify the office of a Scottish superintendent with that of a bishop, forgetful of the responsibilities of the former, and the tribunal to which he was amenable. The office also, like that of the reader, was only temporary, and for an emergency which a few years were expected to cure, and accordingly, when the churches were fully provided with ministers, both offices were suffered to expire.

Having thus indicated the office-bearers of the church and their respective positions and duties, another head of the *Book of Discipline* is devoted to "the provision for ministers and the distribution of the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the church." The reformers, who in so many cases laboured unpaid and even unthanked, were yet aware that he who serves the altar should also live by the altar; but in the allotment for this purpose they contemplated nothing more than that golden mean which is specified in the prayer of Agur. The minister was neither to be harassed with the cares of poverty nor tempted to the wantonness or insolence of wealth. He was to have enough for the comfortable maintenance of a household, and his necessary expenditure in books, clothes, &c. Accordingly it was stated that every minister should have *at least* forty bolls of meal and twenty-six bolls of malt yearly to find his house in meat and drink, while more might be allowed at the discretion of the church to those whose charges were in towns and expensive localities. Out of this allowance of meal and malt it was expected that the minister should not only maintain a comfortable household, but exercise all the duties of hospitality. For his other expenses a stipend in money was also to be allowed, the modification of which was to be referred annually to the church court at the election of elders and deacons. From these sources the minister was not only to support his family, but reserve a provision for his wife and children; and as this could only be done imperfectly the case was recommended for further consideration. It was suggested that the sons of ministers should enjoy the freedom of the town nearest which their father had laboured, and that if they were found apt for learning they should have the privileges of schools and bursaries in the colleges; and if they had no such aptitude, that they should be apprenticed to some handicraft profession, or otherwise exercised in virtuous industry. At the same time it was recommended that some provision should be made for the daughters of ministers. Although these allotments designed for the clergy would have made them no better in worldly circumstances than their successors in Scotland at the present day—if even as well—the evil effects of poverty upon the clerical character and position, when every other but itself is rising in the scale of emolument, may speak with an impressive warning to the nineteenth century. After stating what provision ought to be made for the ministry the *Book of Discipline* adds: "And this, in God's presence we witness, we require not so much for ourselves, or for any that appertain to us, as that we do it for the increase of virtue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come. It is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himself and his children so to God and to his kirk that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we bear is provoked to follow virtue when it seeth profit and honour thereto annexed; and contrarily, then is virtue in many despised, when virtuous and godly men are without honour; and sorry should we be that poverty should discourage men from study, and following of the way of virtue by which they might edify the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus."

Having thus treated of the due sustentation of the ministers, that of the other clerical office-bearers is also distinctly specified. From his higher rank, and the necessity of a correspondent expenditure, the superintendent was to have assigned to him yearly 96 bolls of barley, 144 bolls of meal, and 48 bolls of oats, and also the sum of 600 merks, and this to be increased

or diminished at the discretion of the prince and council. This was much compared with the stipend of the other ministers, but not too much when his frequent change of residence and expense of travelling in an age when travelling was so costly are taken into account. The last for whom provision was to be made was the reader. If, besides reading the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Scriptures in public worship, he also taught the children of the parish, a salary of forty merks was to be assigned to him; and if after two years he was found capable of exhorting as well as reading, his salary might be raised to one hundred merks. But if after two years' trial he was found unable to exhort, he was to be removed.

But the important subject of the education of youth—the commencement *ab ovo*, on which the permanent reformation of the country was to be founded—occupied the chief attention of these far-seeing, high-hearted men, and accordingly this head occupies by far the largest space in the *Book of Discipline*. Every parish was to have a schoolmaster, and if its town was of any note he was to be qualified to teach grammar and the Latin tongue. It was also declared expedient that in every notable town, and especially in that where a superintendent resided, there should be a college where the arts might be taught — at least logic, rhetoric, and the learned languages — and taught by sufficient masters, for whom adequate salaries should be provided. At these colleges the children of the rich and middle classes of the country were to be educated at their own expense, and the children of the poor at the expense of the church; and these last were to be sought out and encouraged by the ministers, elders, and learned men in every town and examined quarterly as to what progress they were making. The full curriculum of these colleges for the students who attended it to the close was the following: two years were assigned for learning to read perfectly, to answer the Catechism, and acquire the elements of grammar, and four years more for the study of logic, rhetoric, and Greek. After completing this course the student, if he meant to adopt a learned profession, was to devote himself until he reached the age of twenty-four to the study of law, physics, or divinity, as he might best benefit the church or commonwealth. By this plan, while at the close of each course a superior and better educated kind of mechanics, tradesmen, citizens, and agriculturists would be produced as the bones and sinews of the commonwealth, an ample reversion would be left for those higher departments where learning and intellect were demanded. Then came the universities, of which these colleges were the preliminary trainers: they were to remain as before in St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, but with a fuller appointment of instructors and a more extended course of education. With three years of study at these universities an alumnus would be qualified to laureate as Master of Arts, and with five additional years of study he would be fitted for any of the learned professions. By the laws of these universities, and especially that of St. Andrews, no one was to be admitted to the study of medicine until his proficiency had been attested in dialectics, mathematics, and physics. Before he commenced the study of law he must have gone through a regular course of dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, and politics, and shown his proficiency especially in the last three of these departments. And before he entered the classes of divinity he had to present satisfactory testimonials of his progress in dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, the Hebrew tongue, and moral philosophy. From this enumeration it will be seen that while the curriculum for any of the liberal professions from first to last was neither short nor easy, the course of study which the church enjoined for its pastors was the longest and most laborious of all. But truly for a laity which was to be thus educated what less would have sufficed? Or what community will patiently submit to the instructions of a clergy no better taught than themselves?

In this brief notice we have only announced the chief points contemplated in this great scheme of national education. It was a mighty effort to emancipate a whole people from the death-sleep of centuries and prevent the possibility of its reaction or return; and in no case does John Knox appear to greater advantage than while he was battling and toiling to establish this "devout imagination," in spite of friend and foe. And had he succeeded what a breadth and stability of foundation would thus early have been laid for the most perfect structure of national education which the world had yet witnessed! Nor was the plan itself unreasonable, taking into account the rents of the proscribed bishoprics, which the reformers had been encouraged to regard as set aside for the public benefit, and from which ample funds could have been derived for this as well as their other patriotic undertakings. But the history of the disappointment and its causes we need not here repeat. The education of Scotland, like its independence, had battles to encounter and defeats to endure before it could reach the mark which had thus early been contemplated by the truest and best of its benefactors.

We now pass to a department of the Scottish Reformation in which the sympathy of the present day will be less general and cordial. As this age was so fruitful of offences, while the church itself was so strict and uncompromising, the chapter of "Ecclesiastical Discipline" is particularly searching and severe. All ranks in the state and all office-bearers in the church were to be as completely under its control and amenable to its inflictions as the common and ignoble, while the subjects of its exercise were all those faults which the civil authority did not punish. Here, however, the church failed to make a correct discrimination between its own boundaries and those of the civil government, so that while blasphemy, perjury, adultery, murder, and other capital offences were assigned to the secular tribunal, the church claimed to itself the right of punishing excess in eating or drinking, extravagance or unseemliness in apparel, fornication, oppression of the poor by unjust exactions, deceiving them in buying and selling by unjust weights and measures, indecent language, and licentious living. But this was not all. While the clergy disclaimed the power of the civil sword, they were too ready to invoke its exercise and direct its inflictions upon those whom the church had denounced. Hence their collisions with the law and state authorities, their frequent appeals to the magistrate for the correction of spiritual offences by civil punishments, that of death not excepted, as in the cases of Popery and witchcraft, and their lamentations over the remissness of the state when it refused compliance with their rigorous demands. All we can plead in their behalf is that it was that vehement rebound against the confirmed iniquity of ages which a reformation was certain to inspire; and that while it sought too much and too boldly, it thereby obtained a more perfect purification of the national sins than might have been effected by gentler supplications. It must also be allowed that if the church was severe in its discipline and strict in the punishment of offenders, it was only after gentler means had been tried and found unavailing. Where the slander was public and the offence either secret or not sufficiently proved, the impeached party was to be privately admonished to abstain from all appearance of the evil; and if he promised to do this and professed himself one who feared God and to be disinclined to offend his brethren, this secret admonition was reckoned punishment enough. But if the offender either despised this mild correction, or after promise of amendment persisted in his offence, he was to be admonished more formally by the ministers; and if after this he still continued obdurate and impenitent, the sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced upon him as the last and sole resource. And fearful was this sentence, by which he was cut off from the society of the faithful: none of them were to eat or drink with him, to buy or sell with him, to salute him or converse with him; and he was shut out from social intercourse except that of his wife and family, or of those who were under the same ban with himself. Still, however, the church did not lose sight of the outlawed wanderer; all diligence was to be used for his conversion and restoration to the fold; and on repenting of his sin and contumacy, and giving tokens of his contrition and submission, he was to be welcomed into the bosom of the church and his full absolution publicly proclaimed.

As the Scottish Church was not to be exclusively an ecclesiastical government, but one in which the people were to be fully represented, the lay element was mixed with the clerical under the title of elders and deacons, whose standing and duties in the church were specified in the *Book of Discipline*. Of these the most important were the elders, who were to be "men of best knowledge in God's Word and cleanest life; men faithful and of most honest conversation that could be found in the church." Their office was to assist the ministers in managing the public affairs of the church in its courts and general assemblies and to aid them in the spiritual superintendence of their parishes. But while they had an oversight of the people, they were also commissioned to exercise a similar vigilance over their pastor. They were to take heed of his manners, diligence, and studies. They were to admonish and correct him for negligence or for faults; and should he deserve it they were to proceed, with the neighbouring superintendent and ministers, to his deposition. The other lay rulers of the church, the deacons, were stewards of the secular concerns of the parish, whose office it was to receive the church rents and collect and distribute the voluntary contributions for the poor. They might also assist in the parochial meetings of the minister and elders, and officiate as readers if they were qualified for the duty. Both elders and deacons were to be irreproachable in their conduct, and if faulty their offences were to be visited with the same censures as the ministers. Their services also were to be wholly gratuitous, as their office would not withdraw them from their ordinary occupations; and to prevent them from abusing it they were to be elected only for the current year.

Another head, entitled "Of the Policy of the Kirk," chiefly relates to the conducting of divine service, which was comprised in two parts. The

first, which was declared essential for a visible church, consisted in the faithful preaching of the Word, the right administration of the sacraments, the instruction of the young and unlearned, and the correcting and reclaiming of the indifferent. The second, which was declared profitable but not necessary, was that psalms should be sung and portions of Scripture read when there was no sermon, and that for these purposes the congregation might assemble on certain days of the week; but in these matters every parish was left to legislate for itself. In every notable town it was recommended that there should be either sermon or the service of common prayer, with some reading of Scripture, every day; and it was required that one day in the week besides Sunday should be appointed for sermon and prayers, during which time of public worship no work should be done either by masters or servants. On Sunday during the forenoon the Word was to be preached, the sacraments administered, and marriages solemnized; and in the afternoon children were to be examined by the minister on the Catechism, which was published in the *Book of Common Order*, and during this process the minister was to explain to the congregation the questions proposed, with their answers and doctrines. Baptism was to be administered only on Sunday and in the church, or on the day of public prayers, but only after the sermon. For the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper four times in the year were thought sufficient, and that greater frequency might make it too common. It was also preceded by careful examination and instruction; and to prevent too indiscriminate admission every communicant was tried if he could repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments before he was received into membership. The elements of bread and wine were to be received by the communicants sitting, while the minister was to recite to them passages of Scripture illustrative of Christ's death and the benefits conferred by it. In the burial of the dead no religious ceremony was to be used or sermon preached, but the body was to be laid silently in the grave, and with such gravity and sobriety as might teach the company to fear God and to hate sin, which is the cause of death.

Besides the usual exercise of preaching, was that of prophesying, which formed a part of the weekly public worship, and for which rules were laid down in the *Book of Discipline*. It was directed that in every town where there were schools and resort of learned men, there should be a weekly meeting for prophesying, that is, for the interpretation of Scripture; and that at these meetings every member was to have the liberty to speak, to propose interpretations of hard passages, to suggest doubts, to solve difficulties; but all was to be done briefly, and without any form of preaching. In the regular order of this exercise a minister or man of learning was to select some portion or sentence of Scripture and comment upon it in a few words, closely adhering to the text; another was to add what the former might have omitted, confirm by additional illustrations what he had stated, or correct his mistakes; and a third speaker might supply what had been imperfectly treated by the other two. But it was judged that not more than three ought to join in the exercise, lest it should wander into speculation or controversy. The authority for the practice of this apostolic form of prophesying was grounded upon the following exhortation of St. Paul: "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints" (1 Cor. xiv. 29–34). The ministers of the neighbourhood were required to attend these meetings, and by their use, it was stated, "shall the kirk have knowledge and judgment of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their body; the simple and such as have somewhat profited shall be encouraged daily to study and proceed in knowledge; and the whole kirk shall be edified." These exercises of prophesying were so highly valued, that they were maintained at the meeting of presbyteries until near the middle of the eighteenth century.

In considering the polity of the Scottish Kirk and the ready unanimity with which it was framed, a question naturally occurs which as yet has never been satisfactorily solved—Why did the Scottish Reformation adopt the Presbyterian form of church government in preference to any other? The common way of accounting for the preference is that John Knox, having learned this form at Geneva, brought it with him to Scotland; and that as soon as he presented it to his countrymen, they adopted it without disputation or scruple. But when had the Scottish nation learned such passiveness? Or how were they likely to adopt it at a crisis when the struggle for religious independence was so ardent? So trivial a cause as the will of one man will scarcely account for this hearty concurrence with which Presbyterianism was adopted, and still less for the pertinacity with which it was maintained through every subsequent struggle. The true motive of this choice,

we think, may be found in the antecedent religious history of the nation at large. Strangely enough the element of Presbyterianism had imbued it from the days of Columba and Kentigern to the sixteenth century. To the manifestations of this tendency we can only briefly advert; but they are sufficient to show that even from the beginning Presbyterianism had been a predominant element in the Scottish Church, that it had resolved itself into one of the national characteristics, and that its full adoption at the commencement of the Reformation was nothing more than the result of a natural bias which ages of preparation had confirmed.

The history of St. Ninian, the first preacher of Christianity in Scotland whose name has come down to us, is so darkened by monkish legends, that we can form little conjecture either of his labours or their effects. After him a whole century elapses before the arrival of the illustrious Columba, with whom the authenticated history of the Scottish Church may be held properly to commence. His landing in Iona, A.D. 563, his successful mission both among the Scots and Picts, and the monastic establishments which he founded over the whole country, have been recorded in an earlier part of our history. But the subject to which we would chiefly call attention at present, is the ecclesiastical polity which he established for his followers, the Culdees. It was not only different from, but obviously opposed to, that of the Latin Church, so that, instead of recognizing a graduated order of clergy upon the monarchical form and principle, it regarded the whole priesthood as brethren possessed of equal authority. And this was especially the case in their acceptation of the terms Presbyter and Bishop. These they regarded as titles applicable to one and the same office, so that while in other Christian countries bishops were recognized as lords paramount of the church, among the Culdees they were regarded simply as presbyters, and received their appointment from presbyters. This we learn from Bede's account of the Culdees and their chief establishment in Iona. "It has for its ruler," he says, "an abbot, who is a presbyter, to whose direction all the province, and even the bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop but a presbyter or monk." Such, also, is the testimony of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, delivered in the following terms: "Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ. . . . Now, in Iona, there must ever be an abbot, and not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbot and not a bishop." Nor were such presbyter-made bishops confined to the obscurity of Scotland; in England also during the days of the Heptarchy Northumberland, Mercia, and Essex were supplied with these presbyter-appointed bishops from the Culdees of Iona. These facts, notwithstanding the attempts of episcopal writers to invalidate them, impart a decidedly presbyterian character to the early Church of Scotland. While in Italy, France, England, and other countries so great a difference had already been established between bishops and presbyters, the distinction was as utterly disregarded by the Culdees as if they had never heard of it; and although presbyters themselves, they appointed bishops both for Scotland and England, without regarding the office as higher than their own, and therefore beyond their power to bestow.

It was not merely in their ecclesiastical polity also that the Culdees thus widely differed from the Church of Rome. The same presbyterian simplicity that characterized the government of their church was conspicuous in their creed, their religious services, and their ecclesiastical institutions. Rejecting traditions, they would receive nothing as of divine authority but what was contained in the Scriptures. Discarding those artificial rites and imposing ceremonies by which the Latin Church imposed upon the senses of the rude communities and endeavoured to allure them into the fold of Christ, their churches were naked unadorned buildings, and their ritual equally simple and unostentatious. And while, in the other monastic institutions of Christendom which were multiplying in such abundance, the vow of celibacy was judged indispensable to a life of sanctity, and idleness necessary for meditation and devotion, the Culdee was not only free to marry, and permitted to live with his family, but required to benefit the community by the labour of his hands.

While they held such doctrines and illustrated them by such practices it was not wonderful that the followers of Columba were at length regarded with an evil eye. Although they had taken their stand upon the simplicity of the apostolic ages they had remained stationary while all was in movement around them; and being left so far behind in the march, Christendom looked back upon them with pity and contempt. But indignation quickly succeeded. These hirsute Christians were a blot upon the church, and must either be converted or exterminated. Such was the conclusion of the Latin hierarchy, now all-prevalent and everywhere obeyed; and having already succeeded in extinguishing the primitive British church in Wales, and that of Columba in England, they advanced the war into Scotland, where the heresy had its

chief seat and stronghold. And here, also, they were favoured by political advantages such as had promoted their success in the sister kingdom. The introduction of an Anglo-Saxon and Norman population into Scotland, the favour which the now predominant priesthood had obtained with Malcolm Canmore through his queen, and the labours of Margaret herself in reclaiming his simple illiterate people from what she accounted a pestilent heresy, gave the first decisive shock to that isolated Culdee Church, while subsequent events ensured its overthrow. The persistency of Canmore's successors to have a Christian church similar to that of other courts and kingdoms, the overwhelming influence of European example, and the new arts and refinements introduced in the train of the Latin Church, were too powerful for the helpless primitive Culdees. Their downfall, however, was a slow wasting process instead of one of violent extinction; they were gradually absorbed by the new church to which at first they had been peacefully united, and with which they had continued to labour in a very incongruous brotherhood. It was not, however, until about the beginning of the fourteenth century that as a distinctive body they entirely disappeared.

In this manner the Culdees silently passed away; but they had not lived in vain. They had wrought their work and maintained their ground long enough to imbue the nation with their own peculiar spirit, and even to stamp it upon the new church by which they were superseded. Notwithstanding the introduction of a Latin priesthood and foreign rites, the Culdees, who had monasteries over the whole kingdom, composed the bishop's chapter and possessed the power of electing him, and a compromise of the two parties was the natural consequence as soon as the innovation had commenced. Hence the strange Culdee tendencies by which the romanized church of Scotland was pervaded, and the anomalous position it still continued to occupy among the nations of Europe. It was republican, or we should rather call it presbyterian, in character and spirit; and its conclave of bishops were as careful to maintain the principle of purity among themselves as if they had been a session of modern presbyters. The change had been merely from a democracy to an oligarchy, for the church was a republic still. Bishops indeed, it had, but there was no ruling metropolitan over them. St. Andrews, it is true, obtained some reverence as the see of oldest creation, but its bishop was not recognized as a primate; and when any of the brethren in the prelacy held the leading in ecclesiastical affairs it appears to have been by the voluntary concession of the rest, and in consequence either of his superior character and talents, or his high political influence from his occupation of state offices. It was a presbyterian leadership that shifted from one to another according to the condition of the period. He who held it was but the accidental moderator of the time, and he enjoyed it only for a season or for life according to his opportunities of retaining it.

It might have happened, however, in the nature of things that these equalizing tendencies would have abated, or been subdued, as in all republics whether civil or ecclesiastical, and that some happy bishopric would ultimately have been established as lord of the ascendant. But, fortunately for the Presbyterianism of the Scottish Kirk, this hostility to the establishment of a monarchical power in its prelacy was intensified, deepened, and indurated by the usurping aggressions of England and Rome. Finding that Scotland had no ecclesiastical metropolitan, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury successively claimed that office for their respective sees, but were refused; and even when the pontiff himself interfered his interference was rejected by the Scottish Church. The details, however, of this singular controversy have been given in an earlier part of our history. But it was in this way, as we have seen, that the Scottish wars of national independence against England commenced not in the state but in the church, and long before the days of Edward I. These wars, when they afterwards assumed their secular character, redoubled this hostility to English archbishops, and made the Scots more tenacious of their episcopal parity by the addition of keen national patriotism to an ecclesiastical predilection; and under this fresh inspiration we have seen how boldly their bishops could beard the pope himself, when he attempted to tamper with the national independence in its political and ecclesiastical affairs. "No surrender," was alike the cry of mailed baron and mitred priest, and the defiance was flung at Plantagenets and pontiffs with equal heartiness and boldness. Never even in the days of James VI. was the Scottish Church more antimonarchical and independent. To defy the assumptions of the king was much, but to defy the infallibility of the pope was bolder still.

This strange republican warfare of the Scottish Church behoved to have an end at last. The whole world was against it, and submission or annihilation was the only alternative. It did submit accordingly; but it was not till 1472 that it succumbed. It was then only that an archbishop was first imposed upon Scotland, and this chiefly to silence the demand of the Archbishop of York, who still continued his claim upon that kingdom as part of his see—and to

this appointment the Scottish bishops reluctantly assented as the only means of saving their church from the domination of an English primate. The appointment was made by Pope Sixtus IV. in favour of Patrick Graham; but, as we have already stated in a former portion of our history, Graham, instead of being admitted into his archbishopric of St. Andrews, died a broken-hearted prisoner at Lochleven, and was succeeded in this earliest Scottish primacy by the infamous William Shevez. But after this innovation it was not long that the prelates would be satisfied with a single archbishopric; a spirit of emulation was created by the appointment, so that more than one superior was needed in the church either to satisfy the ambitious craving or reduce the imparity; and Robert Blackadder, Bishop of Glasgow, contrived to have his see erected into an archbishopric about A.D. 1490. But while he of St. Andrews was indignant at this intrusion, and giving battle upon his claim of precedency, events were at hand which made both the one and the other appointment of little worth. Even already the Reformation had commenced, and was sounding its first note of entrance. In 1494 not less than thirty heretics, commonly called the Lollards of Kyle, were tried before the king for heresy at the instance of Blackadder, and dismissed unpunished. The monarchical principle had been superinduced upon the republican, but too late to be availing; the tide was advancing before which in a few years the whole order of the hierarchy was to be swept away, and the republican spirit of the church restored to its full ascendency. In such a case it was natural that it should revert to its simplest type, and accordingly the democratic form was chosen in preference to the aristocratic or oligarchic model. The Presbyterian spirit had been retained amidst every change, and in a reformation accomplished by the people themselves this popular form obtained a natural preference.

Notwithstanding this devotedness to Presbyterian parity and resolute antagonism to Episcopal rule, our earliest reformers were at first compelled to tolerate somewhat of the form at least of that ecclesiastical dominion, the spirit of which they so resolutely opposed. But this was an involuntary and unwelcome toleration, and its cause is to be found in the wants and necessities of the Reformation itself. In Scotland that event did not originate in years of preparation succeeded by years of conflict. Instead of being the triumph of a long-continued war it was the result of a great popular onslaught, in which the church of centuries was swept away at once as by a whirlwind. The work of reconstruction, for which no preparation had been made, behoved to be as prompt as that of the demolition; but when this needful work was commenced the necessary materials had to be found or fashioned as they best might. A striking proof of this was given in the first general assembly, which was held in 1560, and where not more than twelve, or, from other accounts, six ministers were present—a scanty representation of a national church that had won, and meant to maintain its ascendency. In such a scarcity it was in several cases found needful that one minister, instead of being confined to a single charge, should have the oversight of a whole county, preaching from place to place, training a ministry for newly-created charges, inducting them into office, and keeping them to their duty; and hence the appointment of visitors and superintendents to whom these important duties were consigned. Of these superior office-bearers some were bishops of the old church who had joined the Reformation; others were ordinary pastors, but recommended to the office by their superior character, influence, and attainments. But this institution was regarded as only temporary, and it was to cease with the necessity in which it originated. In the meantime there was no superior standing allowed to it beyond that of the other ministers: they held their office from the general assembly by which they were appointed, the form of their admission did not differ from that of ordinary ministers; they were obliged at each meeting to give an account of their stewardship; and for negligence or perversion of duty they might be censured, suspended, or deposed by the same high ecclesiastical court that had appointed them.

But the title of Bishop still enjoyed by those who were now discharging the offices of reformed ministers—there lay the difficulty with which the new church was troubled. There is something in a mere name; when it has gathered to itself a time-honoured prestige it becomes a solid reality; and in the new, naked, republican Church of Scotland the title of "lordship" had a perturbing effect upon the equilibrium of Presbyterian parity. But still worse than the title was the fact that these bishops, in consequence of their conformity to the change, were allowed to retain their lordly benefices, by which they could eclipse their less privileged brethren; and while such was the case it was of little use to allege that "the name of a Bishop, Superintendent, and Pastor be in effect all one thing." So it was felt by the church; and in the proceedings of the earliest general assemblies we find an earnest striving to reduce these prelates to the strict Presbyterian level. The title was given with a qualification; and in 1562

Alexander Gordon was specified in the general assembly as "the commonly called Bishop of Galloway." His request for a superintendentship was refused, and he was required, before he left the assembly, to subscribe to the *Book of Discipline*. It was also ordained that all ministers who had not entered their charges according to the order appointed by the *Book of Discipline* should be inhibited, "and this act to have strength as well against those who are called bishops as others." Many acts continued to be made against the corruptions in the lives of bishops, because several of them were guilty of committing heinous and great offences; and in consequence of the penalties which were inflicted several of these Presbyterian prelates refused to attend the general assemblies until they were compelled by the threat of excommunication. The assembly also prohibited them, while they were granting leases upon church lands or other property, to style themselves "Right Reverend Father in God," as a title not belonging to a minister of Christ nor to be found in the Scriptures. This war against the bishops continued until the close of the present period, and in many cases was prosecuted with the rancour of a religious feud. It was in 1573 that the heaviest blow was dealt against the order. By two or three acts of the assembly they were required to amend their vicious practices and desist from the annoyances they had offered to the church courts. It was decreed that their ecclesiastical jurisdiction should not exceed that of the superintendents; that they should submit like the latter to the discipline of the general assembly; and that no bishop was to give collation to a benefice within the bounds of a superintendent without his consent and under his subscription. It was, moreover, decreed that "as there is great corruption in the estate of bishops as they are presently in this realm," the kirk should provide what remedy it could, for which purpose no new bishops were to be elected before the next general assembly, and all ministers and chapters were in the meantime prohibited from making any such election, under the penalty of perpetual deprivation of office. In a following assembly this prohibition was extended to all future time, by which measure it was doubtless expected that the office of a bishop would die a natural death.[1] But these were nothing more than the light skirmishes which precede the battles of a momentous campaign, the events and result of which will be detailed in the succeeding periods of our history.

[1] Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 20–23; Calderwood.

Mention has been made of the small number of ministers who could be collected to form the first general assembly. This, however, was of inferior moment, as the Scottish Church was not to be exclusively an ecclesiastical government. The people were to have their full share in its administration; and accordingly the handful of clergymen who sat at its first meeting were associated with thirty laymen, who under the title of ruling elders possessed a vote in all its proceedings. This introduction of the lay element was also extended over all the inferior church courts—synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions—so that every Christian individual, however humble, had a voice in the church and an individual interest in its proceedings, through his lay representative as well as through his minister whom his suffrage had called into office. No plan more complete could have been devised to make the church a catholic and national one, instead of a mere instrument of the state or of a faction; and when it was at any time reduced to this latter condition the change was a monstrous, unnatural usurpation which the people resented, and for which the laws of the church itself provided an effectual cure. It needed no prophet's vision, therefore, to foresee how such a plan would endear his kirk to the Scot; how conversant he would become with its details both of polity and doctrine; and how well it would be guarded by that strong, independent nationality which had maintained itself against every opponent. It would have been well for the Stuarts had they paused and calculated upon this before they provoked a conflict with that lowly kirk which ended so disastrously for themselves.

The same diffused vitality which made the Scottish Church so vigorous over its whole extent, and so fitted for self-defence against its strongest assailants, was also the best adapted for the maintenance of its internal unity and the suppression of those internal divisions to which every church is subject. No vice could be openly practised nor error in doctrine propounded, whether by minister or layman, without coming under the cognizance of his own kirk-session; and in this little ecclesiastical court of the parish warning or censure could be administered and discipline exercised to meet the first outbreak of the offender and stifle the offence in its birth. Ascending in the scale of prevention and cure was the presbytery, usually held in the principal towns, to which the ministers of the town and surrounding district repaired, each accompanied by a lay elder. This court assembled weekly and commenced its sitting with devotional exercises, in which one minister expounded a portion of Scripture, an-

other followed with doctrines and uses derived from the text, after which one, two, or more ministers, speaking briefly in turn, suggested such doctrines, observations, or uses as occurred to them—called "The Exercise of Prophesying," and sometimes "The Exercise of the Ministers." The devotional services being ended, the members proceeded to their offices as a church court and took trial of the cases that had occurred within their bounds. Higher than these were the provincial assemblies, better known to us by the name of synods, which met twice yearly in April and October, and which were composed of all the ministers of the province or county and their commissioners or ruling elders. And highest of all was the general assembly, the great parliament of the church, composed of the delegated ministers and elders of every presbytery in the kingdom, which at first met twice a year, and sometimes oftener, *pro re natâ*, when an emergency had occurred; and as this was the most important of all the church courts and legislated in affairs that concerned the welfare of the whole realm, the sovereign was expected to attend it either personally or by delegate. From this ultimate court there was no appeal; and although important questions brought before it might be procrastinated from one assembly to another, it was there that they were finally settled and passed into a statute. As the moderator of a church court also held for the time being that alarming pre-eminence which his office required, and might have grown into something too episcopal to be safe, due care was taken that his occupation should be only temporary; and for this purpose the moderators both of presbyteries and synods were chosen out of a leet of ministers twice a year, while at every general assembly a new moderator was chosen.[1] In a government thus constituted, of which every man was a vital portion, none could offend or be offended without notice, and every trespass, whether in faith or practice, could arrest attention and call forth the appointed remedy. Hence it was that while in England diversities in opinion and the commencement of sectarianism began with the Reformation itself, the Scottish Church was one and indivisible until the beginning of the last century. It was this harmony of opinion which excited the wonder of an English divine, who inquired of James VI. the cause of this happy exemption from heretical opinions and divisions with which the church of his own country was so troubled. "I will tell you how it is," replied the king; "if heresy spring up in a parish there is an eldership to take notice of it and suppress it; if it be too strong for them the presbytery is ready to crush it. If the presbytery cannot provide against the obstinate, in the synod he shall find more witty heads; if he cannot be convinced there, the general assembly will not spare him."[2] It was one of those wise, sagacious sayings to which the doings of James were a perpetual contradiction.

In the first proceedings of the Scottish Reformation we are continually encountered by the Old Testament spirit with which it was animated. Churches and monasteries were thrown down as if they had been the temples of Baal and Moloch. Popery was idolatry, of which the meanest relic was accursed, and the Papist was a Canaanite whom it was dangerous to spare. Kings and queens were only worthy of obedience by being the nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the church; and when they abandoned that character or became persecutors of the truth, they might justly be deposed and set aside. In like manner all rulers, judges, and magistrates were but office-bearers in the theocracy, and their authority was given them for the support of the divine law and punishment of its violators. And where was the accredited exposition of this law to be found but in the church, expressing itself by its appointed organs, the ministers? The Word of God was infallible, and the clergy were its legitimate expounders. But this strong outburst of the early Jewish Church, which sufficed to strike Popery to the dust, was insufficient for the restoration of the Jewish theocracy in Scotland, and John Knox and his brethren quickly found that the sons of Zeruiah were too hard for them. A wholly new state of life and society—a correspondent polity that knew nothing of ancient Israelitish governments—the science of modern statesmanship still young, self-sufficient, and overbearing—the pride, the ambition, and selfishness of a rude aristocracy, and the general corruptions of the people at large whom the vices of a decaying church had blinded and brutified—all presented such a front as made advance in this direction every moment more difficult. Enough had been done; the land was bestrewn with the fragments of a mighty ecclesiastical empire which had ruled for ages and lasted its day; and was all this done only for the building up of "a devout imagination?" But although from every point this tendency of the new church was resisted, its clergy still endeavoured to make their assumptions good. Their beloved theocracy was a high conscientious principle: it was their element of spiritual patriotism in which they lived and moved; it

[1] Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 53, 54.

[2] Calderwood, fol. ed., 1704, Preface, p. 4.

was the shadow of good things to come, and the type of that future kingdom reserved for them beyond the heavens; and thus believing, they felt that without its establishment their country could not be purified from its evils and made that little heaven upon earth into which they fondly hoped to elevate it. Hence the conscientious struggle which they maintained against a government that opposed them, and their denunciations of political expediency as a truckling to the powers of darkness and trusting in an arm of flesh. Hence the confidence with which they invoked rulers and magistrates to execute the death-laws of the Old Testament upon convicted sinners, and their indignation at every shortcoming or compromise with the enemy; and hence also the boldness with which they assumed the authoritative language of the prophets of old in rebuking the remissness and denouncing the crimes of their governors. The example of the heaven-commissioned seers of Israel was their rule: of these sacred persons they were the appointed successors; and in the hour of trial the same illumination would be vouchsafed to them which had directed the warnings of Elijah and Isaiah. Not confining themselves, therefore, to the general rebukes with which the Old Testament prophets denounced general and national trespasses, they in several instances condemned particular deeds of evil and foretold the fate of their individual actors. There were more of these early ministers than John Knox who assumed that higher part of the prophetic office and hazarded their credit upon some decisive and specific prediction, believing the while that not one of their words would fail of its accomplishment. But were the Scottish clergy singular in this theocratic tendency, and the means by which they sought to establish it? It was, in fact, the spirit of the Reformation at large, which in questions of more than the conduct of individuals—questions that concerned the duty of kings and the right rule of kingdoms—could only in an age so early and a change so stupendous be solved by a reference to the Old Testament examples. And as such authority was especially congenial to the stern, resolute character and fervid imagination of the Scottish mind, and was afterwards kept in full heat by a century and a half of contradiction and persecution, it was in our country that it blazed the fiercest and abode the longest.

When the Reformation had successfully fought its battle in Scotland, and secured recognition of the state to its claim as the established religion of the kingdom, it resolutely advanced to the task it had contemplated even when its prospects were at the worst. These were that Popery should be extirpated and its adherents converted or suppressed; that out of the ecclesiastical lands and revenues new churches should be built and a national clergy supported; and that from the same source colleges and schools should be erected and endowed, and a sufficient fund laid aside for the maintenance of the poor. In another part of this history we have narrated the persistency with which these attempts were made, and the selfishness by which they were defeated. Baffled in their endeavours by the selfishness of the aristocracy and the intrigues of politicians, the church endeavoured with its own scanty resources to complete the work of a national reformation by providing for the destitute, instructing the ignorant, and correcting and reforming the vicious. As they found that the enriching showers which they had anticipated were not to descend upon the soil, a scanty artificial process of irrigation must be adopted in their stead. The ministers accordingly commenced the process upon themselves and those who were to enter into their room. For this purpose every clergyman was to be strictly tried in doctrine, life, and conversation, so that no one unfit or unworthy should enter the holy office, or having entered, should be suffered to abide in it. At each inspection of the visitors and superintendents an account was to be taken not merely of the ministrations of the incumbent but what books he possessed, and how he had profited in reading and study. The schools and colleges were also to be provided with learned and careful teachers for the godly upbringing of the young at large, and for the special rearing of an effective ministry. Having thus prepared for the training of their own order, their next task was to reform the lives of the laity; and here the difficulties were overwhelming. Not only was Popery to be suppressed, but all its merry sports, holidays, and poetical superstitions, which had entwined themselves with the national everyday life, were to be extirpated. Not only were the usually proscribed civil offences to be punished, but all the sins prohibited by the divine law were to be visited both with civil and ecclesiastical penalties. A people who had been permitted to run riot in vice, and who were so difficult to be restrained and governed, were to be arrested in mid career and turned against the bent into an opposite course of action. Truly it was marvellous that in the course of a century so much of this should have been accomplished and such a new character stamped upon the people at large!

In the *Book of Universal Church* and the enactments of general assemblies we have a full specification of the prevalent offences and the penal-

ties with which they were visited. But leaving this very ample ecclesiastical code, we turn to the kirk-session of Aberdeen, which met in 1562, and where provost and magistrates, minister, elders, and deacons met together for the enactment of these new laws for their own district, under which justice, according to the reformation principles, was thenceforth to be administered. It is the more important also as it gives a distinct picture of the new rules to be imposed upon all the principal towns and municipalities of Scotland. The Aberdeen session introduces its decrees with a proclamation that all persons within the town are to give attendance and good ear to them, "for they are," it adds, "and shall be agreeable and consonant to the commandments of God, upon the which all acts and statutes ought and should be grounded, albeit they shall differ in the punishment, for it pertains to the prince to punish with death." Of the decrees themselves, which follow in the order of the Decalogue, the following is a brief abstract:—

Whoever should hold, teach, or affirm that any creature in heaven or in earth should be called upon, prayed to, besought for help, succour, or the remission of sin, and persisted in the same, was to be excluded from the society of the faithful and excommunicated; and those of the congregation who associated with him, except for the purpose of bringing him back to the truth, were to ask forgiveness of God and the congregation openly in time of divine service; and if sufficient in worldly means, were to pay twenty shillings to the use of the poor for the first offence, forty shillings for the second, and undergo excommunication for the third.

Every kind of oath, except at the requirement of the magistrate and for the purposes of justice, was proclaimed unlawful. When the crime of swearing was committed in a house the offender, if he had means, was to be fined in a hardhead [three-halfpence], while children or servants were to be punished with a palm [stripe] upon the hand; and those who so offended in the market-gate, streets, or highway, were to pay twelvepence for each fault, and if poor, were to be punished with the cuck-stool or goffs. Habitual and open blasphemers of the name of God were also to be exposed three several times upon the cuck-stool, with a paper crown on their heads containing a notice of their offence, and if they persisted in offending were to be banished from the town. Also all who used obscene language at table were to be visited with the same penalties as those for swearing and banning.

In the observance of the Sabbath all craftsmen and labourers, and all others within the town, were to desist and cease from every kind of labour during the time of public worship under the penalty of two shillings; and all servants were to attend the public morning prayers at least every alternate Sunday, and also the preaching, if their masters and mistresses gave them permission. An elder or deacon absenting himself from the weekly prayers and sermons, and the public worship on Sunday, having health of body, and not being absent from the town, was for every such omission to be fined in ten shillings; and whatever other "honest persons" of the town were absent from the public worship on Sundays, were to be fined in sixpence. These as well as the other forfeits were to be devoted to the poor.

In the offences against the second table of the divine law the first specified is disobedience to parents. In the statute on this head enacted by the kirk-session it is announced that not only fathers and mothers are to be honoured, but all princes, magistrates, and rulers, who are the parents of the commonwealth. It was ordained that all persons who allowed their father or mother to go a-begging, or to lack due sustenance, should be admonished by the minister and kirk-session to support them, and if they refused they were to be excommunicated. Any person, also, who dishonoured the provost, bailie, magistrate, minister, or elder by disobeying and opposing their just and lawful ordinances and statutes, was to be fined for the first and second offences in sums not specified, and for the third was to be excommunicated, while poor offenders were to be punished in the first instance by the cuck-stool, in the second by excommunication, and in the third by expulsion from the town.

For the prevention of injurious and evil speaking, which was declared to be an inlet to the crime of murder, it was decreed that whoever traduced his neighbour by infamous and hateful words was, after due accusation, trial, and conviction, to pay forty shillings for the first offence, and greater sums rising in proportion for the second and third; and if the offender was poor and of low degree he was to ask forgiveness before the congregation and the party offended, and say to his unruly member, "Tongue, you lee'd" for the first offence, to endure the cuck-stool for the second, and banishment from the town for the third.

From the speciality with which the offences against the seventh commandment are mentioned, and the severe punishments denounced against them, we can easily find, if any other proof were wanting, that the violation of this commandment was the besetting sin of Scotland. It is announced in the first place that all adultery and fornication is punishable with death; and that it was owing to the remissness of Christian

princes that this divine law was not carried into effect. What, however, could be done by inferior authority, the kirk-session of Aberdeen was determined to do. Accordingly the bordels were ordered to be shut up, their inmates banished, and all pandars and procuresses to be sent after them. All who were notorious for the breach of the seventh commandment by simple fornication were for successive trespasses to be exposed before the congregation, ducked, and banished, while those guilty of the more flagrant crime of adultery were also to be banished, after being ignominiously carted through the town—the session regretting the while that it could only purge the town of such rotten members, without inflicting on them the enjoined punishment of death. Also all who were suspected of committing the crime were to be warned and admonished by the minister and elders to part company with their alleged accomplices in guilt, and should they refuse, were to be reputed and punished as guilty. Every kind of handfast marriage, by which a couple cohabited under an engagement to ratify their union at some future period, was strictly forbidden; persons living in this state were ordered forthwith to implement their engagement under heavy penalties; and no children born out of wedlock were to be baptized until their parents had made open repentance in the church. If the civil power was remiss in visiting such offences with capital punishment there was no remissness in those secondary punishments with which it tried to abate them. Aiding, or at least yielding to the ardent zeal of the reforming clergy, it was decreed by the parliament and regent, that for the first offence those guilty of fornication should forfeit, each of the pair, the sum of forty pounds; and if unable to pay the fine they were to be imprisoned eight days, fed on bread and water, and then brought out to the market-place, chained to it, and exposed for two hours at noon, when the concourse was at the greatest. If they again offended the penalty was to be raised to a hundred merks, or a double term of imprisonment, and the ignominy of shaving their heads added to that of public exposure in the market-place. But if they repeated their trespass a third time they were either to be mulcted in the sum of one hundred pounds a-piece or subjected to twenty-four days of imprisonment and fasting, and afterwards ducked three times in the filthiest puddle that could be found, and then banished. But even sterner inflictions had soon to be added to all these fines, imprisonments, fasting, ducking, shaving, banishing; and when the desire of a good name and the dread of public disgrace became more sensitive the public exposure was made more revolting and severe. For the violators of the seventh statute of the decalogue, the stool or pillar of repentance was set up in the most conspicuous part of the church, the offenders were exposed upon it barefooted and in sackcloth, and more than one or two such exposures had to be undergone before they were thought worthy to be received back into the fold of the faithful. Could it be that such severity only defeated its own purpose and increased the evil which it tried to cure? At all events it is certain, that the session records of every parish after this period revealed the wide extent of the crime and the obstinacy with which it resisted every mode of punishment.

To suppress the crime of theft the civil statutes were so numerous, that in this respect the church had little to do. In the enactment of the kirk-session of Aberdeen on this head not only was the punishment enforced, but the temptations to the offence diminished. All sturdy beggars, pickers, and pillagers were ordered off the town, and all who harboured them were liable to certain penalties. A list was to be drawn up of all the poor who were born within the town or parish, and while provision was to be made for them out of civic allowances, fines, and church contributions, all paupers were prohibited from begging publicly in the streets and at the kirk door.

All slander, railing, and backbiting, which comprehended the sin of bearing false witness, were to be expiated in their religious character by the humiliation of the culprit, who was compelled to ask forgiveness of the offended party in open congregation; for the repetition of his fault he was to mount the cuck-stool, and accuse himself with "Tongue, you lee'd;" and for the third he was to be banished from the town. "All common scolds flyters and *bards*" were also to be banished, whatever intercession might be made in their behalf. Thus, while modern poetry was bursting into birth, the old school of minstrels and minne-singers had degenerated into a gang of deboshed strollers, whose rhymes and practices were equally obnoxious to a decent orderly community. Whosoever accused any member of the congregation behind his back, and could not make his charge good, was to endure the same punishment which his charge, if true, would have entailed on his victim. Any one who mocked, scorned, or derided the preaching of the Word, the preachers, elders, and deacons, their decrees and constitutions, or instigated the simple and ignorant to disobey good order and rule, and to absent themselves from the public prayers and preaching, were to be punished according to the order of other reformed towns. All night-walkers, common gamblers with dice and cards, and drunkards were

in the first instance to be privately admonished, and if they persevered in their offences to be rebuked from the pulpit; and if after this they still continued impenitent they were to be excommunicated. As such dissolute characters having no trade or visible means of living had resorted to Aberdeen, to the great injury of public morality, they were to be strictly examined and sent out of the town under pain of burning in the cheek if they returned. All who harboured such persons were also to notify their arrival to the town-council under the penalty of a whole day's sitting on the cuck-stool; and should they reset such persons more than twenty-four hours they were to be banished from the town during the pleasure of the session. For the government of the tongue two other restrictions were imposed, which are worthy of note. The first was, that "no disputation nor reasoning of the Scriptures should be at dinner or supper, or open table, wherethrough," it adds, "arises great contention and debate;" and that "no flyting nor chiding be at time of meat under the pain of two shillings to the poor." By this enactment, while the reading of the Scriptures formed an important part of domestic and social everyday life, the controversial rancour to which such a duty might have been perverted was strictly discountenanced. The other restriction was upon the pulpit itself. No preacher "was to publish or speak of any special matter to the rebuking of any notable or particular person without the advice and consent of the assembly," that is to say, of the session now legislating, and should he disobey this prohibition he was to underlie the correction of the assembly.[1]

From these rules drawn up by the kirk in Aberdeen so early as the year 1562 we have a clear knowledge of the religious polity established for towns and communities at the commencement of the Reformation; and strict though they were, we find from the records of the session that they were not allowed to remain a dead letter. Indeed nothing short of such severity that would now be accounted tyrannical and intolerable, was needed to encounter the national vices and impress a new moral character upon the people. But was it not strange that such a community should have endured it? One of the anomalies of our Scottish history is, that a proud, high-spirited people, retaining their independence unbroken, should so soon have learned to endure such laws, and love a church that so rigidly enforced them; and that even with growing intelligence their affection should only have become more intense, and their obedience more confirmed.

[1] Spalding Club Publications; *Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, pp. 3–11.

As if to moderate the triumph of the Scottish Reformation and teach its ministers humility and circumspection, two events occurred that would have exercised a destructive influence upon any meaner cause. The first of these was the case of Paul Methven. This man, originally a baker in the town of Dundee, had embraced the good cause when its adoption was anything but profitable or safe; he became a bold and esteemed teacher in the community when they had to assemble in little conventicles; and when the indignation of Mary of Guise was excited against the preachers of the new doctrines he appears to have been honoured with the principal share of her resentment. In consequence of his zeal, talents, and services in the good cause Paul Methven, as soon as the infant church was constituted, was appointed minister of Jedburgh. But he had occupied this charge little more than a year when strange rumours were circulated of his character and proceedings, in consequence of which John Knox was commissioned by his brethren to repair to Jedburgh and make inquiry upon the spot. And these scandals were but too well verified; Methven had been guilty of adultery, and on the deed being discovered had left the town. But he was not to be thus allowed to slip into obscurity; the facts were laid before the general assembly, by whom he was summoned to answer the charge, and in consequence of his non-appearance he was solemnly excommunicated. He fled to England and applied by petition to be restored to the church and his ministry, but was answered that the assembly would not delete his trial from their records, nor yet admit him as a minister in Scotland, until his offence was buried in oblivion and some congregation applied for his pastoral services. Sternly just was that discipline which, even in the case of such a minister, would neither cloak his offence nor yet absolve him without public trial and punishment. He submitted, and after two years of exile made his appearance before the general assembly, prostrated himself on the ground before them, and implored them with cries and tears to receive him back as a poor sheep into the bosom of the church. He was ordered to retire until his petition was considered; and although his readmission into Christian communion could not be refused, it was not to be granted without public repentance and satisfaction. An examination was to be held of his conduct while in England to test the sincerity of his repentance and worthiness to be restored. He was then to come to the door of the city church during the two preaching week-days at the ringing of the bell, clothed in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted, and there remain till he was brought in to the sermon,

and set in the "place of public spectacle above the people." After these two days of painful exposure he was to return on the following Sabbath in the same fashion; and after expressing his repentance before the congregation and asking their forgiveness, he was to be clothed in his own apparel and received as a member of the church. But this was not the worst. He was to undergo the same penance in Dundee, where his early exertions in the cause of the Reformation had been so distinguished, and in Jedburgh, of which town he had been the minister. Even then, moreover, he was not to be restored to office as a clergyman, or even to the sacramental table as a communicant, until the end of the year, when the assembly should be satisfied of his conversation and behaviour during the interval that was to elapse. After this we hear no more of Paul Methven.

Another case, which occurred a few years afterwards, was a tragedy of such domestic horror as would have perplexed a modern jury, and made them bring in a verdict of insanity in favour of the culprit. But our ancestors understood no such lenity, and the monstrous atrocity of a crime, instead of exciting their sympathy, only deepened their abhorrence and sharpened their eagerness to punish. The event to which we allude was as follows:—

John Kello, minister of Spott, having a little money laid it out at interest, and, encouraged by its returns, he proceeded to speculate more largely, but failed. Finding himself in debt, and suffering like the other ministers under a miserably inadequate stipend, the demon of avarice to which he had given entrance began to whisper to him that if he were but single he could the more easily maintain himself, or even contract a profitable second marriage, and clear himself of those pecuniary obligations which, it appears, he had contracted in a way that would scarcely stand inspection. He yielded to the tempter, and resolved to rid himself by foul means of his wife. To disarm all suspicion he made his will, in which he bequeathed to her the entire management of his property and children, and afterwards caused a report to be spread that she was labouring under a deep melancholy, to give colour to the notion that she might possibly commit the crime of suicide. Having thus prepared the way for his infamous design, he executed it in the same spirit of hypocrisy and cunning. He strangled her in her own apartment, unmoved by the most pathetic of appeals; for, as he confessed, "in the very death she could not believe I bare her any evil will, but was glad, as she then said, to depart, if her death could do me either advantage or pleasure." The day he selected was one of ministerial duty, and after leaving the keys in the house, and stealing out by a back door of his study, which was seldom opened, he repaired to the church, where he preached and conducted the public worship with a brow as calm as if he had come from his private devotions. In returning home he brought some of his friends with him to visit his wife; and on finding the main door shut he conducted them by a back passage, which, when they entered, they found the body of the woman hanging from a beam in the roof! What else could be thought than that her deep dejection had come to this, and that she had selected the time when her husband was absent and there were none to interrupt her? Their chief care now was to console the distracted husband, who, to support the imposture, raved against heaven itself, and even denied the existence of a God who could suffer such an innocent creature as his wife to yield to the temptation of suicide.

But though John Kello, whose character was high in the parish, and whose practices were unimpeached, could at first escape suspicion, his impunity was not to continue. His conscience at times almost stifled him, and to give it vent he would sometimes indulge in strange utterances which, though not confessions, were like accents of guilt and contrition. His friends appear to have been alarmed at these tokens of a secret burden; and one of them, Mr. Andrew Simson, minister of Dunbar, after a conversation of this kind, made to him the following searching and terrible appeal: "Brother, I do remember, when I visited you in time of sickness, you did open to me this vision—that you were carried by a grim man before the face of a terrible judge, and to escape his fury you did precipitate yourself into a deep river. When his angels and messengers did follow you with two-edged swords, and ever when they struck at you, you did decline and jowk in the water, till, in the end, by a way unknown to you, you did escape. This vision I do thus interpret—that you are the author yourself of this cruel murder then conceived in your heart, and are carried before the terrible judgments of God in your own conscience, which now standeth in God's presence to accuse you. The messenger of God is the justice of the country before which you shall be presented. The water wherein you stood is that vain hypocrisy of your own, and feigned blasphemy of God's name, whereby you purpose to colour your impiety. Your deliverance shall be spiritual; for albeit you have otherwise deserved, yet God shall pull you forth of the bands of Satan, and cause you confess your offence, to his glory and the confusion of the enemy. Neither do you in

any way distrust God's promises; for you shall find almost no sin committed by the reprobate, but you shall find the children of God to be fallen into the like. And yet, the same mercies of God abide you, if from your heart you acknowledge your offence and desire pardon from God."

This dreadful charge was enough to rouse and dismay the culprit; his guilt was known, and that, too, from his own inconsiderate revelations. His better feelings of former days regained the ascendency; and he resolved to surrender himself to justice, and by an open confession make what atonement he could to the laws he had violated and the sacred office he had dishonoured. His friends remonstrated, and counselled flight rather than exposure; but declaring that he would rather glorify God by his death than live a shame to religion, he deliberately went to Edinburgh, surrendered himself to trial for murder, and emitted a statement of his crime with all its revolting particulars. He was of course condemned to die, and when brought upon the scaffold his confession, which he repeated, was so self-abasing, and his penitence so deep and fervent, that all the spectators were moved to tears.[1]

With the exception of these two cases of Methven and Kello, there were no instances that impinged upon the clerical character of the Scottish Reformation. In either case there was a shock to the popular faith, but only for a moment; the penitence of the culprits, and the readiness of the church to denounce and punish them, only brought out in stronger relief the sincerity of their clerical teachers and the purity of their cause.

Into the history of the church after its establishment it is unnecessary to enter, as this has already been done in our record of the civil rule of Mary of Guise, Mary Stuart, and the Regent Moray.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF SOCIETY (1542–1569).

Defective knowledge of the agriculture and commerce of the period—Few particulars announced of Scottish commerce—Indications of its condition—Laws for its just administration—Commencement of a middle class—Democratic spirit of the burghs—Exhibition of it in Fife—Independent spirit of the citizens of Edinburgh—Destruction of the city by the English—Its speedy restoration—Regulations for the cleanliness and safety of the streets—Regulation for the suppression of street riots—Regulations of the markets—Riots of the Papists against the Reformation—Attempt to produce an affray in St. Giles's Church—New laws of the Reformation against the prevalent vices—Impatience of the citizens of Edinburgh under these restrictions—Perseverance of the magistrates in enforcing them—A revolt of prentices—Riot in Edinburgh at the prohibition of the play of Robin Hood—Rebellious spirit of the tradesmen at the check—They oblige the magistrates to yield—The democratic spirit of the city confirmed by the treatment of the court—Invasions of civic rights and privileges—Feud of Edinburgh against Leith—Mode of its gratification—Wars of the period—Weapons—Improvements in the use of artillery—Preparations to resist an invasion of the English—The war beacons of Scotland and their regulations—Modes of Scottish warfare during Somerset's invasion—The slight resistance offered by the castles—The Scottish encampment at Pinkie—The weapons of the soldiers—Their favourite phalanx—Scottish warfare while the French troops were in Scotland—The Highlanders and Islesmen—Their arms and equipments—Feud fights of the period—Their frequency in Edinburgh—Feud in Perthshire—Its vindictive proceedings—Strange negotiations by which it was terminated—The Border thieves—Their plundering raids against their own countrymen—Irruption of English borderers into Scotland during a time of peace—Sir Richard Maitland's complaint of them—Witchcraft—Connection of the belief in it with the rise of the Reformation—Causes of this connection—Punishment of witches and wizards during the present period—Ladies of rank suspected of witchcraft—Case of the Countess of Huntly—John Knox accused of being a wizard—Forms of capital and minor punishments—Everyday life—General gloom of the period—Public rejoicings on the marriage of the queen to the dauphin—Preparations of Edinburgh for her entertainment—Games and sports of the period—Masques and dancing—Distinctions in mode of living between the court party and the reformers—Furniture and households—A nobleman's ostentatious banquet—Contrast presented by a city feast—Prices of provisions—Occasional dearths—Costume of the period—Attire of court ladies—Dress of females of the middle class—Learning and learned men of the period—John Knox—Erskine of Dun—Sir Henry Balnaves—James Bassantin—Sir James Balfour.

Amidst the public events by which this period was signalized the facts illustrative of the progress of society are few and indistinct. Such important events occurred and so great a change was effected both in the religious and political

[1] Bannatyne's *Memorials*, pp. 53–60.

condition of Scotland that the writers of the day had few temptations to notice those inferior incidents which constitute the history of a people; and when they occur it is only incidentally and in a few words, as if they only interrupted the current of the narrative. Upon these passing notices and accidental allusions we must mainly depend in our view of Scottish society from 1542 to 1569—that period in which the foundations were laid of a new national existence.

In turning our attention to the important departments of agriculture and commerce, we are compelled to acknowledge with regret this scarcity of materials and the scantiness of information we can derive from them. Of the first of these departments, indeed, we learn nothing except the havoc it experienced first from the wasteful invasions of the English, and afterwards from the religious war which terminated with the Treaty of Edinburgh. It was a season in which the husbandman reluctantly sows the handful of grain which he fears his enemy may reap, and when the cares of the soldier-peasant are more intent upon his sword than his ploughshare. From these impediments to every kind of improvement we can as yet add nothing to the history of our agriculture at the close of the fifteenth and earlier part of the sixteenth century.

Our knowledge of the commerce of this period is almost equally scanty. In Louis Guiccardin's *Description of the Netherlands*, where he expatiates upon the wealth and importance of Antwerp, at that time the great commercial mart of the world, he states that Scotland, of all the European countries, had little traffic with it, being chiefly supplied with the commodities it needed from England and France. Antwerp, however, he proceeds to inform us, sent to it some spicery, sugars, madder, wrought silks, camlets, serges, linen, and mercery; and that Scotland sent to Antwerp in return large quantities of different kinds of peltry, leather, wool, indifferent cloth, and fine large pearls, although not so good as the oriental ones. He also states the important fact that Campvere owed its principal commerce to the circumstance of its having been for many years the staple port for all the Scottish shipping.

Although this account of Scottish commerce is so brief and unimportant as compared with that of other countries, we are tempted to suspect from its effects that it deserved a more ample notice. The rich cloth, the articles of foreign workmanship, the gold and silver, the ornaments, which ministered not only to the comfort of the people but to the luxury and splendour of the aristocracy, indicate that the trade of Scotland, although so undistinguished and so slow and silent in its progress, had not been inconsiderable. This we may especially infer from the account of the Earl of Hertford's invasion in 1544. On arriving in Leith, Lord Herbert informs us that the English found more riches there than they could easily have imagined. On their unexpected landing, which was between the hours of one and two, they found in the principal houses such a sumptuous dinner as they had seldom seen in their own country, and plenty of the choicest wines. The prosperity of the whole town and the abundance of its shipping equally surprised them, although during that short war they had captured twenty-eight of the principal merchant ships of Scotland returning from France, Flanders, and Denmark, laden with every kind of rich merchandise. But even the good dinners so unexpectedly found by the hungry invaders did not satisfy them, and after plundering the town they set it on fire and destroyed it so completely that even of its pier, which was of wood, not a stick was left standing. But the Scottish energy and perseverance in traffic by which the nation was at a future period to be so famed, had even already commenced; the ruined town was speedily restored; and when Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, renewed his invasion only three years afterwards, he found a new Leith in the place of the old, and as rich and flourishing as its predecessor. Thirteen ships were in the harbour, while such quantities of goods and wines were in the town that the English could not carry off the whole of their plunder. They once more set it on fire, by which a great part of it must have been destroyed. Even this second ruin of their town did not daunt the citizens, and they addressed themselves to the work of restoration with such energy that two years later, when the French auxiliaries were about to occupy it, Beaugue declares that it still continued to be the emporium of Scotland.

While the Scots were thus indicating what energetic traffickers they would become when the storms of this unsettled period had passed away, we find that every kind of mercantile offence was promptly and signally punished. A very common crime of the age was piracy, and the Scots had indulged in it as largely as their neighbours; but being now aware of its ruinous character and the mischievous effects it entailed on all parties alike, they punished it by hanging the offender in chains. This was a new as well as terrible mode of punishment —at least so far as Scotland is concerned— the first instance of it being mentioned in the criminal trials of this period.[1] False coin-

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 358.

ing seems also to have been prevalent; but in this case it seems to have been chiefly of copper money, the forgers seldom aspiring to the more delicate operation of coining in counterfeit gold or silver. But though the offence assumed so humble a form it was visited with capital punishment, and the culprit was usually strangled at the stake and burned. A notice occurs in the criminal trials of 1554 of a man who was hanged for forging *bawbees* and *half-bawbees*, and in a month after a woman was executed for the same offence. Another crime visited with severe retribution was the falsifying of wills or instruments; and on such occasions the notary so offending had his right hand struck off upon a scaffold at the market-cross and was then banished for life. Another mercantile offence often denounced and always severely punished was the transporting of wheat, flour, and corn to Flanders, or selling imported goods or wines above the statute prices.[1]

In a former chapter we had occasion to notice the free democratic spirit by which the tradesmen of Scotland had been newly inspired, and their aptitude to band themselves for the purposes of self-government and resistance to every other kind of authority. These ebullitions were the wild, ill-directed struggles of boyhood—experimental attempts for the vindication of those general rights and liberties which as yet were little understood, and which, like the first experiments of every new theory of liberty, suggested better principles of action and safer modes for their realization. Trade was to form a middle class in society, and these were but the blind gropings by which the first consciousness of life were manifested. This radicalism of the sixteenth century, if we may so term it, which had begun to exhibit itself among the Scottish burghs, was characteristically displayed in Fifeshire, one of the most aristocratic of our counties, in 1554. In the town of Cupar the deacon of the wrights and deacon of the fleshers, conceiving themselves aggrieved and their crafts tyrannically oppressed by their civic rulers, bade their provost and magistrates defiance. To carry out their resistance they obtained a bond or obligation to be formed among all the crafts, by which they engaged, all and each of them, "to participate, concur, rise, and fortify each other against the provost, bailies, council, and the rest of the community not being craftsmen." They then assembled upon the principal street armed in their warlike habiliments, and when ordered by the magistrates to retire, answered them with brandished swords. But this silent demonstration was not enough; blows were dealt and blood was drawn; and when the offenders were summoned before the court in the Tolbooth, to answer for the hurting and wounding of the said bailies, and were convicted of the crime, they walked contemptuously out of court. This was in April, and when one of their number was brought to trial in June the rioters interrupted the trial with clamours and threatenings. In the following month, when the rebellion still continued, a royal pursuivant entered the scene; but when he proclaimed at the market-cross the decree of the lords of council, commanding the rioters to submit to their magistrates under the terrible penalties of treason, they derided the proclamation, declaring that it contained idle fables, and that they would make tears to be shed for its execution. Although such formidable authority was arrayed against them the tradesmen of Cupar did not submit till September, when, yielding to necessity, they abandoned their mad enterprise and agreed to become peaceful and obedient.[2]

But it is in the condition and history of Edinburgh during this period that we more distinctly perceive those popular feelings of independence which, lawless though they might be, indicated that a new spirit had entered and that a new community was to be interposed between the serf and the noble. The reign of James V., "The King of the Commons," and the introduction of the Reformation, had combined to produce even in the streets of the metropolis a feeling of independence to which they had hitherto been strangers, and a class of men over whom the aristocracy had no control. In the barons and burghers who assembled there, and so readily combined for the establishment of the Protestant faith, we recognize for the first time the existence of that middle class which the new religious principles had called into existence, and who were thenceforth to constitute the strength and stability of the kingdom.

In our account of Edinburgh during the preceding period we had occasion to notice the dirtiness of its streets and the discomfort of its houses. But a public calamity was at hand by which the evil was to be removed by a worse than Augean purification. This was the invasion of the Earl of Hertford into Scotland in 1544, when the city was set on fire by his orders and the work of destruction kept up so carefully during four days that all the buildings were destroyed with the exception of the castle, the churches, and the north-west wing of Holyrood Palace. It is on this account that, with the above exceptions, no edifices are to be found in

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials.*

[2] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland,* vol. i. p. 368.

Edinburgh of an earlier date. When the invasion had ended the citizens resumed the work of rebuilding with their wonted spirit; and in the massive piles which speedily arose we perceive how little they were daunted by the calamity and loss. But however the architecture of the streets might be improved, there appears to have been little improvement in their cleanliness, so that so late as 1553 the town-council was obliged to order all dunghills to be removed from these thoroughfares and the swine to be kept from wandering at large.[1] As what the poet eloquently terms "the sweet security of streets" was also as necessary as their cleanliness, the council, for the prevention of violence and robbery by night, attended to the lighting of the town. Lanterns were therefore decreed to be hung out in winter in the streets and closes, by such persons and in such places as the magistrates should appoint, and these were to be kept burning from five o'clock in the evening until nine, when all sober folks were usually housed. In a town thus rising from its ashes, and where there was so much to do, a just estimate seems to have been taken of the heavy duties imposed on the chief magistrate. Accordingly in 1556 the council, in consideration of the provost's diligence and zeal, and for the maintenance of his rank, raised his salary to one hundred pounds Scots for clothing and spicery, and two hogsheads of wine; and soon after they ordered the servants of all the inhabitants to attend him with lighted torches, from the vespers or evening prayers to his own house.[2]

It was not, however, by the exertions of any bench or magistracy, however numerous, zealous, or influential, that peace and order could be maintained in such a city as Edinburgh; for this nothing short of an army would have been needed, and the council were too well aware of the melancholy fact. In this difficulty they called in the aid of the citizens themselves as guardians of the public tranquillity—a circumstance that could not fail to make the latter aware of their own consequence. The following proclamation of the town-council in 1551 evinces the necessity of such aid, and the confidence reposed in it:—"It is statute and ordained by the provost, bailies, and council of this burgh, because of the great slaughters and tulzies done in time bygone within this burgh, and apparently to be done if no remeid be provided thereto; and for eschewing thereof; that ilk manner of person, merchants, craftsmen, and all others occupiers of booths or chambers in the Highgate, either high or low, that they have long weapons therein, such as hand-axe, Jedburgh staff, halbert, javelin, and siclike long weapons, with knapshaws and jacks; and that they come therewith to the Highgate incontinent after the common bell-ringing, or that they see any cumbers of slaughters, tulzies, or appearance thereof; under the pain of ten pound, to be taken of any persons that fail herein within eight days next hereafter. And for observing hereof, that ilk bailie make searching once in the month through all his quarter; and where he finds any person disobeying this statute that he poynd them for the said unlaw."[3]

While the magistrates had in this manner invested the citizens of Edinburgh with the guardianship of the public peace they were equally careful to maintain the rights of one class of citizens against another, and especially as between buyers and sellers. The civic registers of this period abound with notices of the attempts of traffickers to elude the statute regulations regarding prices, and the heavy fines that were imposed on them for their dishonesty. Among others a proclamation having been made in 1550 that none of the lieges should purchase Bordeaux wine dearer than £22, 10*s.* (Scots) per tun, or Rochelle wine dearer than £18, several citizens who had broken this enactment were severely fined for the trespass. An equal vigilance was exercised by the council in the matter of just weights in the common necessaries of life; and in the trials of 1551 we find that a baker, who during six years had been selling his loaves three or four ounces under the statute weight, was fined in the mitigated sum (still a very large one) of five hundred merks.[4]

At the commencement of the Reformation the Papists were on the alert; and when it was established by law the religious outbreaks were not wholly on one side. One day in 1560 William Balfour, an inhabitant of Leith, after having railed at the new creed as a delusion, and wagered with one of the company that in two years it would be abolished, began to bestir himself to make his wager good. His proceeding for that purpose was a bold and a dangerous one, but suited to the character of the times. Accompanied by a few friends he proceeded to the church of St. Giles, where John Cairns was examining and catechising some of the parishioners previous to the communion. Cairns had just asked a poor woman the question, Had she any hope of salvation by her own good works? when Balfour, with an angry countenance, said to the catechist, "You demand of that

[1] Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 14.
[2] Ibid. p. 14.
[3] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, i. p. 362.
[4] Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, pp. 22, 23.

woman what neither you nor those of your creed allow or keep." On being gently rebuked by Cairns for his rudeness he fiercely replied, "You are a very knave, and your doctrine is very false, and such also is all your doctrine and teaching" —and with that he laid his hand upon his sword. It was his purpose to provoke a tumult, and it might have been successful, but that a better spirit now prevailed, so that he was obliged to retire disappointed. But here his attempts did not terminate. He intruded in like manner into the Tolbooth, where a number of Protestants were assembled; and while some gentlemen were speaking of the Lord's supper, which was to be administered on the following Sunday, Balfour burst in with the insulting words, "Is that your communion? The devil burst me whenever it comes into my belly, and the devil burst those into whose belly it comes, for it is a very devil." Even this did not produce a fight, as he intended, and although tried for his offence, which was now a capital crime, he appears to have been let off, as no mention is made of his punishment.[1] Similar attempts were made throughout the country, but not in so innocuous a fashion. One of these, for the purpose of restoring the old religious worship in the parish church of Kirkoswald and college of Maybole in Ayrshire, was made in 1563 by two hundred persons armed with jack and spear, hagbuts, and other deadly weapons.[2]

As soon as the Reformation was established in Edinburgh in 1560 the first care of the magistrates was the reform of public manners, a task that was both difficult and dangerous. It is noticeable also that they commenced with enforcing Sabbath observance, a duty which under the old church had been suffered to fall into abeyance. It was accordingly decreed that no public markets should be held on Sundays as in times past, but on week-days; and that no shops or taverns should be kept open during the hours of divine service. It was the commencement of that sabbatical strictness which became so notable a characteristic of the Scottish nation. With this shutting up of the houses of public entertainment during a part of Sunday, which seems sufficiently strict, another enactment followed, which appears harsher still; it was, that no woman should be allowed to hold the office of a tavern-keeper in Edinburgh. This arbitrary rule was but too necessary on account of the corruption of the times, as taverns kept by women had degenerated into places of very doubtful reputation. The old statutes also against fornication and adultery, which seem, from the frequency of these offences, to have fallen into desuetude, were revived in all their strictness, and the practice of publicly ducking the offender in a puddle was strictly practised in the metropolis, the place of punishment being a certain part of the North Loch, where a pillar was set up to mark the spot. But finding that even this public shame was not enough, a new act was made that all such trespassers should be carted through the town, and afterwards banished until they showed sufficient tokens of repentance.[3]

This just and bold attack upon the prevalent vice of the period was of course the least popular part of the Reformation, and it was on this that it was encountered by one of the first displays of open resistance. A flesher named Sanderson had put away his wife under the pretext that he had obtained a divorce under the popish dispensation, and had taken another woman to his home in her stead. This scandal was too public to escape notice; it was found on trial that he was neither lawfully divorced from his wife nor married to the woman with whom he cohabited; and for these ecclesiastical offences he was committed by the church to the magistrates, who sentenced him to the appointed punishment. But Sanderson being a deacon of the fleshers, the whole craft rose to his rescue, broke the cart in pieces, and carried off the malefactor in triumph. This daring reaction on the part of the "rascal multitude" was a deadly shock to the reformers, and the beginning of further evils; but in the present instance the rebellious craftsmen made submission, and were dismissed unpunished.[4] Precautions, however, were adopted by the magistrates to prevent such outbreaks for the future; and as it had been hitherto the custom, when a craftsman was tried on any offence, for the several corporations of the trades to accompany to his trial, this practice was prohibited under the penalty of a fine, and losing the freedom of the city. Having thus vindicated the authority of the law the magistrates afterwards proceeded to enact more stringent laws against the prevalent vice; and finding that neither ducking, carting, nor banishment was enough, it was decreed in 1562 that all adulterers and fornicators without distinction should be committed to close prison called the "iron house," fed on bread and water for a month, and afterwards, that the former class should be banished the town for ever, and the latter whipped at the cart's tail, and excluded from Edinburgh until they had satisfied the magistrates and the church of the sincerity of their repentance and reformation.[5] The earnestness of the town-

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. p. 416. [2] Ibid.

[3] Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 20.

[4] Knox's *History of the Reformation;* Maitland, p. 20.

[5] Maitland, p. 24.

council in following up the work of religious reform was manifested in the same year by a sacrifice the most painful to the civic pride of a bench of magistrates; they actually consented to the mutilation of the city standard. Hitherto the picture or effigy of St. Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh, had been emblazoned upon it; but this figure, now called "the idol," was cut out, and the national emblem of the thistle substituted in its place. In process of time, when the alarm had passed away, the saint's favourite fawn was restored in the room of the thistle, but as for St. Giles himself his banishment from his own standard was never to be repealed.

While the trades were rejoicing in their newly found strength and importance, and sometimes so rash in displaying it, the prentices, as was natural, began to follow the lesson of their masters. Previously, indeed, the bare idea of a revolt among such insignificants would have been scouted as an impossibility, or laughed at as a good joke; but in the year 1561 they showed that it was neither an impossibility nor yet a very laughable matter. From some cause of discontent which is not explained they entered the city in warlike fashion, with displayed banners; surrounded the Tolbooth, where the magistrates were sitting, and attacked them in the midst of their official duties. As soon as this strange uproar was quelled many of the young rioters were put in irons and punished with imprisonment.[1]

But of all these civic rebellions which signalized this second year of the Reformation in Edinburgh, none was equal to that occasioned by the putting down of Robin Hood. This and other popular plays of the kind had become so fruitful of disturbances that the parliament in 1557, as we have already seen, had prohibited the election of Robin Hoods, Little Johns, Abbots of Unreason, and Queens of May in all time to come under severe penalties. This prohibition, besides being necessary for the preservation of the public, was a cheap sacrifice to propitiate the reformers who had denounced these sports among the public sins of the period. But the mere effigy of the bold outlaw of Sherwood Forest was too strong to be put down by act of parliament, and the prohibition had only increased the popular craving for their favourite sport and enhanced the pleasure of its enjoyment. Of this public feeling, as we are informed by Knox, the popish prelates gladly laid hold, to stir up a public tumult and render the reformers odious. Accordingly, on the 21st of June, 1561, the populace, stirred up by these reverend incendiaries, assembled at night and commenced their noisy pageant, upon which the magistrates sallied out upon them and captured some of their swords and a standard. On this gear being returned to them the mob was quieted; but a part of them who had risen for other purposes than mere sport, commenced their vocation of robbery both upon the citizens and persons coming from the country, until one of their ringleaders, named James Gillon, a cordwainer, who had robbed a man of ten crowns, was apprehended, convicted, and sentenced to speedy execution. On this the mob arose more furious than ever, broke open the jail with sledge-hammers, liberated Gillon and all the other prisoners besides, and demolished the gallows that had been set up for his execution. The provost and magistrates then ventured to assemble in their wonted place in the Tolbooth, imagining that the mob would be satisfied with their victory; but they had not sat long when the building was beset by a furious crowd armed with guns, pistols, stones, and whatever weapons came to hand. In this crisis, when a massacre of the whole town-council seemed imminent, the craftsmen were invoked to the rescue of their magistrates; but, forgetful of their burgess oaths, and resenting their exclusion from a place in the council, as well as the late affair of Sanderson, they dryly answered, "If they will be magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone;" and with that went quietly away to their "four hours penny," an afternoon indulgence in drinking which seems to have been common to every class of citizens. Such were the principal incidents of this uproar, which is variously described by the writers of the period, and which seems to have occupied the whole afternoon from two o'clock till eight, as well as to have extended over several parts of the city. The result, however, was that not only the malefactor escaped, but the beleaguered magistrates were obliged to compound for their safety by promising that none of the assailants should be called in question for the outrage they had committed. Before the insurrection commenced some deacons of the crafts, who sympathized with Brother Gillon, applied to John Knox that he might intercede with the magistrates in the prisoner's behalf, but were dismissed by the reformer with a stern refusal. He had often, he said, interceded in their favour, but that now his conscience reproved him, because they had only used his services in their behalf that he might be a patron to their impiety; upon which they departed in anger, threatening that both he and the bailies would have cause to repent, unless the execution was countermanded. It was no safe or easy office he had undertaken, to be the

[1] Maitland.

reformer of such a people. Although the magistrates had promised full immunity to the rioters, and even proclaimed it at the Cross, the kirk was more mindful of its dignity, and the chief authors were treated as excommunicated persons until they had satisfied the magistrates, and been reconciled to the church by their repentance.[1]

While Edinburgh was thus becoming noted for its fierce spirit of resistance, the treatment experienced by the city at the hands of government, instead of allaying, only tended to increase the irritation and confirm it in its proud independence. One of these instances of oppressive treatment occurred during 1561, that most turbulent and eventful of civic epochs. The Tolbooth had become decayed, ruinous, and unsafe; at least it was no longer fit to retain its prisoners or protect the magistrate in the event of another such riot as that occasioned by the Robin Hood mutiny; in consequence of which the old building was condemned, and a new one ordered to be erected in its stead. Being a national edifice, in which the courts of law were held, the new building should have been built by the government; but instead of this the town-council were ordered to accomplish it at the city's expense. The magistrates, who could not help themselves, were obliged to assent, and the old Tolbooth was taken down; but there the work stopped, and in the following year nothing was found but the empty space where the new building should have stood. The course of jurisprudence was therefore at a stand, the lawyers were impatient, and the College of Justice declared that unless suitable accommodations were forthwith provided for their meetings they would abandon the capital and hold their court in St. Andrews. This threat of a worse evil so alarmed the town-council that the work was commenced in earnest, and the building called the High Council House was speedily erected at the west end of St. Giles's Church, where the courts of justice afterwards held their meetings.[2] But it was not merely of the erection of a building for the common good out of the city funds that the magistrates and townsmen had to complain; the right of the community to elect their own magistrates was more than once invaded by Mary and the court, and a provost imposed upon them by royal authority. These were public injuries not easily lost sight of, as the queen afterwards experienced during the course of her disastrous reign, and especially after her surrender at Carberry. Nor was it better with her successor, who on every occasion found his own capital the least safe or submissive part of his dominions. It would be a curious but no pleasant task to inquire how much of the Protestant and reforming zeal of Edinburgh was inspired by political hostility to the court and sovereign. It is gratifying, however, amidst these untoward circumstances to find the prosperity of the city increasing, and its rights of citizenship more highly valued. On this account the town-council was enabled to decree in 1563 that every person admitted as a burgess should pay twenty pounds for his freedom, and on being admitted into the guildry should pay double that amount.[3]

But while Edinburgh was thus cherishing a spirit of proud resistance which was afterwards to signalize it as the fiercest and most independent of all capitals, its quarrels were not wholly confined to encroaching rulers and proud aristocratic courtiers, nor even to an occasional rebellion of the townsfolks against their own magistrates. In this age of feuds Edinburgh had also its own civic fued, the full brunt of which was directed upon the unfortunate town of Leith. The mercantile causes of umbrage between the city and its port, having each an existence and interest of its own, may easily be conjectured, and during the preceding period we had occasion to notice the indications of this feud in the restrictions imposed upon the people of Leith in their dealings with the citizens of Edinburgh. Hitherto the superiority of Leith had been possessed by the Logans of Restalrig, but the military capabilities of the town for defence and resistance having been ascertained by the French engineers, Mary of Guise was desirous of possessing it, as the best place in which she could resist the progress of the Reformation, maintain the kingdom for her daughter, and keep open her communication with France. But she wished not only to secure the place but the good-will of its inhabitants, and this she effectually did by a contract dated at Holyrood House on January 30, 1555, by which she engaged to erect the town into a burgh of barony, with letters of baillery that were to continue in force until she had erected it into a royal burgh. Nothing was wanting but the purchase-money for the superiority, and this the citizens contributed with alacrity to the amount of £3000. But when the feudal rights of the laird of Restalrig were thus bought up and transferred to the crown the inhabitants of Leith found themselves not a step nigher their promised independence, while apparently they had lost their money into the bargain; and it was alleged that the citizens of

[1] Knox's *History*, ii. pp. 157–160; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 283–285; Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 123–125.

[2] Maitland, pp. 21, 22.

[3] Maitland, p. 25.

Edinburgh, taking advantage of the queen regent's poverty, had offered her twenty thousand merks as the price for her breach of promise. It was still worse for Leith when it enjoyed the dignity of being a fortified town and the stronghold of the national loyalty, for it was only to endure all the miseries of an unsuccessful war; and at last, when its defenders the French abandoned it, they carried off with them everything that was worth removing. It might have been thought that the reign of Mary Stuart would have healed these injuries, but it only plunged the unfortunate town into fresh calamity, for being in want of money she mortgaged the superiority of Leith in 1565 to the city of Edinburgh, although she had no right to grant such a transfer, the original purchase-money which her mother borrowed from Leith having never been repaid. The mortgage, indeed, by a clause in the bargain, could be redeemed by the queen for 10,000 merks; but the troubles that followed made this proviso useless, notwithstanding her attempts to repair the injustice. Thus matters continued until 1567, when, the season of redemption having expired, the citizens of Edinburgh marched down to Leith in warlike array and military triumph, took formal possession of the superiority of Leith, and were enabled to keep their hold on it to our own day, when the reform bill secured its independence.

But more than all other concerns, those of war during the present period occupied the chief attention of the Scots. It is therefore of those military peculiarities which distinguished them from other people that we must give an especial account—and this the more as these national peculiarities were now on the point of extinction. Not only were these usages of a semi-barbarous age and imperfect state of military science about to pass away, but Scottish armies themselves to become brigades of the military force of Great Britain, where discipline, arms, and costume, whether of Englishman or Scot, were to be reduced to a necessary uniformity. It happens, fortunately for our purpose, that at this important crisis the more distinctive features of our national modes of warfare are fully detailed by Patten, who accompanied the Duke of Somerset in his expedition into Scotland in 1547, and by M. Beague, a Frenchman who served in the campaigns of the French in Scotland in 1548 and 1549.

With regard to the weapons of this period, we find that as yet little change had taken place, so slow were men and nations to abandon those modes both of offence and defence to which they had been inured through ages of warfare. The chief difference we discover in European warfare is that men were not massed into such dense files as formerly; that artillery was better understood, and more promptly used; and that with the improvement of more deadly weapons of destruction attempts were made so to strengthen defensive armour as to make it bullet-proof, as well as impervious to lance or shaft. Hence the unshapely, unwieldy forms of the men-at-arms of this age, by which, according to the saying of James VI., they were as unfit to do harm as to receive it—the thick cap-a-pie clothing of angular steel-plates, which imparted to the gallant cavalier the toil of an over-laden porter, with the shape and gait of a lobster or tortoise; and who, when he had done his utmost in vain, could not preserve himself for a more glorious chance by running away. These clumsy accoutrements had now reached their utmost development previous to their being thrown aside, at first piecemeal, and afterwards entirely. Of the artillery of the period we find several pieces with new names, but with the calibre and power of which we are still unacquainted. Larger parks of cannon were also brought into the field; and among the spoils of Somerset's invasion we find eighty cannon that had been taken from the Scots; but it is probable that the larger part of these must have been small pieces that could be easily carried off. At the beginning of this period also cannon-balls were made of iron instead of stone, and of these iron balls eighty thousand were found in Leith when the town was plundered by the Earl of Hertford in 1544. In the inventory of the stores of the castle of Edinburgh drawn up in 1566 we find such a large collection of cannon as shows the importance that was attached to this arm of warfare. One of these entries also indicates an improvement which we generally refer to a considerably later period, being that of chain-shot, which must have been used, or attempted to be used, even at this early date, and is specified as "chained bullets of lead" for the use of the ordnance.

The earlier part of this period being especially noted for destructive invasions from England, the Scots were obliged to have their borders well watched and to be alert to the signals of their war-beacons. This was especially the case previous to the invasion of the Duke of Somerset; and as it had been anticipated for several months the watchers were ordered by proclamation of council to fire beacons on the hills near the coasts from St. Abb's Head to Linlithgow as soon as the English fleet appeared, and to have post-horses ready at each beacon to carry intelligence from one beacon-station to another, if the enemy entered the country during the

daytime. Over the country, between the points above-mentioned, there were seven hills on which bales were set up and kept ready for firing. These were Abb's Head, the Dow Hill above Fast Castle, the Douie Law above Spot, North Berwick Law, Domipender Law, Arthur's Seat or Edinburgh Castle, and Binning's Craig above Linlithgow. The chief nobleman or gentleman of each district was to have charge of its beacon. The rendezvous from the east and west was to be at Edinburgh, and all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country were to observe the signal and be ready to assemble with their military equipments.[1]

As soon as Somerset had entered Scotland his first attempt was to reduce or destroy the castles near the Border before marching inland, while the chief purpose of the Scots was to concentrate their forces and abide the issue in the neighbourhood of the capital. The Protector therefore found little resistance from the peels and strongholds, which were taken one after another. In the handing over of the castle of Dunglass, belonging to Sir George Douglas, and the plunder that was found in it, we have an amusing picture of the facilities that attended the first steps of the duke's progress. It was summoned to surrender, and it forthwith yielded. "The captain came," Patten tells us, "and brought with him his bond to my lord's grace, which was of twenty-one sober soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed, that, so God help me, I never saw such a bunch of beggars come out of one house together in my life. . . . The spoil was not rich sure, but of white bread, oaten cakes, and Scottish ale, whereof was indifferent good store, and soon bestowed among my lord's soldiers accordingly. As for swords, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarn, linen, hemp, and heaps of such baggage besides, were scant stooped for, and very liberally let alone; but yet sure it would have rued any good housewife's heart to have beholden the great unmerciful murder that our men made of the brood geese and good laying hens that were slain there that day, which the wives of the town had penned up in holes in the stables and cellars of the castle ere we came."

From the foregoing account it is evident that these twenty-one poor ragamuffins did not constitute the real garrison of the castle; the force that had usually manned it were afield, or on their way to the common rendezvous, while the handful in the stronghold were only left as a bait to delay the English a short time before the castle. It was thus also with the castle of Thornton, which was distant about a mile and a half from that of Dunglass, of which Patten gives the following account. "Thornton belonged to the Lord Hume, and was kept then by one Tom Trotter, whereunto my lord's grace for summons sent Somerset his herald, towards whom four or five hundred of this captain's prickers, with their gods [spears] ready charged, did right hastily direct their course; but Trotter both honestly defended the herald and sharply rebuked his men, and said for the summons he would come speak with my lord's grace himself; notwithstanding he came not, but straight locked up a sixteen poor souls, like the soldiers of Dunglass, fast within the house, and commanding them they should defend the house and tarry within (as they could not get out) till his return, which should be on the morrow, with munition and relief, he with his prickers pricked quite his ways." Sixteen men to resist a whole army and to defend a castle in which they were locked up as prisoners!—the owners of these fortresses must have valued them little, or been in positive alliance with the invaders. The defence of this last handful was both gallant and noble, and had the other castles been properly manned with such soldiers the progress of the English Protector would have been arrested long before he reached the field of Pinkie. They bade defiance to the besiegers, maintained their ramparts stoutly although battered with four pieces of cannon and assailed by hagbutters, and only surrendered when the building was set on fire about their ears.

A Scottish encampment still exhibited the hardiness and rude simplicity of an earlier period. This was the case with their camp at Musselburgh, which Patten has minutely described. Seen at a distance, it was an orderly and showy town of tents, divided into four rows, and looked like four ridges of ripe barley. But on a nearer inspection of this imposing prospect it was seen that they had no regular round-houses or pavilions for the chief commanders, and but few tents with posts for the nobles and officers. Of these tents, most were under twenty feet in length, some of them of blue buckram, and some of black or other colours, and plentifully adorned with the French fleur-de-lis. As for the common tents, they were only canvas sheets stretched over four sticks that met atop, and stuffed at the bottom with straw as a defence against the cold wind, where the canvas was too short to reach. These were rather field-beds than camp apartments, but for the purposes of rest and sleeping Patten owns that they were comfortable enough. They were also abundantly victualled with white bread, oaten cakes, oatmeal, mutton, pots of butter, cheese, and in

[1] Ridpath's *Border History*, book vii. p. 559.

several of them there was abundance of good wine, with goblets and chalices of silver.

Of the weapons of a Scottish army and their mode of handling them the same author gives us a minute description, which is best conveyed in his own quaint language. "Hagbutters have they few or none, and appoint their fight most commonly always afoot. They come to the field well furnished all with jack and skull [cap], dagger, buckler, and swords all notably broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to slice, that as I never saw none so good, so think I it hard to devise the better: hereto, every man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice around his neck, not for cold but for cutting. In this array, toward the joining with the enemy they cling and thrust so near in the fore-rank shoulder to shoulder together, with their pikes in both hands straight afore them, and their followers in that order so hard at their backs, laying their pikes over their foregoers' shoulders, that if they do assail undissevered no force can well withstand them. Standing at defiance, they thrust shoulders likewise so nigh together, the fore-ranks well nigh to kneeling, stoop low before for their fellows behind, holding their pikes in both hands, and therewith in their left their bucklers, the one end of the pike against their right foot, the other against the enemy breast-high, their followers crossing their pike-points with them forward, and thus each with other so nigh as place and space will suffer, through the whole ward so thick, that as easily shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedgehog, as any encounter the front of their pikes." Such was the Scottish phalanx, so dangerous in assault and so firm in resistance, but which was effective only so long as its ranks kept together: upon uneven ground, or when it changed its passive character into active agression, it might be broken in pieces and rendered powerless, and against the showers of the English archery its defensive armour was but a slight protection. Besides these weapons which have been described, others were found after the battle, in the form of shields that had doubtless been extemporized for the occasion, being the ends of new boards cut off, about half a yard in length and a foot in breadth, having in the inside two handles made of a couple of cord's-ends. These unsoldier-like bucklers probably belonged to the camp-followers, whose occupation was plundering rather than fighting. Another kind of rude weapons that were found were rattles, with which the Scots had endeavoured, and sometimes successfully, to interrupt the formidable charge of the English cavalry. As described by Patten, they were "bigger than the belly of a pottle pot," were covered with old parchment or doubled paper, having small stones within them, and were fastened upon the end of a staff more than two ells long. Amidst such an incongruous mixture of the great and the mean, the sublime and ridiculous, that characterized the equipments of this Scottish army, and which so strangely blended the rudeness of primitive warfare with the science and improvements of the sixteenth century, a just tribute is bestowed upon those gallant men who wielded them and battled to the death in their country's defence. Speaking of the dead bodies of the Scots when they were stripped after the battle, Patten adds, "For their tallness of stature, clearness of skin, bigness of bone, with due proportion in all parts, I for my part advisedly noted to be such, as but that I well saw that it was so, I would not have believed sure so many of that sort to have been in all their country."

To those notices of the peculiarities of Scottish warfare we may add a few from M. Beague's history of the French campaigns in Scotland in 1548 and 1549. Accustomed to that regular formality and strict discipline which characterized the armies of his own country, the Frenchman could not help regarding the irregular and miscellaneous feudal array of Scotland with contempt, while he did full justice to the courage with which it was animated. "The Scots never take the field," he writes, "but when forced to arms by necessity. The reason is this; they serve at their own charges, and therefore cannot spin out time, as all the nations in Europe do but themselves. They carry along with them all necessaries for the time they resolve either to encamp or to scour the champain; this time is short, but they lose it not, for they make it their business to seek out the enemy with all expedition and fight with invincible obstinacy, especially when they have to do with the English; for the reciprocal hatred of these two nations is intermingled with their vital spirits and essential to their being. Neither is it, in my opinion, to be eradicated from out of their breasts, so long as ambition shall prompt men to domineer, or jealousy repine at encroaching grandeur."[1] It was beyond the sagacity of this French soldier as well as that of wiser politicians to foresee in how short a time this mutual hostility would be swallowed up by a still more powerful and absorbing feeling, and how heartily both Scots and English would be united in a war against his own countrymen. He mentions, also, the astonishment of the Scots at the

[1] Beague's *History of the Campaigns of the French in Scotland.* Translated by Dr. Patrick Abercromby, 1707.

suttlers which were attached to the French army, being themselves accustomed to carry their forty days' provision along with them, for which purpose each soldier had either a horse or a stout servant to carry his baggage.

In the same account we have some brief but interesting notices of the Highlanders and Islesmen of Scotland, whose appearance astonished the French officers as much as a Japanese reinforcement might do if it were brigaded with a modern European army. The men of Orkney, who joined the French auxiliaries at the command of the queen-dowager, were armed in coats, or more properly speaking, shirts of mail; each man carried a large bow in his hand, while his quiver, sword, and shield were suspended in a sling. These were the same weapons with which their ancestors, the wild Scandinavians, had won the Orcades, and made good their occupation of the conquest. The Highlanders who were also attached to the same service he describes as being almost naked; they wore, he adds, a painted [tartan?] waistcoat, and a sort of woollen covering variously coloured, and were armed with bows, broadswords, and targets. They fought bravely, but at first could not endure the cannon, to which they were unaccustomed; and at each discharge they stopped their ears and threw themselves on the ground. The same superstitious dread of a great gun, with which the clans so seldom came in contact in their wars, was continued so late as till the last century, and the noise of the "musket's mother," as they called it, was more formidable to their apprehensions than a close charge of bayonets. But in the sixteenth as well as the eighteenth century familiarity could breed contempt, and the Gael soon learned to regard a cannonade as little more than flash, noise, and smoke. This was exhibited at the siege of Haddington, when they saw the French skirmishing up to the mouth of the cannon and returning actually alive. A Highlander, Beague informs us, being inspired by their example, dashed single-handed among a group of the English, seized and trussed one of them on his back, and carried him off to headquarters, although the prisoner buried his teeth in his captor's shoulder, and almost maddened him with the pain. D'Esse was so highly gratified with this gallant exploit, that he rewarded the Highlander with twenty crowns and a coat of mail—the last, no doubt, to be hung up as an ornament on the wall rather than worn upon the shoulders and limbs of its owner, to whom even broadcloth would have been an encumbrance.

Although this period was signalized by so many and such important wars, the feud-fights of the country were not abated; on the contrary the great political interests now at stake, and the fierce passions that were called into play, only gave a keener edge to their vindictiveness, and more favourable opportunities for their indulgence. Above all the feeble regency of the Duke of Chastelherault seemed a fit time for every man to right his own wrongs and redress his own grievances; and accordingly, at the earlier part of this period the streets of Edinburgh were often the scenes of such short and sharp litigation. Of these, however, examples from a year or two will serve as a sufficient specimen. A street-fight took place in the streets of Edinburgh between the Scotts and Kers after they had convulsed the Border with their quarrel, and in this city conflict Sir Walter Scott, the Laird of Buccleugh, was slain. About the same time the Master of Ruthven, on account of a feud of old standing, but especially to stop a law process raised against him by John Charteris of Kinclevin, killed the latter, a brave gentleman, by which the process before the Lords of Session was abruptly closed. In consequence of this an act was passed in the next parliament, that whoever killed a man for pursuing an action against him, should forfeit the right of judgment in his action, additional to his liabilities for the murder. There was also the atrocious case of the Lord Semple, who killed Lord Crichton of Sanquhar in the governor's own house in Edinburgh, and was allowed through the intercession of the Archbishop of St. Andrews to escape the merited punishment.[1] But these extemporized combats arising from casual meetings were not the only outlets for the hot blood of the times. During the preceding period the rapier had been introduced into Scotland, and during the present there were fencing-masters who taught the use of it; and as such a weapon was more graceful than the clumsy sword-and-buckler exercise which it soon superseded, and equally effectual, if skilfully wielded, both for attack and defence, the rapier gradually became the weapon of men of rank, and the formal punctilios of the modern duel the necessary preparatives for its proper use. There also grew into repute a place for such rencounters, where a duel was more fashionable and less liable to interruption than a noisy vulgar death-brawl upon the crown of the calsey. This place was the Quarry Holes (by an appropriate blunder in the old orthography written down as the Quarrel Holes), a quiet recess at the east end of the Calton Hill and in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace of Holyrood. Here a combat could be settled without the impertinent interference of the

[1] Leslie's *History*, pp. 247, 248.

law, and here accordingly much quiet business was done of which the annals of the period give no account.

While quarrels were thus prevalent in the city, by which the peace of its inhabitants was disturbed and the streets rendered insecure, they were not less abundant in the rural districts, where they could be carried on upon a larger scale and with smaller chance of interruption. The causes also of these quarrels were various; but in a majority of cases they seem to have risen from contested feudal property and rights, and to have been perpetuated from one generation to another. In seasons of insecurity and civil commotion when lands and estates shifted from one owner to another, and among a proud people jealous of their dignity, such family feuds could not fail to be abundant, while the dispensers of justice to whom appeal might have been made were too often interested parties in the controversy. The following account of a rural quarrel, one of several which occurred in Perthshire in 1554, a year fruitful in such controversies, will sufficiently illustrate their nature, and the manner in which they were conducted. John Butter of Gormock being at feud with George Drummond of Blair, upon a question of land which had passed into the possession of the latter, was resolved to right himself in the usual mode, and for this purpose mustered his friends and adherents on Sunday the 3d of June, to the intent that they might put Drummond to death. The whole party to the number of eighty persons, armed in mail, jacks, and steel bonnets, and carrying lances, bows, and long matchlock culverins, went off in this warlike array as if they had been bound on a foray against their national enemies in the time of war. To aggravate the iniquity of their purpose they advanced to the parish kirk of Blair, expecting, it would appear, to have surprised their victim unprepared, and in the midst of the usual worshippers; but not finding him there, or apprehending that their attempt might be frustrated, they passed on to the house of Gormock to dinner. They sent spies in the meantime to watch Drummond's motions; and learning that he was leaving his house they mounted their horses and returned to the kirk of Blair, where they found him with his youngest son William playing at bowls and apprehending no danger. The result might be expected; both father and son were set upon and mercilessly slain. On tidings of the murder being carried to Edinburgh Gormock was summoned before the Lords of Council; but failing to appear he was condemned as a rebel and put to the horn.

The deadly feud was now at its height, and all the Drummonds, with the lord of that name at their head, were prepared to pursue the kith and kin of the laird of Gormock with fire and sword. The chance of the latter being desperate he endeavoured to compound with the offended party, for which purpose he made the following offers: 1. To make personally or by deputy the four pilgrimages of Scotland; 2. To have a service for the souls of the dead at the parish kirk, or whatever other place the Drummonds pleased, for a number of years; and 3. To make submission to the injured family in the form established in such cases, to pay them a fine of a thousand marks, and, if required, to make such changes or augmentations in these offers as reasonable friends might judge right and expedient. These offers were all rejected. Matters thus standing with their leader and principal, the subsidiary lairds and assistants of Gormock opened a negotiation on their own account, and made the following tenders to Lord Drummond and his party through William Chalmers of Drumlochy, a chief among the conspirators, and the most forward actor in the late murder. The first was, that he, the said William Chalmers, would appear before his lordship and the Drummonds, offering his naked sword and holding it by the point (which among a proud and warlike people was the most abject token of submission). He also offered to give to Lord Drummond a bond of man-rent. Finally, and what was the strangest tender of all, having, as he stated, neither goods, lands, nor money "through extreme persecution of the laws of the realm," he offers to give his son as husband to George Drummond's daughter, without any *tocher* being required of her, and in like manner to give a cousin of his own to a sister of the murdered laird. Such were the strange modes of expiating a murder and extinguishing a feud that would otherwise have been perpetual! Of all these offers nothing but the bond of man-rent was accepted, and accordingly it was drawn up and subscribed in the usual form. In this William Chalmers of Drumlochy pledged himself "to the noble and mighty lord as chief to the saids umquhile George and William his son," to take true and sincere part in all and sundry their actions and causes, and to ride and go with them therein upon their own expenses when he and his heirs should be required against all and sundry, the sovereign and the authority of the realm being alone excepted.[1]

While these deeds of revenge were so prevalent as to make every district a scene of petty warfare and bloodshed the common enemies of all parties were on the alert, and never more than during the present period, when they

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. pp. 371–373.

seemed to have a foreboding that their reign would be short, and that their day was drawing to a close. We allude to the lawless Borderers, whom the union of the two kingdoms under one crown was so soon to compress within law and order, or crush into absolute helplessness. For the present they were giving full swing to their marauding propensities; and when they found that the Reformation had established such a close alliance between the two realms that they could no longer plunder in England according to martial law, they turned with equal alacrity upon their own countrymen and plundered them in defiance of all law as well as the common ties of nationality. This we learn from Sir Richard Maitland's poem, *Against the Thieves of Liddisdale*, as well as from the criminal trials of the period. Of these desperadoes against whom Sir Richard complains, we are informed that neither door nor gate could keep them out, that nothing could be concealed from them, that in their irruptions they burned and slew without mercy; and that having well nigh utterly harried Ettrick Forest and Lauderdale they had audaciously carried their depredations into Lothian. Nor were his annoyances and losses from these unworthy countrymen of his own the only grievances of the kind that provoked the good knight's complaints, for while he was invaded by the Border thieves of Scotland on the one hand, he had also those of England on the other, to place him between two fires. In the year 1570, when he was now seventy-four years old, and blind as well as helpless, Roland Foster, the captain of Werk Castle, came down upon his lands of the barony of Blythe in Lauderdale with a following of three hundred ravenous riders, and this, too, in a time of peace when no such visit could be expected. They made quick and clean work of it by sweeping off from his lands five thousand sheep, two hundred cattle, and thirty horses and mares; they also plundered the house of Blythe of an hundred pounds worth of property and stripped his tenants of everything worth carrying away. It was well for the good, blind old man that he had his muse to console him in his bereavement; and he composed on this occasion *The Blind Baron's Comfort*, in which his equanimity is more admirable than the puns and conceits with which the poem is made to overflow. He rejoices that the reivers had been unable to carry off the land as well as its movables; exhorts himself to be blythe, in the hope that Blythe shall be yet well plenished; and moreover, that Blythe will be blythe indeed when the rogues are rewarded with a rope. It reminds the readers of Cervantes of the torch-bearing priest whom Don Quixote assailed at midnight mistaking him for a phantom, and whose answers were a series of diverting puns while he lay crushed under his mule with a broken leg.

Amidst these characteristics of Scottish society, most of which were the offspring of an earlier period and had been merely modified by the change of years, a new era had now set in—the era of witchcraft. The time had come when old women were to reduce the wise and the learned to somewhat of their own category, and when men were to tremble over a new record of voyages and travels more marvellous than the old, in which ancient crones embarked in eggshells, or, horsed upon broomsticks, were to outsail and outride all that has been attempted or even dreamed of in the flights of the nineteenth century. Of this phase of superstition we find nothing in Scotland prior to the reign of James III., at which time it was introduced only to be despised; and even up to the present time the instances had been few and far between to arrest the popular attention or obtain its belief. But now the case was altered; and while instances were soon to be multiplied by the hundred, a belief in witchcraft was to form an essential portion of the popular creed. That such a contemptible superstition should thus have been coeval with the revival of learning, and even with the commencement of the Reformation itself, at first sight might appear an impossibility, were it not that second considerations show what a close connection there was between them, and how necessarily the former resulted in the latter. During the long night of ignorance the belief in the supernatural had been used by the priesthood for the services of religion, and men had been frightened into the way they should go by legends, portents, and miracles, in which the wild and the supernatural were used without limit. But with the arrival of the Reformation and the opening of the sealed book the dominion of the priest was to cease and his craft to be useless. It was not, indeed, that the belief in the supernatural was to be extinguished, but modified and enlightened, and these lying signs and wonders to be sent back to their proper source. Instead of being authorities in religious belief they were to be regarded as the workings of the devil, and to him, therefore, they were assigned without scruple. The thaumaturgist was no longer to be followed as a saint but punished as a wizard; and the miracle itself, instead of being accounted an authority from heaven which none might gainsay, was to be enrolled among the capital crimes of the statute-book. It was a fit degradation for such superstitions and impostures, and a right vindication of the exercise of reason and the divine authority of revelation,

independently of the abuses which were afterwards founded upon the change, and the cruelties of which it was the fruitful source.

The history of witchcraft during the present period, although distinguished by few particulars, already indicated the abhorrence into which it had been brought and the severity with which it was to be visited. In 1568 there occurs a passing notice of Sir Walter Stewart, the Lyon-king-at-arms, being executed for conspiring against the Regent Moray's life by sorcery and witchcraft, but the particulars of this imputed crime are not stated. In 1569 four females were tried for witchcraft between the 16th of May and the 12th of August. On the same year the Regent Moray in one of his progresses caused certain witches to be burned in St. Andrews and some others in Dundee. At the commencement, however, of this new crusade against the works and worshippers of the Prince of Darkness it was not merely to beldames of the lower classes, the old, the ugly, and unbefriended, that this charge was confined: the example of Lady Glammis seems to have animated the accusers to aim at higher game, and females of rank were suspected of practising the black art who, but for their high position, might have suffered at the stake. It was thus, among other examples, with Lady Scott of Buccleugh, the heroine of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Such ladies, also, as were not themselves supposed to be dealers in this science were accused of having recourse to such agents, and even of keeping one or more of them for their own special use. Such was the Countess of Huntly, of whose conduct after the battle of Corrichie, where her husband was killed, Knox gives the following account:—"The earl himself [Huntly] was taken alive; his two sons, John aforesaid, and Adam Gordon, were taken with him. The earl immediately after his taking departed this life, without any wound or yet appearance of any stroke whereof death might have ensued. And so because it was late he was cast overthwart upon a pair of creels, and so was carried to Aberdeen, and was laid in the Tolbooth thereof, that that which his wife's witches had given might be fulfilled, who all affirmed (as the most part say), 'That same night he should be in the town of Aberdeen, without any wound upon his body.' When his lady got knowledge thereof she blamed her principal witch, called Janet; but she stoutly defended herself (as the devil can do), and affirmed that she gave a true answer, albeit she spake not all the truth; for she knew that he should be there dead; but that could not profit my lady. She was angry and sorry for a season; but the devil, the mass, and witches have all great credit with her this day, the twelfth of June, 1566, as they had seven years ago."[1]

But it was not wholly by one party that the accusation of witchcraft and sorcery was used, or against mass-mongers that it was exclusively directed. The charge was so odious that the Romish party endeavoured to turn it against their successful rivals, and especially against the leader of the Reformation, whose remarkable success they asserted, and perhaps were desirous to believe, had been effected by Satanic agency. This course was adopted by Nicol Burne in his disputation, who accused John Knox of being a sorcerer; and the proof he adduced was that the reformer being old, decrepit, and ugly, was yet able to win for his bride the daughter of the Lord of Ochiltrie—a lady so much above his own rank and allied to the blood-royal of Scotland; and this, he alleged, could only have been achieved by the force of spells and enchantments. Burne evidently knew little of the female character and how women may be won when he had recourse to such an argument. But here this kind of reports did not stop; and after the reformer had retired to St. Andrews, a short time before his death, a calumny was raised that he had attempted in his garden, like the witch of Endor of old, to raise some of the departed saints; that when they appeared the devil also had risen among them, unmistakably distinguished by his horns, at sight of whom Richard Bannatyne, the secretary of Knox, had gone mad and died; and that for this terrible offence the reformer had been expelled from the town. But the circumstantiality of this absurd fiction defeated its purpose, and it was soon found that Knox was not banished from St. Andrews, and that Bannatyne was alive and had never been ailing.[2]

Amidst the commission of so many and such various crimes, justice, as we have seen, was not asleep; and in such a rude state of society punishment was inflicted with the view of coercing or even rooting out offenders, rather than attempting to reform them into virtuous men and useful citizens. Death, also, which was unscrupulously inflicted, and by wholesale, for such crimes as treason, heresy, murder, robbery, theft, forgery, fraudulent dealings in buying and selling, &c., was almost as various in form as the offence, and in some measure correspondent to its character; but it was chiefly by burning alive, strangling at the stake, hanging, beheading, and drowning. Sometimes, however, an attempt was made to qualify this stern rigour of justice irrespective of the magnitude of the

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland*, 4to, Lond. 1644, p. 346.

[2] Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 167.

crime; and, as in modern times, the plea of insanity was interposed when no other apology could be offered. Of this an instance occurs in the criminal trials of the period, where a person arraigned for murder was thus excused by his surety or prolocutor. His client, he said, at the time and long before "had been furious and wanting the use of reason, doing in all the said time—viz., by the space of sixteen years last bypast—furious and daft deeds, as at length was in an inventory here present to show; and so is compared of the law to an infant, pupil, or beast wanting the use of reason"—therefore not liable to punishment either in person or goods. The plea would probably have been accepted had the promised inventory been produced; but it does not appear to have been forthcoming, and the culprit was hanged.[1] In difficult and important cases torture also appears to have been used to extort confession; and during the preceding as well as the present period the application of the rack is alluded to under the name of *pyne-bauks*. Screws for torturing the fingers were also probably not unknown, and under the name of *pilniewinks* they are frequently mentioned in the trials of witches during the reign of James VI. Next to capital punishment mutilation was sometimes inflicted, such as the loss of a hand, an ear, or the nose, and after these positive deprivations may be mentioned the severe and shameful punishment of whipping at the cart's-tail. In an inferior degree to these was solitary confinement, upon a diet of bread and water, or ducking in a filthy puddle—inflictions, as we have seen, chiefly reserved for those whose vicious tendencies stood most in need of bodily mortification. In the case of minor offences, and especially where one man had aggrieved another, the injury was often compromised and justice satisfied by the offender publicly asking pardon on his knees of the offended. In this case also, during the Popish times, the humiliation was accompanied with a peace-offering to the church, usually consisting of large wax torches or candles. Sometimes, as we find in the *Records of Prestwick*, the manner of craving forgiveness was accompanied with strange additions; and during this period a man who had offended a female was obliged to come into the kirk "sarkalane"—that is, with no clothing but his shirt—and there, before all present, entreat her to forgive him. This was, no doubt, the quintessence of humility; but whether such a penitent spectacle would tend to edification may be safely doubted. The records and law trials of the sixteenth century present an alarming amount of outrages committed by women; but as these were chiefly confined to offences of the tongue, under the name of *flyting*, by which, though no bones were broken, the public peace was disturbed, every parish was provided with a cucking or ducking-stool, to the inflictions of which public scolds were subjected by the award of the magistrate. It scarcely raises our ideas of parliamentary dignity to find such a humble instrument of punishment gravely recommended in one of its enactments; but such was the case in the statute of A.D. 1555, by which "Robin Hoods" and other such festival plays were prohibited. In deposing the "Queens of May" it commanded that women or others going singing about summer trees, "making perturbation," thereby collecting money or otherwise, should "be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stools of the burgh or town."[2]

In coming to the everyday life of the present period we find that we can add little to the account of its condition during the reigns of Mary Stuart's father and grandfather; its general aspects still continued to be nearly the same, but shaded or brightened as the case might be under the national events that passed over it. We can easily imagine, therefore, that the rout of Solway, the death of James V., and the troubles of a minority more critical than any which Scotland had as yet experienced, made the opening of the present period a season of heavy despondency. Of this we have full confirmation in Sir Richard Maitland's poetical sketch entitled *Satyre on the Age*, written apparently at the time when the Duke of Somerset's invasion was anticipated. He complains that there was now no blytheness either in burgh or to landward; no open-hearted merriment among lords and ladies; no dancing and singing, no game and play. There was not a word of Yule in the kirk, in the school, or on the calsey; while the nobles, instead of exercising their wonted hospitality, had allowed their kitchens to cool, their retinues to melt away, so that they had scarcely a man to tend their mule; and were withdrawn from their country seats and their tenantry to the halls of Holyrood House and the bustle of political intrigues. He also saw no merry guisards during that year, but masqueraders of a very different stamp—reverend churchmen clothed in the habiliments of war, and presenting a ruffian-like array that was neither priestly nor soldierly. Matters were scarcely amended by the national troubles that succeeded; the battle of Pinkie and the wars of the Reformation confirmed the general gloom; and although the arrival of Mary Stuart from France was like a sudden burst of sunshine it

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. p. 364.

[2] *Acts of Scottish Parliaments*, v. ii. p. 500.

was but for a moment, and that the storm might return with deeper darkness and wrath. Society was undergoing a momentous change of which these were the indications; but who could surmise the nature of these throes, and the happy deliverance in which they were to terminate?

Amidst the long-continued and general depression, the marriage of their young queen to the dauphin, in consequence of the political advantages it promised and the accession of wealth and national importance which was hoped from it, was a source of exultation to the Scots; and although her espousal was to occur in a foreign land instead of her own realm and capital, this circumstance only stimulated the loyalty of her subjects and caused their pageants for the occasion to be prepared upon a grander scale. A poem of Sir Richard Maitland, in which he welcomes the approaching union and invokes his countrymen to celebrate it with appropriate pageantry and rejoicing, is a picture of what was usually done upon the coming of some great national triumph. He calls on all the gallant chevaliers of the realm to hold jousts and tourneys, to wear the liveries of their ladies, and in their inspiring presence to break twenty spears in honour of their beauty. He calls on all the burgh towns to make bonfires, clerk-plays, and farces; to have dances, carols, and songs; to cause the fountains at the public cross to run with wine according to the good old custom, and to hang their outside stairs with tapestry. He calls on the castles to shoot their great guns; the ships and galleys to beat their drums, blow their trumpets; the priests and churchmen to walk in procession, with their choirs chanting melodious music; all lords to make triumph, banquet, and good cheer; and every man in the burghs to put on his nuptial gown that had lain for many years in his coffers. All this Sir Richard knew would be done as a matter of course, and it was done accordingly, the capital taking the lead, as the money accounts of the good town on the occasion abundantly show. But passing over any further description of state pageants, we merely advert to the preparations made by the town-council of Edinburgh to entertain the queen with a show and banquet in September, 1561. These provident and sometimes liberal functionaries ordered the sum of four thousand marks to be raised for the purpose. In the programme of the procession they decreed that the twelve citizens who supported the canopy over the queen's head should be clothed in black velvet gowns, with coats and doublets of crimson satin, and velvet bonnets and hose; that the citizens who walked in procession should have black silk gowns faced with velvet, velvet coats, and satin doublets; and that the young men who walked before the triumphal car were to be clothed in taffeta. This was well for the department of civic costume, and in fair proportion to the blaze of princely attire and ornament that would form, on the part of the nobles, the head and front of the display. The council also ordered that the principal places of the line of march along the Upper and Salt Trons, the Tolbooth, and the Nether Bow should be decorated in the best style of splendour.[1] Among the pageantries of this period we may notice in passing that where noise and glitter were so greatly needed gunpowder lent its effectual aid, and every public procession was enriched with the exciting roar of cannon. Something more tasteful was also attempted by the introduction of a rude kind of pyrotechny; and on great occasions, when darkness had set in, the people were regaled by a display of fireworks, which, under the name of fire-balls and fire-spears, were more attractive by their eccentric flight, noise, and splendour than the old stationary bonfires.

The games and sports of the present period seem as yet to have undergone no change, and may therefore be dismissed with a brief notice. Hunting and hawking still retained their predominance, while fishing as yet was too peaceful and contemplative to be adopted as an amusement. Those games which are trials of strength, skill, and agility were still pursued by all ranks, and the game of foot-ball was keenly practised both by peer and peasant. From cursory allusions of the time we also find that the indoor amusements of cards, dice, draughts, and chess relieved the tediousness of the upper classes, large sums being staked upon them; while the homes of the commons were animated by amusements less expensive, but, it may be, equally stirring. Masques and dancing, as we have seen, had hitherto been common in Scotland; but the regency of Mary of Guise and the reign of her unfortunate daughter, although they doubtless imparted additional grace and splendour to these amusements, rather tended to bring them into disrepute. These French dances which were now so much in vogue were anything but models of decorum; and when Mary Stuart and her ladies pirouetted in the dress of cavaliers we can sympathize with the stern reformer in his condemnation of this "fiddling and flinging." These masquerades, too—were they not dangerous opportunities for such persons as the Scottish nobles and such a coarse atmosphere as that of Holyrood? And was not a court masque the accompaniment of

[1] Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 21.

poor Darnley's murder, if not a preparative for the deed? Knox and the reformers knew what they were about when they first rebuked these amusements and afterwards proscribed them. He did not condemn the act itself but its abuse; and this he declared to the queen when she took him to task for his sermon against her dancing beyond the hours of midnight, and after the tidings had arrived of the renewal of the persecution against the Protestants in France: "Of dancing, madam, I said that albeit I found no condemnation of it in the Scripture, and that in profane writers it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and phrenetic than of sober men, yet do I not utterly damn it, providing, first, that the chief calling of those that use that exercise be not neglected for pleasure of dancing; next, that they dance not as their fathers the Philistines did, for the pleasure they take in the displeasure of God's people."[1] What more than this could be granted even by a modern liberal divine? These distinctions lead us to observe that two separate and distinct and even antagonistic modes of home-life now prevailed, especially among the upper classes in Scotland: the one was of the old Scottish faith and the old loyalty, which took its example from Holyrood; the other was of the new creed and the new political principles of action which had struggled into existence, and was impersonated in the simple court of the Regent Moray. The style of the former we sufficiently know; the latter we can guess from the following brief notice: —"His house was like a little sanctuary, where was not heard so much as lascivious speeches. When the chapter [of Scripture] was read after dinner or supper it was his custom to propound questions and to seek resolution of any difficulty at the learned, of whom he had some usually at his table. . . . He was affable to his own domestics, and yet rebuked them more sharply than any other when they gave offence."[2] According to the adaptation of his home-life to these models a man's political and religious faith could be ascertained, as was the case at a later day in England when similar indications distinctly separated the Cavalier from the Roundhead.

In the furniture of the houses of this period we find a greater display of wealth and taste, although there was still an incongruous mixture of the mean and the magnificent. The former was exhibited in dingy boards used for tables, rickety stools, and torn or worn-out tapestry; and the latter in rich beds of state that seemed to have been kept more for show than use, sideboards laden with costly plate, and wardrobes heaped with a profusion of rich dresses, the accumulation of more than half a century, but still made available for wearing; and though last, not least, a numerous array of household dependants, officers, and servants, some wearing gay livery and others armed to the teeth. The love of ostentatious display which all this indicated was signally shown by the Earl of Moray, the predecessor of the "good regent" in the earldom, on the 8th of March, 1543, in his reception of Contareno, Patriarch of Venice, who had come to dissuade the Scots from giving their young queen in marriage to Edward VI. of England. "The Earl of Moray making him the banquet in his house, although he had great store of all kind of silver work, yet nevertheless for the greater magnificence he set forth a cupboard furnished with all sorts of glasses of the finest crystal that could be made; and to make the patriarch understand that there was great abundance thereof in Scotland he caused one of his servants, as it had been by sloth and negligence, pull down the cupboard cloth, so that all the whole crystallings suddenly were cast down to the earth and broken; wherewith the patriarch was very sorry; but the earl suddenly caused bring another cupboard better furnished with fine crystal nor that was; which the patriarch praised as well for the magnificence of the earl as for the fineness of the crystal, affirming that he never did see better in Venice, where he himself was born."[3] If the richness of the dinner that followed was commensurate with this vainglorious display, the Venetian must have fared better than one of his political successors in 1555. In that year the city of Edinburgh gave a sumptuous dinner to the Danish ambassador, the cost of which was only £25, 17*s.* 1*d.* — equal to £6, 9*s.* 3¼*d.* in English money.[4]

The mention of so small a sum expended upon a state banquet makes us curious to know the relative value of provisions and money during this period; and of this a distinct idea can be obtained from a list of prices established for the market at Elgin, while a justice-ayre was held in that town, commencing on the 17th of August and terminating on the 17th of October, 1556. These were the statute prices, taken, doubtless, from the average of the time, and which on no account were to be raised while the court continued its sitting:—

Wheaten loaf of 22 ounces weight,...	£0	0	4
Pint of sherry, ...	0	0	10
Pint of Bourdeaux wine, ...	0	1	0
Quart of good ale, ...	0	0	8

[1] Calderwood, ii. p. 181 [2] Ibid. p. 511.

[3] Leslie's *History of Scotland* (Bannat. Club Ed.), p. 179.
[4] Maitland, p. 14.

Carcase of sheep of the best mutton,	£0	6	0
A goose, ...	0	1	6
A muirfowl, ...	0	0	4
A capon, ...	0	1	0
An article of poultry, ...	0	0	6
A large chicken, ...	0	0	4
A pig, ...	0	1	0
Four eggs, ...	0	0	1
A kid, ...	0	1	4
A carcase of best beef, ...	1	16	0
A peck of good horse corn, ...	0	0	8
A threaf of fodder, ...	0	0	8
A pound of best candles, ...	0	0	8
A load of peats, ...	0	0	2
A room and bed per night, ...	0	0	4
Stable fee for twenty-four hours, ...	0	0	1[1]

These sums were in Scottish money, and therefore equal in value only to a fourth of the amount in English currency. At first sight there is something captivating in the thought that a whole ox might be obtained for nine shillings sterling, twenty-two ounces of bread for a penny, a Scotch pint of good wine for 2½*d.* or 3*d.*, and four eggs for a farthing; but a *per contra* of money's worth in the shape of labour or attendance would destroy this apparent cheapness by showing the scarcity of these pennies, and the difficulty with which they were earned. When an old groat was as hard to be come by as a modern crown, the dearness of the markets must have been as oppressive to the working men of the sixteenth as they are to those of the nineteenth century.

But, however the prices of the markets may have been complained of, there were seasons during this period when food was so scarce as to be almost beyond the purchase of the industrious poor. An imperfect husbandry, mutable climate, political troubles, and a defective knowledge in political economy still continued to subject the country to such visitations of famine, as compelled even the great and wealthy to retrenchment—a duty which had also occasionally to be enforced by strict parliamentary enactments. This appears to have been the case in 1551, when an act was issued "anent the ordering of every man's house." It decreed that archbishops, bishops, and earls should be stinted at dinner to *eight* dishes of meat—abbots, priors, and deans to *six*—barons and freeholders to *four*—and burgesses, and men of substance, whether spiritual or temporal, to *three*—moreover, that in all cases each dish should contain only one kind of meat. The only exceptions made from this rule were in favour of marriage feasts, and of entertainments given to foreigners by the lords spiritual and temporal and the magistrates of burghs.[2] Whether these rules were observed or eluded the calamity passed by, and was no longer regarded until it returned in 1569 with double violence. To add to its severity the pestilence was at that time raging in Edinburgh and Leith, so that both the productive industry and the importations from foreign markets were affected by the visitation. In the meantime the dearth over the whole kingdom was so great, that the boll of oatmeal was sold for £3, 12*s.*, the boll of wheat for £4, 10*s.*, and the boll of bere for £3. So great and so sudden, however, was the reaction, that in a very few months the boll of oatmeal fell to 40*s.*, 38*s.*, and 36*s.*, the boll of wheat to 50*s.*, and the boll of bere to 33*s.*[3]

In the article of costume the attire of the gentlemen seems to have been the same that adorned the court of James V. The same notices of cloaks of various colours and coats of velvet black, white, or crimson, and doublets of satin occur, with hose gaily embroidered, and bonnets plumed and trinketted; but of the particular labours of the court-tailors upon these braveries, and the fanciful shapes imparted to them, we are still unable decisively to speak. France, however, appears to have been the predominant authority in fashionable dress to the Scots, and especially in female court attire, from the example of Mary of Guise, and afterwards of her daughter, Mary Stuart. Notwithstanding the satires of Lyndsay, Dunbar, and the rest of the poets against the trains of the ladies, these appendages do not appear to have been abbreviated by a single inch; on the contrary they became longer, richer, and more extravagant, so that the church itself, when Protestantism was established, had to take up the matter and make it a subject of serious legislation. By a single item in the royal treasurer's accounts at the beginning of this period we may form an idea of the extravagance of this part of the female costume; the entry is for a gown *with a tail* to Mary Stuart's nurse or personal attendant, when the former was about to depart from France. The quantity of cloth was 11¾ ells, and the price £22, 5*s.* 8*d.* The church did well to be angry when the gown of a nurse exceeded in cost a minister's yearly revenue.

The richness and French elegance of the court dresses of the time were not exclusively confined to the halls of Holyrood and the mansions of the nobility. As we have already stated a middle class was now growing up for the first time in Scotland that could imitate the grandeur of the great with impunity; and the first to exhibit this new spirit were the female part of this middle class, who, in costume, rich dresses, and ornaments, were impatient to show that they

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, anno 1556.

[2] *Acts of the Scottish Parliaments for* A.D. 1551.

[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 147.

could flaunt as bravely as the finest. It was the most natural, although not the wisest outburst of this new spirit—one of those blunders in a great social transition by which more than one wrong way is entered before the right is discovered. At the sight of this monstrosity Sir Richard Maitland was aghast; and in entering into the particulars with all the indignation of an aristocrat, he gives us the fullest account we have of the fashionable female costume of the day. Their gowns were trimmed or barred on sleeve, neck, and skirt with velvet, and trailed behind them with the usual termination. Their foreskirts were of silk, and their aprons of the finest cambric. Their furred cloaks were of fine silk, with hanging sleeves "like jelly-bags." Their wiliecoats were ornamented with broad embroidery, and sewed with "passements" or lace-work. Their woven hose were of silk, gathered together at the top, and drawn with tassels; and their garters were of new fashions to make their courtliness be the better recognized. Thus attired, and mincing along the calsey in shoes of velvet, they sometimes held up their gowns to exhibit their splendid wiliecoats, and sometimes both gown and wiliecoat to display their hose. Their hats, which were set upon the top of their heads, were corded with gold like those of young gentlemen, and also embroidered round about with threads of gold; and their ornaments, which corresponded to their dress, were collars, necklaces, and strings of beads round the neck. Even the church, too, had become the theatre and stage for the display of these vanities, and there they were often paraded; but a lady thus dressed, instead of sitting on a stool like the rest of the congregation to listen to the sermon, behoved to have a cushion, which was carried along with her for the purpose. And who were these madams?—not the ladies of the court, Sir Richard indignantly adds, but the wives of simple burgesses. Such is his picture contained in the poem entitled *Satire on the Town Ladies*, and he complains that not the wives of citizens alone, but also gentlewomen to landward were becoming equally extravagant in their costume. Nor was this the whole of their offending, for they were becoming as luxurious in dainty living as in dress, and he declares that they would spend more upon spices and drugs in one day than their mothers would have done in a whole year.

Of the learned men of this period who distinguished themselves in the foundation of a new empire of letters, Scotland, notwithstanding her adverse circumstances, was able to exhibit a fair proportion. Buchanan had now attained the height of his renown, and was famed through all the schools and colleges of Europe, not only as a scholar inferior to none but as a writer superior to all his contemporaries. The clergy who forsook the church and commenced the Reformation, from the days of Patrick Hamilton downwards, had in general their spirit of inquiry stirred into action by the new impulse which learning had communicated even to the cells of the monasteries; and these first preachers of Protestantism availed themselves of their superior endowments not only for the detection of error and the illustration of religious truths, but for the defence of Protestant doctrines against all assailants. This their intellectual superiority was so keenly felt by their discomfited opponents, who could not match them in argument, as to make them only the more eager to silence by fire and faggot the men whom they were unable to confute. In Knox himself this spirit was personified, who probably would have become one of the greatest of our early scholars, had he not been called to a still higher vocation; and who, after mastering Latin in youth and Greek at a later period, addressed himself in his later years, and amidst the full stir of active occupations, to the study of Hebrew. It is unfortunate that his writings, and especially his theological treatises, in consequence of their obsolete language, have shared the fate of other literary productions of the day; but a careful attention to these will show, that neither in vigour, eloquence, or taste he was a whit behind the great reformers of England, of whom he was a fellow-worker, and by whom he was held in the highest estimation. Of the collective talent of our Scottish clerical reformers, in clear vigorous thought, and powerful, concise writing, convincing examples can be adduced in the *Confession of Faith* and the *Book of Discipline*. The first of these, independently of its soundness, will bear a comparison with the best creeds of the Reformation in any country, although it was produced in four days and in the midst of trial and disquietude.

But of all those reformers who had raised themselves above the general standard by their talents and literary acquirements was one who combined the various characters of baron, soldier, courtier, scholar, patron of learning, and clergyman in a high degree, and with a blameless reputation in them all. We allude to John Erskine of Dun, whose name so frequently occurs in the political and religious history of the period. He was born about the year 1508 at the family mansion of Dun in Forfarshire; and having travelled in early life upon the Continent he turned the opportunity to good account by studying those branches of scholarship which as yet were not taught in his own country. On returning to Scotland in 1534 he brought with

him a learned Frenchman, whom he established in the town of Montrose for the purpose of teaching the Greek tongue. It was a daring innovation in a country where the clergy did not understand Greek, and had been taught to regard it as a pestilent invention of the heretics for the overthrow of the Christian faith. It was in the same town of Montrose that the martyr Wishart, probably a very short time afterwards, opened a school for giving instructions in the same language, and was obliged four years afterwards to fly from the persecution of Beaton and the priesthood, who regarded the attempt as a crime worthy of death. This proceeding of Erskine indicated the choice he would make, and the course he would pursue, at a time when men were not permitted to halt between two opinions. Notwithstanding the general example of the court and the persecuting spirit of James V., he embraced the Protestant faith, and during all the troubles that followed continued to be one of its firmest adherents and supporters. But with all this consistency he was at the same time so mild and gentle, that he sought to mediate between the contending parties to the last, and only passed over from the queen-dowager to the camp of the Lords of the Congregation when he found that, owing to the queen's duplicity, an appeal to arms was inevitable. Through the subsequent contentions, if Knox might be called the Luther of the Scottish Reformation, Erskine of Dun might be considered as its Melancthon, but without Melancthon's timid irresolute spirit; and Mary Stuart, who feared and disliked the reformers, made an exception in favour of Erskine, who, she declared, was "a mild and sweet-natured man with true honest uprightness." His subsequent history belongs to the church, in which he held the office of superintendent of Fife, and with the most important events of which he was connected until his death in 1591.

Of the other distinguished intellectual Scotsmen of the period we can only afford a passing notice. The first of these is Sir Henry Balnaves of Halhill, a man of humble origin, but who by the mere force of his talent raised himself to rank and distinction, and who, from 1538 to the time of his death in 1579, continued to hold some of the most important offices in the state and be a negotiator or actor in its principal transactions. But it is rather as a theological writer, a new character in Scotland, that he is now introduced. Having made an open profession of Protestantism during the regency of the Duke of Chastelherault, he took refuge in the castle of St. Andrews after the murder of Beaton, and with the rest of the garrison was carried prisoner to France, where he was shut up in the old castle of Rouen. Here he employed himself in writing his *Treatise on Justification*, that great subject of the Reformation upon which the whole question was staked; and amidst the solitude and meditations of a prison the wise sagacious statesman had the best of opportunities for explaining the principles on account of which he was an exile and a prisoner. When the work, which was written in 1548, was finished, Balnaves transmitted it to his fellow-sufferer, John Knox, who was a prisoner in the galleys; and the reformer prized it so highly that, during his brief intervals of toil, he divided it into chapters, illustrated it with marginal notes, and added to it a summary of contents, with a view of publishing it when he returned to Scotland—a purpose, however, which he found no opportunity of accomplishing, so that it did not appear in print until 1584. If Balnaves was a representative of our early theologians, James Bassantin, or Bassantoun, was equally so of our early men of science. He appears to have been born during the reign of James V., but in what year is uncertain. He studied in the University of Glasgow, but instead of devoting himself to Latin and philosophy, which at that time constituted the learning of the age, or to canon and civil law, the great sources of promotion and emolument, he followed the bent of his genius, and threw himself upon the study of mathematics, a branch which most regarded with contempt, and some even with suspicion as the key to the study of the black art itself. As he found few opportunities of acquiring the knowledge of his favourite science in Glasgow, he travelled through several countries of the Continent, maturing himself in mathematical science, and settling at Paris, his reputation was so great that he was appointed to teach mathematics in the university. He applied the knowledge he had acquired to the study of astronomy, a science still in its infancy, and became renowned for his knowledge in that department; but unfortunately he made all this subservient to the study of astrology, like the other astronomers of his age. He was a dreaming, infatuated star-gazer as well as a really accomplished mathematician, and the six treatises which he published on both sciences not only illustrated this twofold character of Bassantin, but formed a valuable addition to the general stock of science until sounder principles had regenerated the whole mass and separated the false from the true. On returning to Scotland in 1562 he avowed himself a Protestant, became an adherent of the Earl of Moray, and died in 1568; but whether politics or study employed his later years, or whether he ventured to assume the

office of prophet upon the mere strength of the revelations of the stars, we are unable to ascertain. A third distinguished writer of the period, whose department of authorship was law, was Sir James Balfour of Pittendreigh. This man—who, though he belonged to the reformed party, obtained only an infamous notoriety in the history of the Reformation; who was so selfish that he lent himself to every party in turn, so that it was said of him, "he wagged as the bush wagged;" who scrupled at no atrocity to serve his own interests, and was almost invariably successful—was amidst all his changes a lawyer, and among many offices occupied that of president of the Court of Session, the highest legal appointment in the kingdom. He justified the appreciation of his professional knowledge entertained by all parties by being appointed to revise the laws of the kingdom, and this he accomplished in so masterly a style and form that his *Practicks of Scots Law* continued to be the standard until it was superseded a hundred years later by the *Institutes* of Lord Stair.

We have thus confined ourselves to the mention of those who were the most distinguished of their respective departments. Although knowledge was more extensively enlarged and more widely diffused than during any former period, the spirit of the times was such as mainly to absorb all such intellectual qualities and acquirements into the great subject of religion, while the exciting events were such as to transform the most studious into men of action in the church, the senate, the cabinet, and the field. A learned age, however, had commenced, and the line between George Buchanan and Andrew Melvill was to be kept up without interruption, while the writings of the period exhibit an intellectuality that distinguishes them from all the preceding productions. The reign of literary ignorance and barbarism, as well as of gross religious superstition, was ended, and a new existence begun.

PERIOD IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. TO THE UNION OF THE CROWNS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND (A.D. 1569 TO A.D. 1603).

CHAPTER I.

REGENCY OF MORAY (1569–1570).

Return of the regent to Scotland—His decisive proceedings for the restoration of order—Intrigues of the Duke of Chastelherault—His feigned submission—He is imprisoned—Plot of the Duke of Norfolk—The regent holds a convention at Perth—Proposals laid before it from Mary and Elizabeth—Mary's application to be divorced from Bothwell—Its rejection by the convention—Norfolk's plot detected—The regent's apology for his share in it—Norfolk apprehended and executed—Lethington's practices—His attendance summoned to Stirling—He is accused of the murder of Darnley—His arrest and subsequent escape—Expedition of the regent to suppress disorders—Trial of Lethington—He overawes justice by his armed supporters—The regent's conduct on the occasion—The trial adjourned—The regent's perplexity from the doubtful conduct of Elizabeth—The rebellion of the northern earls against her—Their flight into Scotland—The regent's proceedings against them—The Earl of Northumberland apprehended and imprisoned—Elizabeth's confidence in the regent restored—His proposal that Mary should be delivered to his custody—Injurious suspicions founded on the proposal—His instructions on the subject to his envoy—The Hamiltons continue their plots against the regent—His assassination contemplated—Proceedings of Bothwelhaugh to effect it—Assassination of the regent at Linlithgow—His last moments—His character—Causes from which his character has been traduced—His funeral—Grief of John Knox at the murder of the regent—The reformer's prayer on the occasion.

The return of the Earl of Moray to Scotland after the trial of Westminster had ended was a happy event for the public peace. The Duke of Chastelherault, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenant, with authority to levy an army in her behalf, was ready to rise with the Hamiltons; the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, who were joined with him in commission, were ready to second him, with the chief power of the northern district at their devotion. The Earl of Cassillis and Lord Herries, who returned from England with the duke, were equally hostile to the regent, and after proclaiming him a usurper, fortified their castles and mustered their followers for the expected conflict. It was a crisis in which the energy of a commanding intellect is worth more than armies, and Moray showed himself equal to the occasion. At his return he called a convention at Stirling on the 10th of February (1569), where he gave a relation of his proceedings in England, which were approved by the nobility, clergy, and commissioners of burghs there assembled. He then commanded a warlike muster of the king's lieges to meet at Glasgow on the 10th of March, and proceeded to raise money for the expenses of a campaign. These prompt proceedings alarmed the duke, who on this occasion had recourse not to arms but the church; and as the general assembly was then sitting in Edinburgh he addressed to it a moving letter, in which, after professing his zeal for the Protestant faith and the maintenance of public order, he complained of the hostile preparations of the regent, and entreated the assembly to mediate between them so that the peace of the realm might be maintained unbroken. The assembly saw that this appeal was but a feint to arrest the military rendezvous at Glasgow, and treated it accordingly; for instead of denouncing the military preparations they complied with the letter of his request by appointing a deputation to repair first to the regent and afterwards to the duke, who, after attempting to reconcile them, were to bring all parties to the recognition of the king's authority.[1]

At the time appointed the regent, accompanied by the Earls of Morton, Home, and other noblemen, marched with their forces to Glasgow, having with them a train of five pieces of artillery; and the duke, daunted by the rapidity of this movement and the collection of such a force in his neighbourhood, abandoned for the present all thoughts of resistance.

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[1] Calderwood, ii. 479.

REGENT MORAY ORDERS THE ARREST OF THE DUKE OF CHASTELHERAULT AND LORD HERRIES.

After the disastrous battle of Langside the unhappy Queen of Scots sought refuge in England, and was there detained as a prisoner by the English Queen. Yet Mary had still many staunch adherents among the Scottish nobility, the most zealous and powerful of these being the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Herries, and the Duke of Chastelherault. These noblemen, after a time, proclaimed the Regent Moray a usurper, fortified their castles, and prepared for civil war. The General Assembly of the Scottish Church, however, attempted to bring about an understanding between the disputants, and to this end a convention met in Edinburgh. At this meeting the Queen's party desired, first of all, to consider the captivity of their mistress, but the Regent put that matter aside, and at once asked them to subscribe the schedule acknowledging the young King's authority. This they refused to do. Whereupon Moray sternly ordered the arrest of the Duke of Chastelherault and Lord Herries, who were immediately carried prisoners to the castle.

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REGENT MORAY ORDERS THE ARREST OF THE DUKE OF CHASTELHERAULT AND LORD HERRIES. (A.D. 1569.)

. Vol. ii. p. 273.

He had, therefore, recourse to negotiation, and after obtaining a safe-conduct he went to Glasgow and concluded an agreement with Moray on the 13th of March, by which he acknowledged the king's authority and agreed to a suspension of hostilities until the 10th of April, when a convention of the nobles should be held for the settlement of all differences. To this compact the Earl of Cassillis and Lord Herries, who accompanied the duke, also assented; and as hostages for its faithful observance the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Cassillis, and Lord Herries afterwards placed themselves in the regent's hands at Stirling, while he in return set free those prisoners who had been taken at the battle of Langside. Peace being thus assured for the present, Moray, instead of disbanding his forces, led them against the marauders of the Borders, where his proceedings were attended with his usual success.[1]

The 10th of April having arrived the convention met at Edinburgh. With the regent and duke were the Earls of Morton, Mar, and Cassillis, the Lords Herries, Home, Lyndsay, Ruthven, Methven, Graham, Oliphant, and several other lords, besides barons and gentlemen. It was proposed by the lords of the queen's party that the case of their mistress and her captivity should be first of all considered; but this subject, so interminable in its character and so fitted to reawaken their old controversy and strife, was sternly rejected by the regent, who, taking a schedule from his pocket acknowledging the king's authority and placing it before the duke, asked him if he would subscribe it or not. The duke was astonished and proceeded to remonstrate. He and his friends, he said, had laid down their arms conditionally, and did not think themselves obliged to subscribe their allegiance to the king unless what they reasonably demanded on behalf of their queen should be granted; he hoped, therefore, that neither fraud nor force would be used against them, as their hostages were in the regent's hands, and they had themselves come hither unarmed, as to a faithful friend, relying upon his assurances of their safety. To this appeal Moray's only answer was an order to arrest both the duke and Lord Herries, who were immediately sent prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh.[2] This quick, unexpected stroke paralysed the queen's adherents and broke their coalition. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, after being ordered to confine himself to his lodging, offered his submission, and was allowed to go at large. The Earl of Cassillis subscribed his recognition of the king's authority. Even Argyle and Huntly, whose authority in the north was all-prevalent and whose hostility was most to be feared, dismissed their troops, surrendered their artillery, and gave hostages for their future obedience. To secure the fruits of this compulsory submission the regent soon after, accompanied by the Earl of Morton and several barons and a military force, among which were two companies of harquebussiers, made a military progress into the Highlands for the purpose of dispensing justice and reducing the clans to order. He held his ayres at Aberdeen, Elgin, and Inverness; and after exacting fines from the adherents of the queen and hostages from the rebellious chiefs, he succeeded in reducing the greater part of the northern districts to the royal authority.[3]

While the regent was at Elgin on his return from the north the arrival of Lord Boyd with letters from England announced new difficulties to be met and overcome. Since her trial at Westminster Mary's chief hope of deliverance from prison and restoration to her royal authority had depended upon her projected marriage with the Duke of Norfolk; and the duke, notwithstanding his solemn protestations to Elizabeth that the whole was a groundless calumny invented by his enemies, had since the trial resumed his negotiations with the Scottish queen and was prosecuting his designs with greater eagerness than ever. It was a plot full of mystery as well as full of danger from the ambitious purposes which it sought to effect. The chief of the English nobility, the Earls of Arundel, Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, were in favour of the union, while the great statesmen Cecil and Throgmorton saw no objections to its accomplishment. In Scotland the politic Lethington, who had devised it and was its active promoter, and the regent himself, who had assented to it while in England and assured Norfolk of his aid in forwarding the match, were relied upon by the duke and his party as sufficient to reconcile the Scots to a project by which the wrongs of their queen might be quietly redressed without danger or injury to either kingdom. But all the while these proceedings, which so deeply involved the interests and safety of Elizabeth, were carefully concealed from her, and all this consultation and plotting was ostensibly for no other purpose than to obtain the liberation of the Queen of Scots. Proposals also from time to time continued to be made to that effect, and while

[1] Buchanan, b. xix.

[2] Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 219; *History of James the Sext*, pp. 39, 40.

[3] MS. Letter of Moray to Cecil in State Paper Office, Aberdeen, July 7, 1569; Calderwood, ii. 488.

Elizabeth gravely received and discussed them the under-plot was ripened into maturity.

The arrival of Lord Boyd at Elgin and the commissions with which he was charged obliged the regent to summon a great convention of the nobility, which met at Perth on the 25th of July. Upon the reception of the proposals which Lord Boyd was to deliver the marriage of the duke to the Queen of Scots would depend, and all the important consequences that might accrue from it. The first letter presented before the convention was one from Queen Elizabeth to the regent regarding the further proceedings in reference to Mary, on whose behalf three proposals were offered. These were: either that she should be fully restored to her royal dignity; or that she should be allowed to rule conjointly with her son until he had reached the age of seventeen years, Moray in the meantime continuing to be regent; or finally, that she should be allowed to reside in private life in Scotland and have a proper maintenance allowed her. In this manner the crafty Elizabeth complied with those petitions which the Norfolk party had presented in behalf of the Queen of Scots. They were such as she could safely offer, being well assured that they would not be complied with. The first two conditions were rejected as incompatible with the new order of government and the safety of the prince; but to the last no objection was made provided she was willing to consent to it. Another letter was from Mary herself, in which she desired that judges should be appointed to revise her marriage with Bothwell for the purpose of declaring her free if it could not be justified by law. Her friends and enemies were equally astonished at this proposal. After she had lost both her crown and liberty rather than part with the infamous Bothwell this change of purpose appeared truly marvellous, as they were ignorant of the newly-proposed marriage to which the divorce would be a stepping-stone. On this point, therefore, the debate was both fierce and important, between Lethington and his friends on the one side and the adherents of the church on the other. Lethington declared that this divorce could be effected without hurt or disrespect to either the church or king. To this Makgill, the clerk-registrar, replied that Mary's own letters refuted his assertion; that she insulted their sovereign and themselves by addressing them as her subjects and subscribing herself as their queen; she had also insulted their church by her letter to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in which she addressed him as the head of the church, although he was an obstinate rebel, heretic, and Papist. Lethington sarcastically expressed his wonder that those who were lately so anxious for Mary's separation from Bothwell should now be so unwilling to dissolve the union. He was followed by others of his party who attempted to apologize for the expressions in the queen's letters; and they offered to procure others from her expressed in whatever terms the objectors pleased, if in the meantime the action for a divorce was allowed to proceed. But to this it was answered that there was no such cause of haste, and that it behoved Bothwell to have sixty days after citation for his appearance, as he was out of the country. During that interval she had time to send a new commission; and as she had already passed two years in silence upon the subject she might easily suffer the delay of sixty days longer. If she was in earnest to be rid of Bothwell she could easily write to the King of Denmark requesting him to put Bothwell to death for the murder of her former husband, after which she might marry whom she pleased. This application for a divorce appeared so suspicious that they judged it proper that Elizabeth should be put upon her guard, and accordingly Alexander Hume of North Berwick was sent to England with an account of their proceedings.[1]

It is not unlikely that this warning from the north, added to the duke's incautious proceedings, was enough to confirm the suspicions of the English queen. Confident in the strength of his party and elated with the hopes which his marriage with the Queen of Scots might realize of his ultimate succession to the crowns of England and Scotland combined, Norfolk kept open house, courted popularity, and revealed his designs to the ambassadors of France and Spain, who communicated them to their respective courts, and were commissioned to promote the marriage. But with so many confidants the affair could remain a secret no longer, and Elizabeth having set the sagacious Cecil to the task, the whole plan of the marriage was unravelled and laid before her. All being discovered, the duke's friends began to fall from him and even some of his best supporters to turn against him. Among these was the Earl of Moray himself, who, on being challenged by Elizabeth for his share in the plot, gave up to her his secret correspondence with the duke, and pleaded that his accession to the duke's proposals had only been to avoid assassination in England, with which he had been threatened in case of refusal. He also told her that her own vacillating conduct in the trial of Mary had made him so uncertain of her real inten-

[1] Buchanan, b. xix.; Calderwood, ii. pp. 489, 490; *History of James the Sext*, p. 41.

tions and wishes that he knew not whether such a marriage would be viewed by her with approbation or positive dislike. His yielding had gone no further than her own, and had been inspired and regulated by her example; and he might well think that to aid in changing the deposed and imprisoned Queen of Scotland unto the highest of English duchesses was the best reparation he could make to her both as her brother and her born subject.[1]

The detection of the Duke of Norfolk being complete his best resource would have been to attempt openly and by arms what he had failed to accomplish by intrigue. To this bold course his friends, who knew the jealous resentful character of Elizabeth, endeavoured to move him, but in vain; his daring was not equal to the shame or the hazard of a rebellion, and he vainly hoped that he could still temporize and overcome the suspicions of his watchful sovereign. He sent to her protestations from Kenninghall, his seat in Norfolk, that he had not intended to marry the Queen of Scots without his sovereign's consent, and that his only fault was the delay in asking it; and Elizabeth, acting by the advice of Cecil, required his personal attendance at court. Thinking that his professions were accepted the duke obeyed, and on his arrival in London was immediately committed to the Tower. His trial, which speedily followed, and his execution on Tower Hill as a traitor, are events that belong exclusively to English history. The failure of this attempt only deepened the general dislike against the unfortunate Mary and increased the rigour of her imprisonment. As soon as the purpose of the duke had been detected she was removed from Winkfield to Tutbury, while she was so closely watched that her friends were refused access to her, and every letter she sent from her prison was intercepted and carefully examined. And here Elizabeth did not stop in her resentment. Maitland of Lethington, the contriver of the plot, she now regarded as her implacable enemy, and the regent himself she considered as in some measure his accomplice.

The difficulty in which Moray was placed by this alienation could only be surmounted by recovering the confidence of the English queen, however unpleasant or dangerous the attempt might be to himself. The suppression of Mary's powerful faction in Scotland, the stability of the government at the head of which he was placed, and the safety of the young sovereign could not be ensured without the good-will and aid of Elizabeth, who had thus been justly provoked, and was not likely to endure it with impunity. He knew also that Lethington, the source of all this mischief, the very element of whose restless existence was political intrigue, and from whose dangerous society he had for some time estranged himself, had retired after his defeat in the convention of Perth to the shelters of Athole and the protection of its earl, and was busy in weaving new schemes which had for their object the restoration of Mary and his own advancement to Moray's power and influence. It was necessary for the safety of the realm, as well as concord with England, that this indefatigable plotter should be reduced to restraint, and for this purpose the regent summoned his attendance at Stirling to aid the consultations of government. It was an alarming invitation to one so employed, and his conscience whispered impending danger; but, aware of the more certain consequences of a refusal, Maitland reluctantly obeyed, bringing with him his protector, the Earl of Athole, characterized as "a Papist and consulter with witches." Scarcely, however, had Lethington taken his place among the lords of the council when Thomas Crawford, a gentleman of the household of the Earl of Lennox, craved admission, and on entering he fell upon his knees, accused Maitland of Lethington and Sir James Balfour of the murder of Henry Darnley, their former king, and demanded justice upon the perpetrators. It was the same Crawford who had attended Darnley during his last sickness in Glasgow and dissuaded him from the fatal journey that ended at Kirk-of-Field. Lethington was astonished at this attack, and after an indignant denial offered sureties for his appearance to stand trial upon the charge; but Crawford, persisting in his accusation and promising to establish it by proofs, appealed to the council whether under such circumstances bail should be accepted and the culprit allowed to go at large. It was resolved after a stormy discussion that he should be committed to ward, and accordingly he was conveyed to Edinburgh and delivered to the keeping of Alexander Hume of North Berwick. At the same time Balfour was apprehended at his residence in Fife, but soon after set at liberty. Nor did Lethington himself remain many hours a captive. Kirkaldy of Grange, his old associate, apprehensive for his safety while in ward from being the depository of so many dangerous secrets, came down from the castle at ten o'clock at night with a forged order to which the regent's name was attached, commanding Hume to give up his charge. This was done accordingly, and Maitland was conveyed to the castle of which Kirkaldy was captain. Such a powerful offen-

[1] Letters of Moray to Cecil, 22d and 29th October, 1569, State Paper Office; Calderwood, ii. pp. 504, 505.

der having escaped, nothing remained but the uncertain issue of a trial, which Lethington was still willing to abide on the 21st of November, the day appointed for the purpose.[1]

In the meantime the regent's difficulties continued to increase, but more from the alienation of old friends than the hostility of open enemies. Lethington, now the champion of the queen's party which he had so greatly contributed to overthrow, was indefatigable in raising adherents to her cause, and besides Kirkaldy of Grange, had succeeded in converting the Lord Home to the faction that was impatient to renew the civil war. But still unaware of the amount of treachery by which he was surrounded, and unwilling to think evil of his old supporter and companion in arms, Moray sent repeated intimations to Kirkaldy of the rumours which were abroad concerning his new adherence to the queen's faction and his subscription to their bonds and compacts, and was answered by the other with denials of the charge and professions of his adherence to the king and royal authority. Obliged to be satisfied with these assurances, the regent made an incursion into Teviotdale to suppress the Border thieves who were maintained by Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst and Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh. He set out from Hawick on the 20th of September, and while he swept through the dales with his wonted activity and rigour the warders of the English borders rode through their marches to prevent the escape of the fugitives into England. Being thus closely inclosed on both sides the lawless were everywhere reduced to submission, and Moray returned to Edinburgh with seventy-two hostages, whom he committed to safe-keeping as pledges for the peace of the Borders.[2]

At length the 21st of November, the day for Lethington's trial, arrived, an event in which the interests of so many were involved, and which could not be expected to pass without disturbance. It was not to be so much a peaceful assize of law as a trial of strength between the two parties, in which the condemnation or acquittal of the accused would depend upon the number of his adherents instead of the justice of his cause. On this occasion Lethington, from the castle, wrote to all his friends and allies, to all the adherents of Mary or opponents to the regent and his government, and to all who were in any way concerned in the murder of Darnley, and therefore having an interest in his acquittal, inviting them to repair to Edinburgh and support him in his trial and defence. The appeal was so successful that the Earls of Athole and Huntly, with the Hamiltons, were marching to the capital, but were stopped at Linlithgow by an order from the regent commanding them to proceed no farther. Early in the morning, however, Lord Hume entered the city along with the Hepburns and occupied the principal streets with strong bodies of horse, while Lethington's other allies and their adherents came trooping in arms from every quarter, and ready for a forcible rescue, if such should be found necessary. It was evidently to be a repetition of the Earl of Bothwell's trial; and such was the formidable character of this concourse that the Earl of Morton, who was at Dalkeith, was ready to oppose force with force, and, at the head of three thousand men, only waited the regent's order to advance and join him. But the order was not given, by which Edinburgh would have been drenched with blood, and while Lethington's advocate was insisting upon his employer's acquittal as no one had come forward to accuse him, Moray entered the court of law, or rather armed encampment, and sternly and briefly thus addressed the friends of Lethington: "When you enterprised the revenge of the king's murder I was in France. You desired me to come home and take upon me the government. You caused me to take an oath that I should to the uttermost revenge the murder of the king, and you, on your part, swore to assist me. Now there is a gentleman accused of this murder, and you have assembled to impede the course of justice. Therefore you shall understand that I will defer this day of trial to another time. If he be guiltless he shall suffer no harm; but if he be found guilty it shall not lie in your hands to save him." This commanding behaviour and temporary postponement of the trial overawed the secretary's friends, who retired without remonstrance.[3]

But even more than this menacing conduct of his enemies was the regent's perplexity as to the course which Elizabeth meant to adopt in the present crisis. This display of strength on the part of the factious lords threatened a revival of the war in behalf of Mary and imminent jeopardy to the cause of Protestantism in Scotland; but would Elizabeth aid him should the struggle commence, which it was likely to do if Lethington should be condemned and punished? The mysterious policy of the Queen of England was all the more unfathomable that it consisted in great part of temporary expedients to avert an immediate danger or secure a momentary advantage, and on this account was not always

[1] Buchanan, b. xix.; Calderwood, ii. pp. 504, 505; Letters in State Paper Office; Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 218.

[2] Calderwood, ii. pp. 505, 506; Buchanan, b. xix.

[3] Buchanan; Calderwood, ii. pp. 506, 507.

THE ASSASSINATION OF REGENT MORAY AT LINLITHGOW.

By his treatment of Mary Queen of Scots and his alliance with the English court, the Regent Moray had made for himself many enemies among the Scottish nobility. To preserve his authority he had found it necessary to imprison the chief of the Hamiltons, and the members of that powerful family had sworn to bring about his death. A willing assassin was found in the person of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whose readiness to slay the Regent was only equalled by the coolness with which he prepared to accomplish the murderous deed. He dogged his victim from town to town, and at length he found in Linlithgow, among his own kinsfolk, the favourable place and moment. After making every preparation for escape the assassin planted his caliver at a loophole cut beneath the latticed window, and when the Regent rode up the street, Bothwellhaugh took deliberate aim. The shot passed right through Moray's body, killing the horse of one of his escort. The Regent calmly dismounted and walked to the palace, but he died of the wound that same night. In the terror and dismay which this sudden attack occasioned, the dastardly assassin managed to escape.

WAL. PAGET. 21

THE ASSASSINATION OF REGENT MORAY AT LINLITHGOW.

"THE SUDDEN FLASH AND REPORT, AND THE START OF MORAY IN THE SADDLE, PARALYSED THE CROWD." (A.D. 1570.)

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clearly understood even by herself. She adapted her continual change of system to the rapid change of events, and by her success acquired a character for sagacity that owed more to her position than to any intellectual power she possessed either to direct or control. It was impossible therefore for the unfortunate Moray to calculate, amidst the trying difficulties in which she was involved, whether Elizabeth might interpose or not, and whether it might be as a friend or an enemy.

Events soon occurred by which the Queen of England was assured of the regent's sincerity in behalf of her own security and that of English Protestantism. When the Duke of Norfolk contemplated his marriage with the Queen of Scots this union of a subject with a sovereign who had quartered the arms of England with her own was not the sole, or even the greatest part of the offence. The marriage was contemplated by the Roman Catholics as a step to the deposition of Elizabeth, the elevation of Mary to the throne of her rival, and the restoration of Popery in England; and by none were these hopes more eagerly cherished than by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the powerful representatives of English Catholicism. Even when Norfolk submitted, these earls and their party did not discontinue their intrigues, which might be forwarded by the liberation of Mary alone, and for this liberation they sought aid from the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, while Mary, through the Bishop of Ross, was made privy to their designs, which met with her assent. Nor was the pontiff, Pius V., idle amidst these machinations which promised the restoration of England to Rome, and besides stirring up the Kings of Spain and France and the Duke of Alva to the enterprise he sent bulls of excommunication by his emissary, Rodolphi, to be distributed throughout England, absolving the people from allegiance to their queen. But only three days after the duke's apprehension these dangerous manifestations of the plot were discovered. Elizabeth immediately commanded the presence of the two earls at court, and on their delaying to comply sent orders to arrest them. Finding themselves detected, they had no resource but open rebellion, and accordingly they raised their standard; but their small undisciplined force was beaten in every encounter, and so hemmed in and diminished that the earls disbanded it and fled, accompanied by a few horse, across the Border into Scotland, where Westmoreland found shelter from the lairds of Buccleugh and Ferniehirst and Northumberland with the Armstrongs.

This rebellion for the restoration of Popery, which concerned Scotland almost as immediately as it did England, could not be regarded by the regent with indifference; and it was now time to testify his sincerity for the English alliance and the stability of Elizabeth's throne. He accordingly summoned the whole military array of the kingdom to meet him at Peebles for the defence of the country and the safety of the true religion, and would have been ready, if necessary, to cross the Border into England, had not the rebellion been more easily and quickly suppressed than was expected. On receiving intelligence of the flight of the English earls into Scotland he despatched orders to the seaports to prevent their escape out of the kingdom, and marched towards the Borders to arrest them in their hiding-places. The Earl of Northumberland had taken refuge with Hector or Hecky Armstrong, a Border thief, in the strong tower of Harlaw, from which he might not easily have been ejected had not his treacherous host surrendered him through the persuasions or bribes of an emissary employed for the purpose by the Earl of Morton. Indeed, so base a ruffian as this Hecky Armstrong had a sufficient motive of his own to betray his unfortunate guest, namely the gold and jewels of the earl and his countess, which were of great value, and upon which he laid hands. But even among these Border thieves, as among the robber Arabs of the desert, the laws of hospitality constituted their chief code of morals, so that he who could betray the man who had fled to him for shelter and found refuge under his roof was an outlaw even among outlaws, the victim of universal hatred and contempt. And thus it was with the traitor Armstrong; his crime had brought such a blot upon their society that all men shunned his company, and even his kindred disowned him, so that he passed the rest of his life a blighted, loathed, and execrated betrayer. The Earl of Northumberland was consigned by the regent to the fast durance of Lochleven Castle, formerly the prison of the unfortunate Mary. As for the Earl of Westmoreland, he shifted from place to place disguised as a Scottish Borderer, until he succeeded in effecting his escape to Holland.[1]

Whatever misgivings Queen Elizabeth may have entertained of the regent were silenced by this instance of devotedness to her interests, and her satisfaction was expressed in terms of the warmest confidence. Encouraged by these assurances he now ventured upon a proposal which had previously been more than once suggested in consequence of the difficulty of retaining Mary a prisoner in England, but which had been abandoned as soon as the danger was over. It was, that the Queen of Scots should be sur-

[1] Calderwood, ii. 507-509; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 154.

rendered into his hands, to be kept safely in Scotland, on his giving a solemn promise that she should live out her natural life without any sinister means being taken to shorten it; and also, that a maintenance should be assigned to her suitable to her high rank.[1] It has been assumed, of course, and assumed as a self-evident certainty, that Moray in this proposal had no other intention than to put the queen to death as soon as he had got her into his power. But as a politician he must have known that such a deed would have armed not only the best part of Scotland but the whole world against him, which would have been enough to ensure his deposition or destruction, and brand his name with infamy to the end of time. Besides, it would have augured little for his wisdom to have committed such a monstrous deed of gratuitous cruelty if, as the same traducers allege, he had driven her into the hands of Elizabeth, in the hope that the latter would hold her fast, and be little inclined to spare her. A more reasonable solution can be found for his conduct both as a man and a statesman. At the breaking out of the rebellion of the two northern earls Elizabeth in her alarm had issued an order under the great seal for Mary's execution, and had only revoked it when the earls had been put to flight. But other similar attempts would probably follow from the consequences of which Mary might not escape so easily. On the other hand, from the intrigues of the Kings of France and Spain, the pope and the powerful Catholic English families, some one plot might be successful, in which case the cause of Scottish Protestantism with that of England would be thrown back to its original feebleness, and have to fight the conflict anew with diminished probabilities of success. In such a state of matters it would have been an act of humanity to transfer the Queen of Scots from her close prison in Tutbury and its churlish fare to a more ample range among the numerous fastnesses in Scotland, surrounded by all the comforts of life. And above all she would thereby be secluded from the intrigues of those foreign envoys and English conspirators who maintained a correspondence with her in spite of every precaution, and whose abortive plots were likely, sooner or later, to bring her to the block. Viewed in this light, which is nothing more than a natural one, Moray's proposal was that of humanity towards an erring sister, whose character could not well be recovered; and towards his sovereign, whose throne had been forfeited, and which she ought never to reascend; and towards his religious faith, and that of the nation at large, which was in jeopardy every moment so long as Mary remained in England, already the rallying-ground of all anti-protestant conspirators, who used her name as their authority and watchword, and made her bondage the apology of their machinations.

In the instructions given to Elphinstone, the bearer of his proposals, the regent chiefly insisted on the dangers with which the religion and liberties of the two countries were equally threatened if Mary was still retained in England. The whole Catholic world was combined against British Protestantism, and hence the necessity of concert between them to oppose and counteract the common enemy. It was also needful, from the scantiness of his means and limitations of his authority, that Elizabeth should assist him with money, arms, and ammunition, otherwise he could not continue to venture his life for both countries as he had hitherto done. Elizabeth had lately required him to surrender his prisoner, the Earl of Northumberland, into her hands, and the proposal had been most unwelcome as repugnant to his feelings of honour and humanity; but even to this he was willing to consent if Elizabeth would transfer the keeping of Mary into his hands and support the authority of the young King of Scots and the interests of religion, with the supplies he had requested.[2] Thus far the treaty had gone, and would probably have been ratified, but for an event which unexpectedly stopped the negotiation and threw the whole current into a new direction.

On seeing the concord that had been established between the Queen of England and the regent, and the readiness of the former to support him in his government, his enemies were struck with dismay. This was especially the case of the Hamiltons, whose ambitious hopes he had defeated and whose chief he had sent to confinement; and no remedy occurred to them but his assassination, to which they subscribed a bond that was privately circulated among the regent's chief enemies. At such a time a determined assassin could easily be found, and the fit person appeared in Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. This gentleman, who had been made a prisoner at the battle of Langside, was afterwards pardoned by the regent and set at liberty through the request of John Knox, a clemency which the reformer afterwards had cause to repent. Bothwellhaugh, who seems to have been so little moved with this kindness that he undertook to be the instrument of his party in the regent's assassination, is also reported to have been animated to the deed by private injuries.

[1] Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 247, 248.

[2] MS. notes of his instructions in State Paper Office, January 19, 1570.

By one account he had made over the lands of Woodhouselee, which were his wife's portion, to Bellenden, the justice-clerk, who afterwards refused to part with them; that his wife was rudely driven out of the house in winter by the new occupant, and that in consequence of the cold of the inclement night in which she was expelled she had gone distracted. Such are the pathetic additions which have been made to justify a political murder in which, had private wrongs been the prevailing motive, we should have expected the assassin's hand to have been turned against Bellenden, the author of the alleged outrage, rather than against the regent, who was altogether guiltless of the deed, and to whom he was so deeply indebted. But be his motives what they might, he went through the whole transaction like a cool calculating ruffian, rather than a man transported into a frenzy of revenge. Having undertaken the task he dogged his victim, and hoped to accomplish the deed first at Glasgow, and afterwards at Stirling; but finding no opportunity at either place, he resolved to repeat the attempt at Linlithgow, to which it was known the regent would repair on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Linlithgow, being a town belonging to the Hamiltons, was best fitted for the attempt, and Bothwellhaugh was accommodated with the use of a house which belonged to his uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The station he selected was a small apartment formed by a projecting wooden gallery which commanded a full view of the street. As he was booted he placed a feather-bed on the floor, that his footsteps might not be heard; and he hung a black cloth on the opposite wall, that his shadow might not appear if the sun should happen to shine out. He had even broken down a part of the lintel of the garden gate, that it might be high enough to let him pass through on horseback when he made his escape, and cut a loophole beneath the latticed window just wide enough to admit his caliver when he should take aim. Having made these arrangements for the death of his victim and his own safety he quietly awaited the regent's entrance into the town.

On the 23d of January the Earl of Moray entered Linlithgow, and approached the fatal spot. During his journey he had been forewarned, first at Dumbarton and afterwards at Stirling, that some mischief was designed against him; and early on that morning he had been informed that he would be shot at if he rode through the town. His informant even offered, if a few were allowed to accompany him, to go to the house and apprehend the murderer who was lying in wait for his life. But the regent's courage despised the danger, and he resolved to escape it by riding rapidly past the place, which had already been pointed out to him. From this, however, he was prevented by the crowd in the street, so that Bothwellhaugh had time to take a deliberate aim. The shot passed right through the regent's body a little below the navel near the reins, killing the horse of George Douglas of Parkhead, who rode beside him. The sudden flash and report, and the start of Moray in the saddle, paralysed the crowd for a moment; but that brief moment was enough for the assassin, who mounted his horse, a fleet steed that had been lent to him by John Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, and left the town at full gallop, and though a few saw his departure and gave chase they were too late to overtake him. He reached Hamilton in safety, and was received by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord Arbroath, and others of the family, with triumphant acclamations, as the destroyer of a tyrant and the liberator of his country. In the meantime there was loud and bitter lamentation in Linlithgow. On receiving the shot the regent dismounted from his horse, saying he was struck, and walked up to the palace as if he did not feel the wound; but these hopeful symptoms quickly disappeared, and the hurt was found to be mortal. He received the intimation with tranquillity, and when the friends who surrounded him amidst their lamentations expressed their disapprobation of his lenity which had been thus requited, he nobly declared, "Your importunity will never make me regret my clemency." After settling his family affairs and commending the young king to the protection of his friends, he tranquilly expired within an hour of midnight.[1]

Thus foully and treacherously perished a man reputed one of the best of his countrymen and one of the greatest benefactors of his country, but whose memory has been pursued even to the present hour with a vindictiveness similar to that by which his career was abruptly terminated. That he was wise in council and brave in war, and that his successes both as a statesman and soldier were owing to his own high qualities rather than to the accidents of birth and fortune, the worst of his traducers are compelled to acknowledge. But here their commendations end. His sincerity in religion, his uprightness, his loyalty to the crown when its possessor was no longer worthy to wear it, and his patriotism in promoting the real interests of his country in spite of the pride and selfishness of those who would have wrecked it,

[1] Buchanan, b. xix.; Calderwood, ii. pp. 510, 511; Bannatyne's *Memorials*; Spottiswood's *History*; *History of King James the Sext*, p. 46; Letters of the period in State Paper Office.

have all been made the subjects of doubt, misrepresentation, and calumny by those who think that the reign of Mary should have been established at every hazard and Scotland itself made a dependency on France rather than an ally of England. The chivalrous enthusiasm of Mary's advocates, which has kindled into absolute quixotism, and which two centuries of historical inquiry and common sense have scarcely abated, has made her partisans see proofs where none existed, and expand commonplace trifles into important facts, so that they have assumed for truth whatever they imagined, and combated with the chimeras of their own creation. Under such a process the Earl of Moray could not escape, and he has accordingly been branded by these ardent defenders of Mary Stuart as a hypocrite in religion and a traitor in politics, who merely sought to aggrandize himself by the troubles of his country, and even to ascend the throne by the deposition of his sister and sovereign. Strange that the beauty, youth, and accomplishments of the Scottish queen should still find such enthusiastic admirers and uncompromising defenders! It is well for these modern Chastelars, Darnleys, and Bothwells that the block, the Kirk of Field, and the prison of Malmoe are no longer likely to reward them with the crown of martyrdom. Had the report of Mary's charms been less transcendent, or the history of her misfortunes less poetical, would the characters of Knox and Moray have descended to the present day with such an amount of misrepresentation and abuse?

The body of the murdered regent having been transported from Linlithgow to Stirling, was afterwards conveyed by water to Leith and carried up in mournful procession to the palace of Holyrood. His death was not only bewailed by his friends who knew his worth and had been benefited by his kindness, but also by the common people at large. They remembered especially the order he had restored in the country within the short space of a year, when the public disturbances were so completely suppressed and confidence restored that a man was as safe upon a journey or in an inn as he was within his own dwelling; and their sorrow was deepened by the dread that with his departure such unwonted safety and tranquillity would also disappear. His funeral took place on the 14th of February (1570) in the High Church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, the grave being in St. Anthony's aisle; and when the funeral train entered the church the bier was placed before the pulpit, where John Knox preached a sermon from the text, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," to an auditory of three thousand persons, who were dissolved in tears.[1]

Of all the numerous and sincere mourners none perhaps felt the loss so deeply as the reformer himself. His close habits of intimacy with the late regent had only heightened his esteem and deepened his friendship for the man, whom he venerated as a living copy of those renowned judges and deliverers of Israel whose names are hallowed in sacred writ; and the blow which such a calamity inflicted was one from which a strong unbending spirit like his is the least apt to recover. After this event he used a form of prayer after dinner and supper, when the thanksgiving after meat was ended, from which the following sentences, uttered by such a man and on such an occasion, may be considered as the regent's best as well as justest eulogium: "O Lord, what shall we add to the former petitions? We know not; yea, alas! O Lord, our own consciences bear us record that we are unworthy that thou shouldst either increase or yet continue thy graces with us, by reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreme miseries we called, and thou in the multitude of thy mercies heard us. And first thou delivered us from the tyranny of merciless strangers; next, from the bondage of idolatry; and last, from the yoke of that wicked woman, the mother of all mischief; and in her place thou didst erect her son, and to supply his infancy thou didst appoint a regent endowed with such graces as the devil himself cannot accuse or justly convict him, this only excepted, that foolish pity did so far prevail in him concerning execution and punishment, which thou didst command to have been executed upon her and upon her accomplices, the murderers of her husband. O Lord, in what misery and confusion found he this realm, and to what rest and quietness now by his labours suddenly brought the same, all estates, but the poor commons especially, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abide it. And so, to punish our sins and our ingratitude, who did not rightly esteem so precious a gift, thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, into the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. . . . Seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor in civil policy, and as a ship without the rudder in the midst of the storm, let thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous days, that the wicked of the world may see that, as well without the help of man as with it, thou art able to rule, maintain, and defend the little flock that dependeth upon thee."[2]

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[1] Buchanan; Calderwood, ii. pp. 525, 526.
[2] Calderwood, ii. pp. 513, 514.

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